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# The American review of reviews

Albert Shaw









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*Letters in parentheses signify nature of article, as (C) contributed article; (Ed.) editorial; (L) "leading article" (digested from another source); (il.) illustrated; (R) book review.*

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# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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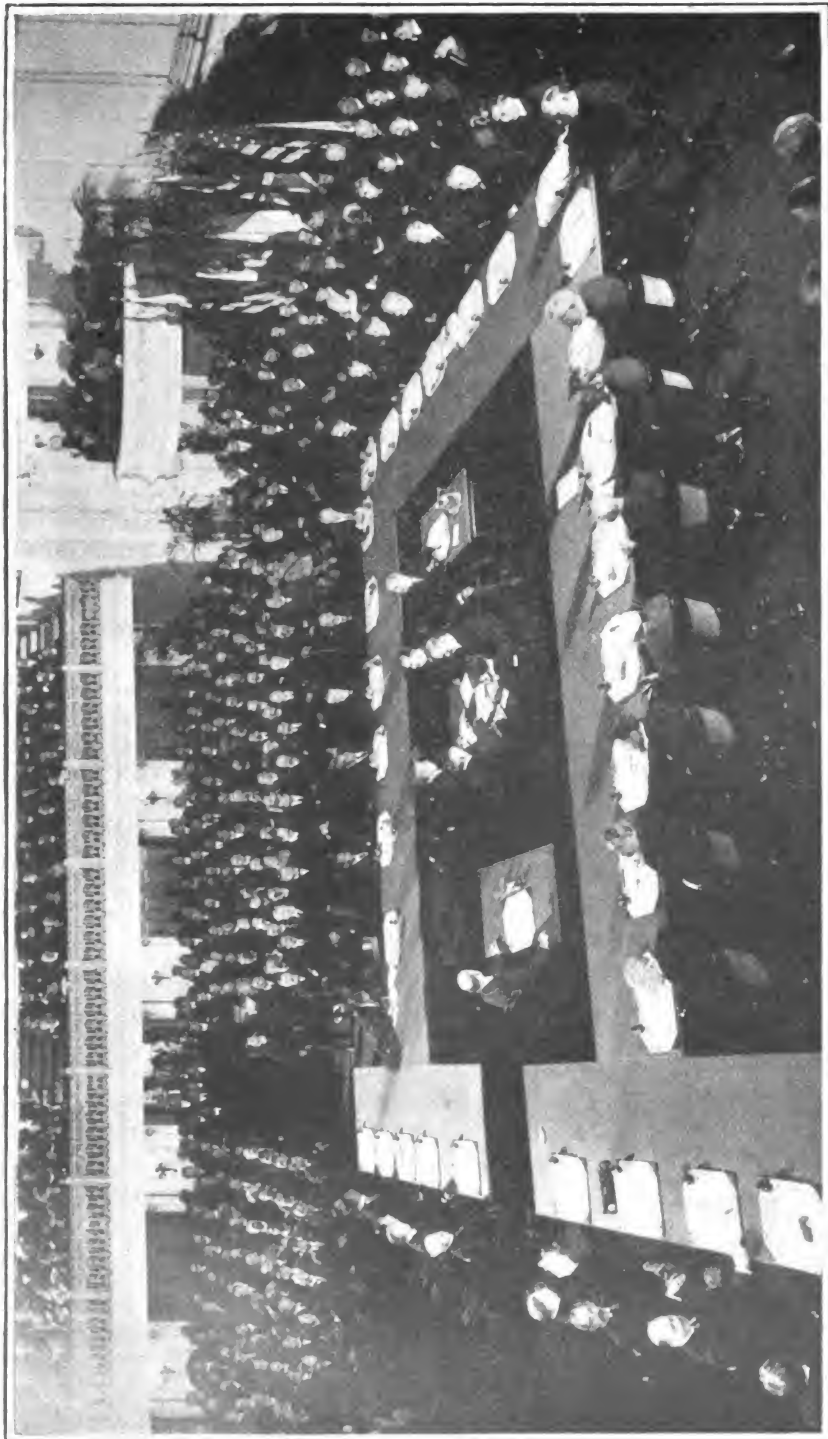
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THE CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS IN FULL SESSION IN CONTINENTAL HALL AT WASHINGTON

[This authorized photograph of the Conference is not intended to bring out the facial expressions of the delegates, but to perpetuate the scene itself and to show the practical arrangement. Committee work was done in the adjacent Pan-American Building, while the delegations had their spacious quarters in the temporary Navy Building to the southward of the Pan-American. Working methods of the Conference are well described in our article this month by the author of "The Mirrors of Washington." At the head of the table (right), reading from the farther corner, are: Premier Briand, Senator Underwood, Mr. Root, Senator Lodge, Secretary Hughes, Mr. Balfour, and Lord Lee. At the corner is Ambassador Geddes, and reading down the side from right to left are: Sir Robert Borden (Canada), Senator Pearce (Australia), Sir John Salmund (New Zealand), Mr. Sastri (India), and next are General Sarraut, Ambassador Ricci and Senator Albertini. At the farther side, next to Premier Briand, is M. Viviani, and next are General Sarraut, Ambassador Jusserand, Prince Tokugawa of Japan, with Ambassador Shidehara, and Admiral Kato. Three of the nine places at the extreme rear, facing Secretary Hughes, are occupied by the Chinese delegates, namely, Dr. Chang Hui Wang, Dr. Wellington Koo, and Minister Alfred Sze. The other six seats are filled by two delegates from Portugal, two from Holland, and two from Belgium. Within the hollow table are stenographers and translators. Banked outside of the official table are hundreds of advisers of various ranks and nationalities, with one side devoted to the press of all nations, and with seats in the galleries reserved for members of Congress and other favored visitors]

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 1

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The  
Conference  
Wins Approval*

The Washington Conference, in order that its value may be justly appraised, should be considered in its entirety. There must be taken into account (1) the circumstances under which the Conference was convened, (2) the particular questions which were considered, (3) the specific settlements that have resulted, and (4) the broader bearings both of the methods employed and of the decisions reached. Considering the magnitude of the issues presented and the diversity of interests that had to be harmonized, the work of the Conference has moved with a rapidity that was wholly unexpected in any quarter previous to the actual opening of the sessions on November 12. If one should start from idealistic premises and consider the net results of the Conference as expressed in definite agreements, it would be possible to regard the outcome as disappointing. As compared with the nominal plans and specifications of a paper constitution for the ending of all war and for the government of the world, the agreements of the Washington Conference might seem to be meager and rather unsatisfactory. On the other hand, there were many practical persons who were not expecting anything excepting some temporary restriction of naval expenditure for the slight relief of taxpayers. These skeptics have been surprised, and are now quite enthusiastic. They declare the Conference a notable success.

*Doubters  
Are Now  
Converted*

So greatly, indeed, have the achievements of the Conference exceeded all the expectations of these critical and experienced observers that they are perhaps in danger of being unduly enthusiastic over it. Many of them are applauding it as having pointed out true paths that may lead to a world of peace and order, thus saving the remnants of our civilization,

and opening before the twentieth century a good prospect for the rebuilding of a devastated world. It would seem as if the hard-headed realists—the diplomatists, politicians, military men, and seasoned journalists—had become generous, sentimental, and hopeful in the friendly atmosphere of this Conference, while those who have been accounted the apostles of internationalism have shown a slight tendency to be fault-finding and unhappy. The truth is that both realists and idealists have earned the right to claim shares in the achievements of the Conference. The methods have been those of the realist, and the Conference has taken every step carefully and upon solid, ascertainable ground. But if the methods are those of diplomacy and of practical negotiation, the atmosphere has been that of human brotherhood; and, in its wider and deeper interpretations, the work of the Conference has been wholly in accord with the aims of the idealists.

*Curbing Sea  
Power: Theory  
and Practice*

For example, the idealists say, with obvious truth, that naval warfare ought to cease altogether, that competing navies are absurd as well as dangerous, and that the common seas ought to be protected for the proper use and service of mankind by a maritime force of international character, with battleships totally abolished, and (of course) with such devices as submarines rendered wholly unnecessary. Proposals that the high seas ought to be neutralized and that they ought to be protected through some common arrangement are so reasonable, when considered as a matter of theory or of doctrine, that not very many people nowadays would care to argue otherwise. If, indeed, our Government had demanded in advance the acceptance of this doctrine as a part of the price of our naval services to the Allies and of our shipbuilding efforts of 1918, there

could have been no possible denial of so reasonable a proposal. We should have seen not merely the sinking of the surrendered German battleships, but a subsequent scrapping of all navies, with the retention of a sufficient number of destroyers to constitute an international maritime police. We did not, however, propose the "freedom of the seas" doctrine until it was too late to insist upon it; and, although from some points of view it was the most practical and important of all the Fourteen Points, we were obliged to withdraw it in order to secure an armistice otherwise based upon American principles.

*Conflicting  
Naval Policies  
After the War*

What could have been done for naval disarmament quite easily in the early part of 1918, could not be done in November of that year; and much less could it be done in the peace-making Conference at Paris. President Wilson came home with a fixed determination that if the United States was not to promote the cause of disarmament and peace through the mutual guarantees of a League of Nations, we would have to proceed to support our principles, as well as to defend our interests, by creating as rapidly as possible a navy that should be not merely *one* of the strongest, but decidedly the most powerful in the world. This demand of the Wilson Administration upon Congress and the country was made at a time when the British Government was proclaiming, with equal earnestness and determination, the continued and permanent policy of supremacy for the British fleet. Up to that time, the British Government had not wavered in its purpose to build ships in maintenance of its two-power policy. That is to say, the British navy must either be twice as powerful as the navy next in rank, or else at least as powerful as the second and third navies combined.

*Japan Aimed  
to Control  
Pacific*

The Japanese, furthermore—having by virtue of circumstances been enabled to increase their financial resources, their military and naval power, and their hold upon Eastern Asia during the war period—were now entering upon a policy of naval expansion that was intended to make them decidedly stronger in the Pacific (taking into account their strategic locations) than any other power. Their naval strength would probably in the future have been concentrated in a type of marine monster beyond the present

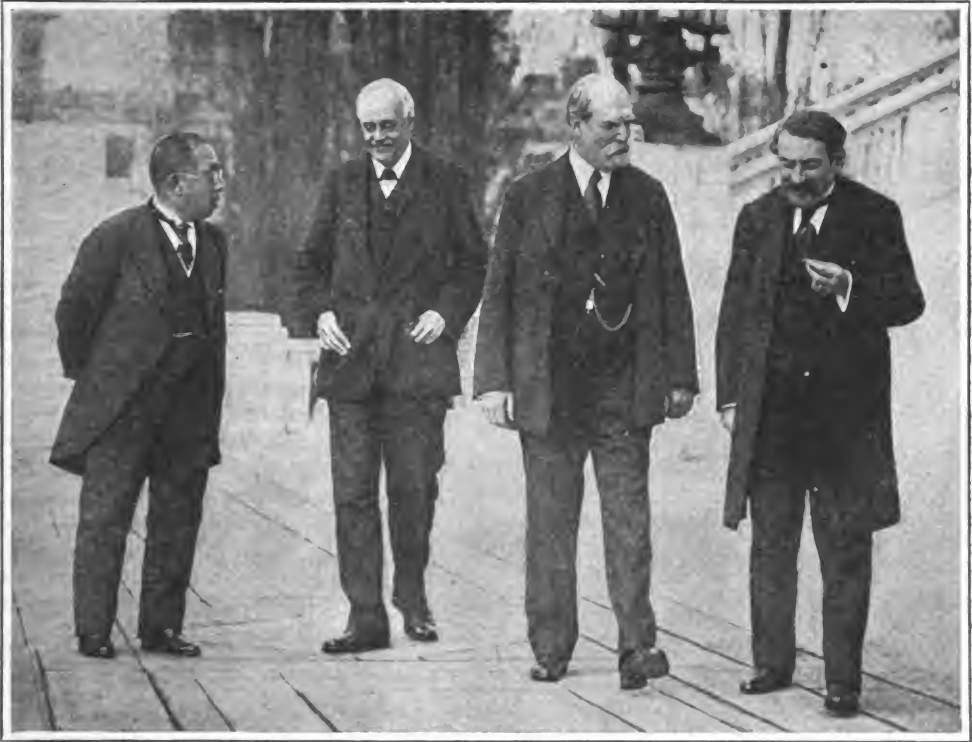
capacity of the Panama Canal, so that the United States would not have been able in case of trouble to bring super-dreadnoughts from the Atlantic Fleet to the aid our ships in the Pacific. British interests in Asia were so complicated that the Japanese felt secure in the belief that Great Britain would be obliged to renew the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. While this alliance would probably not have brought the British fleet into direct action against the United States if we had been engaged in war with Japan, it was evident enough that, with the alliance maintained and renewed, the danger of strife in the Pacific would be increased rather than diminished—unless, indeed, the United States should practically abandon what had hitherto been regarded as American interests and American responsibilities in the Pacific and Far East.

*Competition  
as  
Proposed*

Such were the situations that our Government was facing last year; and Secretary Daniels, with President Wilson's approval, did not hesitate to ask Congress to support a ship-building program that would in due time have made the American navy stronger than the British, while leaving Japan far in the rear. It was admitted everywhere that, in a competition for naval prestige and power, the United States was foremost in command of money, materials, shipyards, and labor, and could soon take first rank. All other interested governments were anxiously studying the signs at Washington to see if the proposed naval policy would have Republican as well as Democratic support. It soon became apparent that foreign policy as directed by President Harding and Secretary Hughes was of a most friendly and pacific quality, but that it was even more firm and more definite than had been the foreign policies of the Wilson Administration during its last year. The Republican Administration was very anxious to reduce public expenditures. It had no desire to participate in a competitive armament race. It was willing, however, to spend as much money as might be found necessary to defend the peace of the United States and to protect American interests.

*The Two  
American  
Alternatives*

The Republican Administration saw only two ways to keep the United States secure from being dragged into war. One was an international agreement to stop competitive arming, while also providing for settling questions



THE HEADS OF THE FOUR PRINCIPAL DELEGATIONS AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

(From left to right are: Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, of Japan; Rt. Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, of Great Britain; the American Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes; and M. Aristide Briand, Premier of France)

in dispute; and the other was to make such abundant preparation in advance that no nation under any pretext would involve itself in war with us without having been willing to try all possible methods of peaceful settlement of disputes. It is necessary to have in mind these considerations in order to understand the difficulties and dangers that confronted governments when President Harding invited Great Britain and Japan to study the international problems of the Far East and the Pacific. It was a happy decision at Washington to give the Conference a broader character by inviting France and Italy to participate, with China as vitally concerned, and with Holland and Belgium not merely as having colonial interests, but also as representing highly civilized members of the family of nations not engaged in naval competition and deeply interested in peace by agreement.

Fixing  
Naval  
Ratios

As stated in our pages last month, and as is well known to all our readers, Mr. Hughes opened the Conference with a definite proposal that the United States, Great Britain,

and Japan stop their current building of battleships and reduce their navies in such a way that fixed ratios might be established. It is evident that such a plan must involve an immense number of technical considerations, and these will form topics for future discussion. The great point of the Hughes proposal was that *competition* should cease, and that, as regards the larger classes of ships, navies should not expand during the coming ten years beyond the maximum tonnage agreed upon. Concerning ratios, the thing proposed was that England and the United States should aim at an equality with one another in sea power, with the Japanese navy equal to 60 per cent. of the American or the British. It was proposed to reduce the American tonnage of so-called "capital" ships to 500,000 tons, the British ultimately to the same maximum, and the Japanese to 300,000. So much discussion was raised by the Japanese, who until very recently had possessed a quite inferior navy, that there was comparatively little comment upon what in the long run will be seen as the most important of all the decisions made at this conference, namely, that of the British

Government in admitting the principle of equality with the United States.

*Britain's  
Historic  
Renunciation*

There are times when to yield is to conquer. Judged by the highest tests of statesmanship and diplomacy, Great Britain won enduring praise for herself, and made an almost measureless contribution to the future harmonizing of the world, when she abandoned the position she has held since the days of Queen Elizabeth, and cordially adopted the proposal that the American navy should be as strong as the British. The people of the British Islands, and those of the British Dominions, have made no mistake in accepting this profound change in their naval policy. Mr. Balfour, as head of the British delegation, in endorsing the Hughes program at the second open session of the Conference, painted an eloquent picture of the British Empire, with its dependence upon ocean transportation and its defensive needs. It is a high order of statesmanship that is able to look all the facts in the face and to make a decision that might seem to involve a sacrifice, whether of power or of prestige. As a matter of fact, this decision will bring to the British people and their associated countries a succession of substantial benefits.

*America and  
Britain  
in Accord*

Where competition ends, co-operation almost inevitably begins. If Secretary Hughes had proclaimed the end of naval warfare and the internationalization of the high seas, he would have been regarded as a visionary and a doctrinaire, and he would have failed. The burden of naval supremacy was too great henceforth for the British, and it

would have been in many ways most unfortunate for us if we had felt ourselves compelled to assume that burden. However, for the American and British governments to accept the principle of naval equality is equivalent to declaring before the whole world that Great Britain and the United States, in further development of the principles of 1814, are not going to make war upon one another, either in the present century, nor in those to follow. Gradually this Anglo-American accord will be made the basis of an association for the regulation of maritime affairs, with a still further limitation of naval armaments. The United States abandoned a prospective position of naval leadership, and the British in turn abandoned an actual leadership, having behind it the tradition and the experience of centuries.

*British Sentiment  
Almost  
Unanimous*

The British Government, fully supporting its delegates at Washington, acted in accordance with the clear sentiment of the British people, as expressed in many ways, notably through the brilliant work of the Conference correspondents of British newspapers, and through the strong endorsement of British editors at home, regardless of political partisanship. At no other point had British national opinion been so sensitive as at this one point of naval policy. To accept wholeheartedly the doctrine that Uncle Sam's navy is to be as strong as John Bull's navy is for the British people to say that the fundamental dogma in their new creed is that of harmony and coöperation with the people of the United States. They believe that the American people will be just, generous and gallant in all real emergencies. There is no intention whatever on the part of either of these two governments to try to get the better of the other in the development of new forms of naval equipment. It may be true that battleships are becoming obsolete, and that vessels equipped to carry bombing airplanes are to be regarded by the technical authorities as henceforth more important. But neither of the two governments has any notion of taking advantage of the other through the development of new kinds of machinery for wielding sea power. Their intentions are pacific and coöperative. They will unite to make naval holidays permanent.



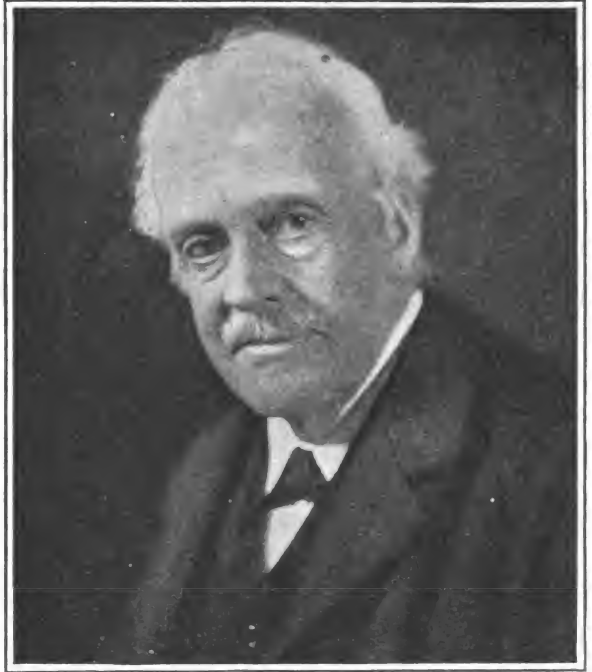
THE SHIPS TO BUILD—AND THE SHIPS TO SCRAP  
From *Reynold's Newspaper* (London, England)

*Japanese  
and  
Other Navies*

When Japan began to build her modern navy, China had war vessels and Russia was a formidable naval power. Japan successively destroyed the Chinese and Russian fleets. Germany began to emerge rapidly as a great naval power, laid hold upon a Chinese port and a Chinese province, acquired various islands in the Pacific, and developed a great competitive commerce in the Far East. The German fleet disappeared in consequence of the union of British, American, and Japanese naval activities, cooperating with the combined land power of the Allies and the United States. It would be madness for Japan to try to build up naval power in avowed competition either with the United States or Great Britain. Such percentage as the Washington Conference assigns to Japan is more than ample, in view of the fact that Russia, Germany, and China have totally disappeared as naval powers and have no land forces in the Far East that give Japan any concern whatsoever. It would seem logical that France and Italy should arrive at some agreement about their respective navies in order that they may not waste money that is needed by them for other purposes, and also in order that no irritation may arise from a tendency to competition in the Mediterranean. There are no other navies large enough to demand international consideration at the present time. It may be possible within twenty years to arrive at a plan of naval accord under which all commercial and maritime powers will make proportionate monetary contributions toward the support of the coöperative world fleet, with the ratios of the Washington Conference as a starting point.

*Japan Was  
Following a  
Great Example*

Whatever facts might have justified the conduct of the British Government in that period when it was forming its pre-war ententes and alliances, it had become the opinion of the on-looking world that there was no remaining excuse for perpetuating the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Japan as a world power is a very young country, and it has been hard for its imperialistic leaders to place restraints upon their ambitions. Viewed historically,



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RT. HON. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, HEAD OF THE BRITISH DELEGATION AT WASHINGTON AND NOW ONE OF THE RECOGNIZED LEADERS OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD

(Mr. Balfour's spirit of coöperation in the Washington Conference has aided not only in producing cordial understandings between America and the British Empire, but also in finding workable compromises for many of the disputes of the Pacific and the Far East)

the British Empire, with its correlated supremacies in naval power and in merchant shipping, has been created through the seizing, from time to time, of opportunities due to the weakness or the misfortunes of other powers. It is not strange that Japan, an island power, lying in the Pacific off the coasts of Asia, should have studied the history of British expansion, and should have arrived at the conclusion that with a permanent alliance these two insular empires could permanently dominate all the oceans for commercial leadership as well as for imperial dominion. With Russia prostrate, with the Chinese Government inert and helpless, while Asiatic peoples all the way from the Bosphorus to the Indian Ocean were in political ferment, there seemed to the imperialists of Japan an unprecedented opportunity to extend Japanese authority.

*Why Japan  
Clung to the  
Alliance*

It was the opinion of these Japanese leaders that the Alliance with Great Britain amounted virtually to a license (beyond any danger of



challenge) to rule the Pacific by naval power and to dominate Siberia, Manchuria, and China by combined land and sea forces. Certain British imperialists on their part had been saying that they must renew the alliance, if Japan so desired, as a matter of politeness. This of course was a diplomatic way of saying that they believed that there were more advantages for Britain in a combination with Japan for world control than in an agreement with the United States for fair play and coöperation all around. Obviously, the United States could not explicitly demand that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance be terminated. Neither could the United States undertake to build a navy that should be greater than the combined fleets of Great Britain and Japan. The time had come for understandings all around; and fortunately the best sentiment of Australia and Canada took the American view, and discovered that public opinion in Great Britain was moving in that direction.

*Japan Enters  
a Larger  
Combination*

In order that the British Government should withdraw from the Japanese Alliance without exasperating Japan, it was necessary to create good feeling in that country. This has been to a large extent accomplished at Washington. And so it came to pass that the Alliance was expressly terminated by one of the clauses in a new agreement, known as the Four-Power Treaty and signed at Washington December 13. The parties to this agreement are the United States, Great Britain, Japan and France. In his important article in the present number of this REVIEW, explaining the work of the Conference, Mr. Simonds deals thoroughly with this agreement for maintaining peace in the Pacific. If any question arises that is likely to disturb harmony among these powers, in relation to their insular possessions or other interests of any kind in the Pacific, they agree to come together in fresh conference, to consider the controversy and to adjust it. In a similar way, if disputes arise through the aggression of any other power not a party to the treaty, the four governments agree to hold a conference and determine upon the best way to meet the exigencies of the particular situation. The agreement is to remain in force for ten years, and beyond that period it will continue unless a year's notice is given by any member that it wishes to withdraw. France was glad to be included in any compact that recognizes guarantees for security.

*A Treaty  
of Great  
Promise*

This treaty might appear to the superficial reader or the casual student of international affairs to be rather vague and indefinite. It is, however, pronounced by the Japanese Premier, Baron Takahashi, as the "grandest contribution to the cause of peace ever recorded in history." It rests upon a basis of confidence and good will, and its implications are altogether those of mutual respect, of good faith all around, and of friendly coöperation. It is obvious that the powers most immediately concerned are three rather than four. Yet there was much felicity in adding France to the list; and the treaty from every standpoint is stronger for this inclusion. France represents the general interest of Europe in the Pacific; moreover, in case of a difference to be adjusted by conference, the presence of France would be especially helpful. This treaty moves in the right direction, by safe and practical methods.

*An  
Agreement  
About Yap*

Our readers will remember the State Department notes on American rights in regions assigned under "mandates" by the Versailles Treaty. It was held by Secretary Colby that the United States had lost no substantial rights through its failure to accept membership in the League of Nations; and this opinion was still more fully developed by Secretary Hughes in his note on American rights in Mesopotamia and in his discussion with Japan of American cable rights in the Pacific island of Yap. The negotiations about Yap



DISSOLVING THE PARTNERSHIP  
From the *World* (New York)

and the Japanese mandate over former German islands north of the Equator resulted last month in a definite treaty between the United States and Japan, which was made public in association with the Four-Power agreement. Japan accords to the United States all that our Government has claimed as regards the use of Yap for cable and radio purposes, while the United States in turn recognizes the mandate of Japan over the former German islands north of the Equator. The treaty confirms to American missionaries and educators the rights they had long exercised in many of these islands. The agreement ends what had been a rather serious controversy, in a way that secures American rights and interests, while fully recognizing everything that the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations have accorded to Japan as exercising sovereignty over the islands in question. It was understood that, either with or without a definite agreement in treaty form, the United States would be accorded full equality with other nations in those islands south of the Equator that were assigned at Paris to the British Empire.

*China's  
Claims at  
Washington*

As these pages were written, the work of the Conference in its more fundamental objects was completed and was successful. It is within bounds to express the view that no article has been written which more clearly sets forth those principal objects and successful results than the contribution which Mr. Simonds makes to our pages this month. There had not been completed, in time for final statement or discussion here, certain settlements affecting China. Nevertheless it was known that the Shantung question, which meant more to the Chinese than anything else, was about to be adjusted by mutual agreement with something like a complete withdrawal on the part of Japan. Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour were lending their good offices to the Japanese and Chinese delegates in order that the Washington Conference might not end with Shantung questions still in controversy. The Japanese were not to withdraw wholly from Manchuria, yet China's sovereignty was acknowledged and limits placed upon the activities of foreign governments. Numerous claims involving national dignity, as asserted by the Chinese delegates, were admitted as just in principle by the entire Conference. These included the withdrawal of foreign



MISS WASHINGTON OPENS THE DOOR AND LETS  
AIR IN FOR THE INVALID  
From the *Evening Times* (Glasgow, Scotland)

post offices from Chinese territory, the ultimate freedom of China to control and administer her customs duties, the withdrawal from China of foreign troops and police forces, and the abolition of foreign courts of justice. These changes cannot be made in a moment, for the simple reason that China is in a state of governmental chaos and unable to give proper guarantees. China has been brilliantly represented at the Conference, and everything that was practically possible has been done to secure proper consideration for Chinese demands and claims. China's one paramount task is that of building up a modern government, capable of exercising internal authority and of meeting external responsibilities.

*Influences  
Shaping  
Results*

The atmosphere of the Conference has been created not merely by the handful of principal delegates, but by the much larger gathering at Washington, including the correspondents of newspapers. This atmosphere was enlivened constantly by currents of public opinion from all the countries that were principally affected. Thus the students' riots in China had a marked bearing upon the handling of the Shantung question in Washington. Certain happenings in Italy, following a misstatement in the press bearing upon Franco-Italian relations, showed the sensitiveness



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HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

(Mr. Lodge is chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and leader of the Republican majority. As one of the four American delegates in the Armament Conference, the task was assigned to Mr. Lodge of presenting the Four-Power Treaty. His speech on that occasion was one of notable excellence)

with which Western Europe was following the Conference discussions. Popular feeling in Japan about the great superdreadnought *Mutsu* had to be reckoned with at Washington in finally adjusting the details of the 5-5-3 program. The announcement of the treaty between the Sinn Fein delegates and Mr. Lloyd George over the status of Ireland visibly strengthened the hands of those who were guiding the Conference at Washington toward a successful conclusion.

"Mirrors"  
of the  
Conference

We are fortunate in being able to follow Mr. Simonds' clear and logical analysis of the Conference and its work, with a similarly noteworthy picture of the Conference, though more intimate and personal. The anonymous journalist whose recent volume entitled "The Mirrors of Washington" has stimulated so much curiosity and has been so widely read gives us an account of the Conference on its human side. This article characterizes some of the leading figures at Washington with a touch of wit and a flash of humor. It is wholly candid and highly readable; but it is a thoroughly sound and responsible study of the new forces of inter-

national public opinion as they have begun to find ways to accomplish results. The manner in which the beneficent power of the press may be marshalled for helping to secure world harmony—as against that malignant tendency in nationalistic newspaperdom to play upon prejudice and to make false appeals to patriotism—is admirably shown in this article by one of the keenest of American political observers and one of the most brilliant of contemporary journalists.

Will the  
Senate  
Ratify?

Undoubtedly the forces of enlightened opinion in every country which has been represented at Washington are lending support to the work that has been done. Ratification of the agreements of the Conference ought to be prompt and virtually unanimous. An attempt on the part of Democratic Senators to obtrude partisanship into the debate on ratification of the Four-Power Treaty would be reprehensible in a high degree. Every Senator is entitled to his own opinions, and is solely responsible for his vote. And every Senator must take the course that seems to him best. But these efforts to avert war and to secure international accord do not come properly within the range of American party politics. Fortunately, the work of the Conference has been so open, and has been so fully presented to the country, that it would be impossible for any man in the



THE JAPANESE OLIVER TWIST  
From the *Central Press Ass'n.* (Cleveland, Ohio)

United States Senate to contribute anything essential to the public discussion by merely prolonging the debate and holding up the final vote upon endorsement. It does not appear that very many Senators will vote against ratification; and it is already permissible to express the opinion that those who feel it their duty to oppose the "Four-Power Treaty" are not acting in a partisan spirit, but are following their own convictions, which lead them to condemn our joining in international agreements.

*Lloyd George's  
Greatest  
Achievement*

The British Prime Minister would have been a welcome figure at the Conference; but as our anonymous contributor so well explains, Mr. Balfour has headed the British group in a manner that has crowned his long public career with especial honor and distinction. As was to have been expected, the British were more in evidence than any other element at Washington, and they contributed greatly to the decisions and adjustments that were so skilfully made under the masterful leadership of Secretary Hughes. The British Government was in constant touch with affairs at Washington, and meanwhile Mr. Lloyd George was lending more help to the Conference by virtue of the occupations which kept him at home than he could have rendered by his presence in this country. To have settled the Irish controversy was to have served all mankind. The differences between Great Britain and Ireland had an international character from the Irish standpoint, just as the differences between the United States and the seceding South had an international character from the standpoint of the Government of Jefferson Davis at Richmond. The Washington Government insisted that Europe ought to see nothing but a domestic insurrection, and ought not to give the Confederacy the status of belligerency in international law. Yet Europe insisted upon viewing the American war as having an international aspect.

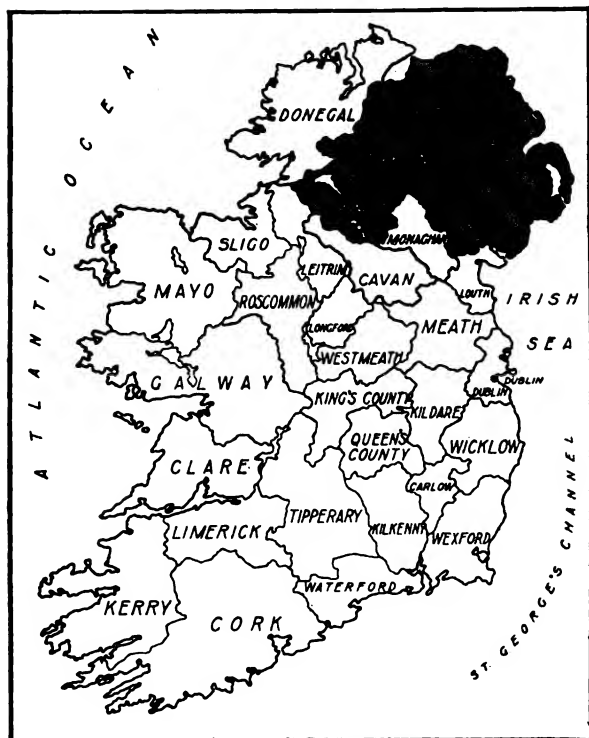
*Avoiding a  
New War  
of Conquest*

Great Britain had for a long time insisted that the problem of Irish Home Rule was merely that of adjusting local institutions, as subordinate to British sovereignty and authority. But the Irish leaders had so stubbornly insisted upon their view of Ireland as a distinct nation that it had become necessary either to show some respect for this doctrine of Irish self-determination or else to fight Ireland in

open warfare to the point of unconditional surrender, exactly as our Civil War was fought out and as Great Britain fought the Boers to a standstill. After the surrender of Lee's army, with an unhappy period of transitional mismanagement, the South was restored to its true place in the Union. In like manner, after the crushing of the little Boer Republics, there came about a reconstruction of South Africa which gave the Boers not only everything they could have desired in their own continent, but also a large position in the affairs of the British Empire and of the world. It does not follow that the American war was a fortunate circumstance for this country, or that the Boer War was a creditable episode in the development of the British Empire. If leadership had been wiser, both wars might have been averted. It was the business of English and Irish leaders, studying the lessons of history, to avoid a war, and to find a way not merely to make life as neighbors endurable, but to make it mutually advantageous.

*"The Irish  
Free State"  
Announced*

An agreement was reached between the British and Irish leaders in conference at London, on December 6, very largely because King George and the British Prime Minister took a broad and generous view of Ireland's claim to be treated as a nation. "The two Georges" decided to rely upon the good faith and good sense of the Irish people, rather than upon military or political coercion. Great Britain's delegation at Washington was entering upon the great adventure of trusting the American people and of coöperating with them on equal terms in exercising the responsibilities of naval power. In somewhat analogous fashion, the heads of the British ministry at home, with the hearty approval of King George, were deciding to give the Irish people full liberty to set up their Irish Free State, and to take their place in the world as a trusted associate of Great Britain. The realist in politics and economics knows that Ireland has more need of Great Britain as a good neighbor than Great Britain has of Ireland. But the sense of acting freely helps those who live side by side to be the more friendly and valuable as neighbors. Mr. P. W. Wilson, whose knowledge of the Irish situation is based upon long and intimate study of it in all phases, writes for us this month a very timely article on the nature of the momentous treaty between the Sinn



THE COUNTIES OF IRELAND

(The four shaded ones and the two black ones constitute the six counties which at present belong to the so-called Ulster Government with seat at Belfast. If Ulster remains aloof from the new Irish Free State, a commission will have to report upon the question whether counties Tyrone and Fermanagh should be detached from the Ulster Government and added to that of the Irish Free State)

Fein leaders and the British Government, under which it was proposed last month to set up the Irish Free State.

*The Fate  
of the  
Treaty*

King George opened a special session of the Parliament at Westminster on December 14, for the sole business of dealing with the proposed agreement. The King expressed the earnest hope that the strife of centuries might be ended and "that Ireland, as a free partner in the Commonwealth of Nations forming the British Empire, will secure fulfillment of her national ideals." It was well known that Parliament would support the agreement by an overwhelming majority. Mr. Lloyd George, in his opening speech, was able to show that not only the British Dominions but the friendly governments of all the world had sent congratulations and expressed distinct approval. The real fight over ratification was, therefore, not in Great Britain, although the British Government had made concessions which at any previous time during the past five hundred years

would have been regarded as impossible. Mr. De Valera, the nominal President of the Irish Republic, had not conducted the negotiations at Westminster, but had sent Mr. Arthur Griffith, Mr. Michael Collins, and other members of the Irish Sinn Fein Government, while he remained in Dublin. To the surprise of almost everybody, Mr. De Valera refused to accept the agreement and undertook to lead a movement for its rejection by the Dail Eireann, the name by which the legislative body of the Sinn Fein Government is known in Ireland.

*Extremists  
Making a  
Final Stand*

It was fully admitted by the Irish negotiators that the treaty was not binding unless ratified by the Dail Eireann. But Mr. De Valera, who is so unfortunate as to have a metaphysical rather than a political mentality, obstructed proceedings on December 14 by holding that the negotiators had no right to sign the treaty which they had been empowered to negotiate until the signing itself had been submitted to the Assembly at Dublin. This interposition of an absurd quibble carried the open discussion of the agreement itself

over until a later day. The sentiment of the Irish people, as expressed through their newspapers and through their religious and political leaders in general, had been overwhelmingly in favor of accepting an agreement which all the world regarded as more favorable than anything that Ireland had reason to expect. It was not surprising that the Ulster extremists, led by Sir James Craig, should attack Mr. Lloyd George and the King himself as having sacrificed Belfast and the adjacent counties in which separatist views predominate. But, with De Valera and Craig both in opposition to the treaty, there was a good chance for moderate and sensible men to lay aside their differences and to come together for a harmonious Ireland. Thus obstruction from certain elements in both parts of Ireland, as well as from a certain "die-hard" Tory element in England, was to have been taken for granted. But it was also the general opinion that the treaty would be ratified at Dublin soon after its acceptance at Westminster, and that Ulster would ultimately see a new light and

take its proper and influential part in the government of a united Ireland. At Westminster, the leaders of all parties strongly supported Mr. Lloyd George. After several days of stormy debating at Dublin, the Dail Eireann postponed final vote till early in January. In the north the two doubtful counties were asserting themselves against Belfast. Lord Carson and Sir James Craig were hearing from a disapproving empire.

*Justifying  
the  
Great Sacrifice*

It is evident to all thoughtful minds that the Irish agreement and the Washington Conference results, taken together, have constituted the most hopeful achievements in the sphere of public relationships that have occurred since the acceptance of the armistice and the ending of the Great War on November 11, 1918. To some extent at least the war was consciously fought and won for the sake of our best ideals of liberty and ordered justice. We best honor those who died and those who suffered in the war when we proceed, step by step, to rebuild the world on generous and fraternal principles. There are many grave problems yet to be solved. Some of them at least may be approached the more hopefully because of the Irish settlement and the Washington agreements. The economic dismemberment of Europe is almost as destructive as was the war itself. There will have to be conferences of one kind or another to agree upon plans for economic readjustment. When such plans can be made and brought into operation there will be rapid disappearance of the misery now existing by reason of famine and unemployment in large portions of Europe and western Asia.

*"Continuance  
in  
Well-Doing"*

Until that time comes, there can be no mistake in yielding to those impulses of pity and of kindness which have inspired all American measures hitherto for aid in regions of distress. We are publishing in this number of the REVIEW an article on the conditions in the Near East which require the further support of that noble agency, the Near East Relief. We are also presenting articles on affairs in Serbia, with some account of the admirable and successful work for the children of Serbia that is carried on under the auspices of the Serbian Child Welfare Association. We are assured by Mr. Hoover, with ample corroboration from various sources, that the American work for relief in the famine districts of Russia is not suffering obstruction

from the Bolshevik authorities; and that the supplies for suffering children are going directly to those for whom they are intended. A better investment from the standpoint of future good-will among nations could not be made than that which would be represented by an increasing American effort to succor the women and children in the famine-stricken provinces of the Volga region who are now in the midst of a winter of privation.

*President  
Harding and  
Russian Relief*

In his message to Congress, delivered on December 6, President Harding described the conditions existing in the valley of the Volga, and praised the voluntary agencies that are exerting themselves to save the lives of children in this area; but he advocated larger measures, earnestly recommending the "appropriation necessary to supply the American Relief Administration with 10,000,000 bushels of corn and 1,000,000 bushels of seed grain, not alone to halt the wave of death through starvation, but to enable spring planting in areas where the seed grains have been exhausted temporarily to stem starvation." The President declared that he was not unaware that we have suffering and privation at home. But, he added, "It seems to me we should be indifferent to our own heart promptings, and out of accord with the spirit which acclaims the Christmastide, if we do not give out of our national abundance to lighten this burden of woe upon a people blameless and helpless in famine's peril."



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THE SILVER LINING

From the *Evening World* (New York)

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*Congress  
and its  
Sessions*

If the average woman voter finds it difficult to keep in mind the arbitrary dates and the curious overlappings of our double system of Presidential and Congressional government, she should find some consolation in knowing that the average male voter is also likely to become confused at times. Thus the Congress which was elected with President Harding in the Republican sweep of November, 1920, entered upon its first regular session as required by the Constitution on the first Monday of December, 1921, some thirteen months after its election. The preceding Congress ended its work on the fourth of March, when President Harding was inaugurated. But soon after the Administration began its term of service last spring, Mr. Harding called the new Congress together to meet in extraordinary session. It is this "extra" session which finished its work on November 23, the members giving themselves a breathing spell until Monday, December 5, when they reconvened for their first regular session, with a long stretch of work lying ahead. Mr. Gillett of Massachusetts continues as Speaker of the House.

*Work of  
the Recent  
Session*

The extra session was called for the principal purpose of dealing with tariff and taxation. After much struggling over the Fordney Tariff bill, Congress reached the wise conclusion that world trade was in too chaotic a condition for the immediate enactment of a completely revised system of customs duties. Early in the extra session there had been enacted a so-called emergency tariff measure, which related particularly to agricultural conditions, but which also had some provisions of a general kind; for example, those intended to protect the industries of this country against what is called "dumping." The great effort of the session was to enact a revised measure of federal taxation, and this was duly accomplished. In later paragraphs we are explaining the principal changes that have been wrought by this new tax law. This extra session is also to be credited with giving effect to the improved method of dealing with expenditures that looks at the Government's business as a whole, and that is known as the budget system. To this matter also we are reverting on another page. The country has evidently smiled with warm approval upon the Harding Administration, while it has refrained from showing enthusiasm for the

Republican Congress that was elected along with Mr. Harding.

*Not So  
Bad as  
Painted*

Yet the Republican leader, Mr. Mondell, in the closing hour on November 23, was probably right in declaring that the session had been one of the most diligent and important in the history of the American Congress. He referred to the substantial lightening of tax burdens, and included in his list of actual achievements the Emergency Tariff, the Budget law, the new revenue act, the peace resolution (favoring a conference), the Volstead Anti-Beer law, the Immigration Restriction act, the Veteran's Bureau act, the Farm Loan act, the Maternity law, the Packers Control law, the Good Roads appropriation of \$80,000,000, the act for the apportionment of the waters of the Colorado River, the War Finance Agricultural Loan act, the Grain Exchange Futures law, the appropriation for the Shipping Board, the Naval appropriation measure, the Army appropriation measure, the Cable Control act, and the Indian Bureau act. It was shown further than an immense amount of work had been done upon measures which will come up for completion in the regular session. Mr. Garrett of Tennessee, the acting minority leader, analyzed Mr. Mondell's record of achievements in order to show that most of the important work of the session had been non-partisan, and had grown largely out of previous study and effort. This, however, is all to the good. American citizens cannot be too often reminded that in the real work of governing the country and making its laws, partisanship has a very minor place. If the Republican leaders were able to build upon the good work that had been done under Democratic leadership in a former period, so much the better for all concerned. The simple fact is that the work of Congress has been overshadowed by the Peace Conference and has not had sufficient prominence in the newspapers. Neither has it had that regular and continuous interpretation that would be desirable.

*The President  
Delivers His  
Message*

The President transmitted the Budget to Congress on December 5, with an accompanying message. On December 6 Mr. Harding appeared in person and delivered his annual message before the two Houses meeting in joint session. There were many distinguished visitors present, including delegates attending



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THE SENATE AND HOUSE JOINT COMMITTEE LEAVING THE WHITE HOUSE AFTER NOTIFYING PRESIDENT HARDING ON DECEMBER 5 THAT THE SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS HAD MET IN REGULAR SESSION

(From left to right: Mr. Rodgers, House Sergeant-at-Arms; Representatives Madden, Garrett, and Mondell; Senators Lodge and Hitchcock, and Senate Sergeant-at-Arms Barry. Mr. Garrett, of Tennessee, has been acting as leader of the Democratic minority in the House, and Senator Hitchcock is leading the minority in the Senate. Mr. Mondell is the Republican floor leader, and Mr. Madden is one of the foremost members of the House)

the Armament Conference. The message began with generous and sympathetic references to existing conditions at home and abroad. The spirit of coöperation with Congress, as expressed in the message, was both tactful and wise.

*Merchant  
Marine  
Policy*

The first concrete topic in the message referred to the merchant marine act of 1920, in which President Wilson was directed to give notice of the termination of all existing commercial treaties in order to admit of reduced duties on imports carried in American ships. Mr. Wilson did not find it practicable to comply with this direction; and Mr. Harding, after due study of the subject, has concluded that there ought to be further delay in this matter in order to permit the presentation to Congress of a different method by which to encourage our merchant marine. We are now aware that this better method, openly advocated by Mr. Lasker, head of the Shipping Board, is to be that of direct compensation, or of subsidies. Mr. Harding declared that "the American intention to establish a merchant marine is so unalterable that a plan of reimbursement at no other cost than is contemplated in the existing act will appeal to the pride and encourage the hope of all American people." Merchant marine, then, is Mr. Harding's first topic.

*An  
Elastic  
Tariff*

Next comes the tariff measure. Mr. Harding urges "an early completion of this necessary legislation." He declares that "it is needed to stabilize our industry at home. It is essential to make more definite our trade relations abroad. More, it is vital to the preservation of many of our own industries which contribute so notably to the very lifeblood of our nation." In finely balanced phrases President Harding disclaims any desire to have a tariff system that would ignore economic conditions abroad or destroy our foreign trade. But he holds firmly to the view that we must maintain our own stability, and that we shall not help to build up European prosperity by submitting to a sacrifice of our own. He advises a more flexible tariff policy than we have ever had before, and proposes "the extension of the powers of the Tariff Commission, so that it can adapt itself to a scientific and wholly just administration of the law." Mr. Harding discusses the problem of American valuation with entire frankness. He sees that it might result in making the tariff prohibitive in certain instances where imports ought to be encouraged. He intimates that American valuation might be made to apply to some commodities and not to others. He holds that frequent adjustment of rates and of tariff methods will be necessary for years to

come. He believes that it might be possible to use the Tariff Commission in such a way as to make these frequent changes entirely feasible.

*Farms  
and  
Homes*

The next topic taken up by President Harding is that of the condition of American agriculture. He realizes the need of prosperity among the farmers and calls attention to the present burdens due to depressed prices. He makes a bold plea for the principles and methods of agricultural coöperation. Following this advocacy of coöperative marketing are some notably wise reflections upon the danger of over-concentration in our industries and of the undue growth of our cities. The attention of Congress is invited to the need of a general policy of railroad transportation that will help industry to find a better distribution, with aid to road-building that will "encourage the spread of our population and restore the proper balance between city and country." There follows a discussion of the relations of labor and capital that is in harmony with the best thought and effort of the present season. A presentation of the subject of the nation's public land system is remarkable for its unusual statistical information, and its indications of a new land policy. President Harding frankly supports the idea so strongly urged by the late Secretary Lane of federal aid for land development in conjunction with projects in which State and private participation are assured. We are encouraged to believe that very large sums will accrue to the federal and State governments from the further application of our existing laws which provide for leasing coal, oil and gas lands on a royalty basis, the same principle relating also to deposits of phosphates and other minerals on the public domain.

*Reports of  
Cabinet  
Officers*

The annual reports of department heads were made public last month. In later paragraphs we are alluding to the recommendations of Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury. Our extended article last month from the pen of Postmaster General Hays included the more important of his current departmental facts, plans, and policies. We shall next month give particular attention to the present status of the War Department, and the plans and recommendations of Secretary Weeks. We shall also defer discussion of the report of the Secretary of Navy until next month, in view of the important changes in naval plans

and policies that must follow the sensational "scrapping" agreed upon in the 5-5-3 policy adopted by the Conference on Limitation of Armament.

*Secretary  
Hoover's  
Activities*

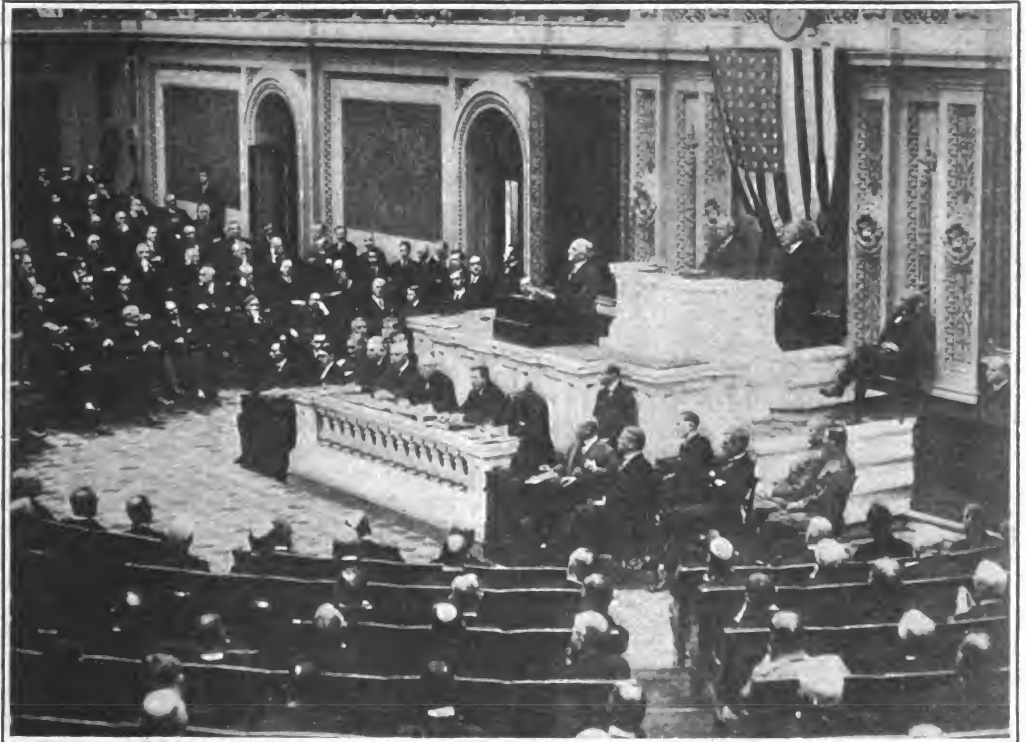
In his first report as Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hoover calls attention to the fact that he has been in office only a few months and that he has been occupied principally with problems of reorganization. It is well known that he advocates the creation of what he calls a "real department of commerce," and holds that there is necessary a thorough rearrangement and regrouping of the governmental services which relate to our foreign and domestic trade. He remarks that since these matters are now before Congress and the Administration, he will not take them up in his report. The document in a series of appendices gives account of the current activities of the Bureaus which at present are grouped under the direction of the Secretary of Commerce.

*Agriculture  
and Its  
Needs*

The Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wallace, opens his report with a very trenchant and stimulating survey, first of agricultural conditions in the United States, and second, of the work of the Agricultural Department as related to the nation's progress and prosperity in its basic industry. This review is one of the most intelligent and satisfactory discussions of our agriculture and its problems that has ever been presented. Mr. Wallace boldly declares that scientific research, in its application to farm conditions, is the principal object of the federal government in maintaining the Department. He shows convincingly how great are the services that the Department is already performing.

*"Internal"  
Progress*

The report of the Secretary of the Interior, this year as always, is a fascinating compendium of information about public lands, Indians, patents, pensions, education, geological surveys, the reclamation of lands for purposes of irrigation, the national parks, the mineral resources of the country, Alaskan affairs, current matters in Hawaii, and numerous other things which are all brought together under the jurisdiction of what Secretary Fall calls our "home" department. This yearly report, although many of its chapters are summarized in the newspapers, ought to reach millions of citizens in its unabridged



PRESIDENT HARDING DELIVERING HIS ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS AT A JOINT SESSION ON DECEMBER 6 (Our picture shows the press gallery above the platform. Many foreign delegates to the Arms Conference and other distinguished visitors attended this session)

form. Its range of interest, like that of the report of the Secretary of Agriculture, is very wide. Secretary Fall has a firm grasp, based upon long experience, of the problems that concern "the Interior" of the country.

*Facing  
the Next  
Election*

Undoubtedly the regular session of the Sixty-seventh Congress, as it resumes work after a few days of Christmas vacation, will settle down to an unbroken period of arduous labor that will not be ended with mid-summer, and that will stop very little short of the seventh day of next November, when the voters will elect members of the Sixty-eighth Congress. Most of the members of the present House will be candidates for reelection. The Republicans will try to make a good record in order to maintain their majority in the next Congress, while the Democrats will show an increasing party consciousness in view of their purpose to weaken the Republican strength, or even to regain control for themselves. The present House has 435 members. The next House must be elected under a fresh apportionment based upon the census of 1920. Under this

new population count, some States gain in Congressional representation and some States lose, the present House having decided that there must be no increase of the present aggregate membership of 435. Previous reapportionments occurring from decade to decade have resulted in successive enlargements of the total number of members. Where there is increase or decrease in a State's membership, it becomes the business of the legislatures to rearrange the Congressional districts.

*Farming  
and  
Public Policy*

While there is no serious sectional strain apparent, there is a tendency to exert the growing power of the agricultural regions of the West and South, as against the manufacturing and commercial interests of the East. This tendency has resulted in what at present is called the "Agricultural Bloc," by which is meant the semi-organized, non-partisan support in both House and Senate of measures regarded as favorable to the financial welfare of the farmers. A bill of this kind is now pending, and among other things it fully legalizes farmers' organizations for cooperative marketing. Every-



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GENERAL CHARLES G. DAWES, DIRECTOR OF THE BUDGET

(Elsewhere in this number will be found an article on the presentation of the first national budget, which had been prepared for the President by General Dawes. The director has announced that he is soon to resign his post, having inaugurated the system. Many years ago he was Comptroller of the Currency and has since become one of the leading bankers of Chicago. During the war he was in charge of purchases for our army in France, with headquarters at Paris, and was greatly relied upon by General Pershing.)

where throughout the country the farmers are realizing that their greatest weakness is not in the field of production, but in that of the sale of their products and the purchase of their supplies. Through associated activity they may take their proper place in the modern business world. Just now the dairy farmers of New York and New England are organizing on an immense scale; and an article which we are printing in this number shows how the Southern farmers are beginning to coöperate in the handling of their tobacco and cotton crops. In Kansas and other parts of the West the farmers have learned how to unite in storing and selling their wheat, while there are also great movements on foot for the better organization of the cattle-raising industry.

*Government  
and the  
People*

More and more there is centering in the policy and the work of the national Government a consideration for the welfare of the people, and for the development of our resources

through support of education, building of good roads, adjustment of railroad rates, and constructive management of the national domain. Congress has before it, moreover, the further study of the best way to relieve and help the returned soldier, while also working to diminish unemployment and to lessen the strain between capital and labor. Never before have the broad social aspects of tariff schedules in detail, and of tariff policy at large, been so prominent as they are appearing in the further discussion of the pending Fordney bill. The present Congress has also before it the very difficult problem of our immigration policy; and there are radical differences of opinion in the present House committee on immigration as to the principles that should govern the making of a law to replace the present temporary measure which assigns ratios to different foreign countries.

*The  
Dawes'  
Budget*

The new budget system for running the great business of the nation is clearly and ably explained in this issue of the REVIEW by Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay of New York. The actual figures of the estimates prepared by General Dawes as Director of the Budget, and presented at the opening of the Sixty-seventh Congress by President Harding, are specifically reassuring over and above the general satisfaction in at last having the nation's business proceeding in an orderly way. The budget shows the actual expenditures of the Government for the fiscal year 1921 and prepares estimates of receipts and expenditures for 1922 and 1923. The outstanding cheerful feature is that General Dawes confidently asserts the nation can hold down its expenses during the coming year to a little less than \$4,000,000,000, as against an actual expenditure of more than \$5,500,000,000 in 1921. The improvement is progressive and the estimate for the year 1923 is \$3,500,000,000. The receipts for 1922, as set down in this program, fail to meet the expenditures by about \$24,000,000, and in 1923 the estimated deficit is \$167,500,000; but these deficit figures should be easily dealt with through the probable saving in our naval program.

*Where  
the Savings  
Come*

In comparing these budget estimates of expenses for 1922 and 1923 with the various classes of actual expenditures for 1921, we find only two departments in which important increases

of disbursements are contemplated for the later years. The largest item is the provision for the "United States Veterans' Bureau," \$438,000,000 in 1922 and slightly more in the next year. The Department of Agriculture is scheduled to expend for good roads \$105,000,000 in 1922 and \$126,000,000 in 1923, while during the past year only \$57,000,000 was used for that purpose. With these two readily understandable exceptions, nearly all the very large items of expenses show remarkable decreases in the forecast for the next two years. The Treasury Department spent \$406,000,000 in 1921, and sets down only \$169,000,000 for each of the following two years. The War Department spent \$1,101,000,000 in the current year and is cut down to \$389,000,000 in 1922 and \$370,000,000 in 1923. The Navy Department, with an outgo of \$650,000,000 in 1921, is cut to \$479,000,000 next year and \$432,000,000 in 1923; undoubtedly as a result of agreements at the Arms Conference the actual reductions in that department will be decidedly larger than those shown in this original budget estimate. The interest on the public debt paid in the present year, \$999,000,000, will go down to \$975,000,000 for each of the following years. In the meantime, a substantial reduction in the principal of the public debt is provided for year by year, \$272,000,000 in 1922 and \$284,000,000 in 1923.

*Dealing with  
Our Foreign  
Debtors*

If the new arrangements to be made with the nations owing altogether \$11,000,000,000 to the United States result in any early receipt of interest from them or any of them, the cheerful aspects of this budget forecast will be further enhanced. On December 10, the Senate Finance Committee reported favorably on the funding bill, after several amendments had been made to the original House measure. The bill as it now stands provides for the funding of these debts due us from European nations, under the supervision of a commission of five members, the chairman being the Secretary of the Treasury and his four associates to be approved by Congress. The new legislation will provide that the long-time obligations accepted by us in lieu of the present demand notes shall mature not later than June 15, 1947, and shall bear interest at not less than 5 per cent. The commission is directed not to cancel any part of either the principal or interest of the debts, and it is prohibited from accept-

ing bonds of one government in payment for the debts of another. The aggregate sum due us from these debtor nations is now \$11,329,281,228, including \$394,245,351 in principal and interest of the Russian debt.

*But How  
Will They  
Pay?*

It is gratifying to have this very important matter put into form and to provide an orderly method of settling with the various debtor nations. It is, indeed, difficult to see how international trade can reach any degree of stability while these great debts and the German reparation obligations are in uncertain form. One cannot conceive that rates of exchange on various national currencies will arrive at any continuous sure level so long as these huge uncertainties overhang the situation. But while it is very good, as far as it goes, to get this funding commission at work with a sure knowledge of the limits Congress will place on accommodations to our debtors, it must be remembered that no one, as yet, has suggested any workable way for such a commission or anyone else to complete its task in the sense of getting either principal or interest actually paid to us from Europe. Eleven billions of debt at the minimum stipulated rate of 5 per cent. means \$550,000,000 a year to be paid to us. Theoretically, this could (1) be sent over the water in gold or (2) paid in the excess of Europe's exports of goods to us over our exports of goods to Europe. The first method can be dismissed at once, as we have already taken so much of the gold of the world that there is not enough left for any considerable fraction of these interest payments. As to the second method, instead of a balance of goods imported from Europe, there has been for years an unprecedented balance the other way, and it will be a problem indeed to handle the new tariff bill in such a manner as to allow Europe any chance whatsoever to change her unfavorable trade balance with us to a favorable one. This, however, must be done one way or another if we are to get these interest payments. It is to be noted that the current figures of exports and imports show a remarkable falling off in the balance against Europe as compared with any previous months since the beginning of the war, and it is not inconceivable that with an American tariff program recognizing the facts of the situation, the European countries may gradually regain their productive powers sufficiently to make payments of a substantial character in the form of goods shipped.

Certainly this is true of Great Britain. The New York quotation for the British pound sterling has been rising with spectacular rapidity, reaching \$4.23 before the middle of December, a figure far above any seen in the last two years.

*Real Tax  
Revision  
Needed*

The new revenue bill became law substantially in the form described in recent issues of this REVIEW. No one, not even its authors, is satisfied with it as a final work of tax revision, and there is little doubt but that the Administration will proceed actively next year to a more thorough-going, courageous and intelligent attempt to rearrange our taxes on a peace basis. The two considerable achievements in the bill just passed are the repeal of the excess-profits tax (beginning with the year 1922), and the repeal of the taxes on transportation. A provision of which not much has been heard was made at the last moment in the matter of taxing profits in the sale of "capital assets." It has more importance than the public has given it and much more importance than is represented in the mere relief to individual taxpayers. This new clause deals with situations in which individuals own property held as an investment which has largely appreciated in value over its cost to them. Under the previous revenue laws, the sale of such property entailed the paying of taxes on a year's income figured as the sum of the ordinary income and the profits resulting from the sale. One result of this method, and a bad one, was that a man holding property which could be sold at a very large profit simply did not sell it, because he would have to pay perhaps one-third or one-half of his gain to the government—in many cases even more. This tendency toward a static condition of trade was unfortunate, and clearly prevented various enterprises from proceeding and various improvements from being made. The new law provides that in cases where such investments have been held for two years and more, the owner, on selling them, may be taxed at the rate of only 12½ per cent. of his gain, provided that his entire tax payments shall be as much as 12½ per cent. of his entire income.

*Secretary Mellon  
vs.  
Surtaxes*

In his annual report on the affairs of the Treasury Department made public December 6, Secretary Mellon makes a determined and vigorous argument against the higher surtaxes on

individual incomes and maintains that 25 per cent. as a maximum surtax, or even 20 per cent., would be far preferable to the present rates of about double as much. Mr. Mellon makes a very excellent presentation of his case and goes far toward convincing any reasonable man that quite aside from the interests of the individual with the large income, the revenues of the nation, business as a whole and particularly the poorer classes themselves would be benefited by lower rates. The very outspoken arguments in this report from the Treasury have obtained widespread attention not only because of their cogency, but because of a natural assumption from them that the Administration has definitely in mind an effort to get through Congress in 1922 a new revenue bill with some such radical reduction of income tax rates. Mr. Mellon goes even farther and gives it as his opinion—accepting fully the income tax as a wise and necessary feature of modern revenue-raising, and accepting also the grading of rates according to ability to pay—that surtaxes of something like 10 per cent. as a maximum should ultimately be reached in peace times.

*High Surtaxes  
Kill  
Business*

Secretary Mellon has no trouble in showing that the very high surtaxes on individual incomes of recent years have largely failed as revenue producers, and that their failure is progressive. While the net income of all classes of taxpayers increased from \$6,300,000,000 in 1916 to \$19,800,000,000 in 1919, the incomes of \$300,000 and over reported to the government in the same period actually decreased from \$707,000,000 to \$315,000,000. This very striking showing is largely explained, of course, by the increasing diversion of both the income and principal of very wealthy people to tax-exempt securities. Other ways, too, were found of avoiding payment of such taxes as 65 per cent. "Experience teaches us that means of avoiding taxes which are regarded as excessive or unreasonable will always be found." Not only have very high surtaxes become less and less productive from the standpoint of government revenue; Secretary Mellon goes on to attack the theory that high income taxes really burden the rich and relieve the poor. Through real estate mortgages, capital has formerly been obtainable for building operations from people having large incomes; but with the excessively high surtaxes, people of means cannot afford this kind of investment.



**How Taxes  
Increase  
Poverty**

The result is that capital has been shut off from building, there is great shortage of houses, rents have increased enormously and people of small means have a rent burden never heard of before. These very high taxes appear, too, to hinder and prevent business transactions which would otherwise have taken place and have produced revenue for the government and work and wages for the masses. When taxes are so high that transactions cannot be carried through, the government of course gets no revenue, enterprise, work and wages are stifled and unemployment and poverty increase. Still another serious effect of very high tax rates is destruction of the incentive to risk money, time and effort in undertaking business hazards—with the resulting slowing up of industry and production, and loss of revenue to the government. Secretary Mellon advises cutting down not only the higher income taxes but the estate taxes as well. His experts figure that surtax rates with a minimum of 25 per cent., with corresponding reductions for smaller incomes, would mean the apparent loss of only about \$130,000,000 a year and a 20 per cent. maximum rate would involve a loss of about \$200,000,000.

**Railway  
Consolidation**

The Interstate Commerce Commission's tentative plan for consolidating the railways, prepared by Professor William Z. Ripley, is discussed elsewhere in this issue by Mr. Samuel O. Dunn, the able editor of the *Railway Age*. No progress is, apparently, being made toward an actual carrying out of this program. All parties in interest seem inclined to go slowly in the matter. The Administration is, of course, intensely occupied with other affairs of large moment. The executives of the existing railway systems are, as a rule, in a skeptical mood and many of them, naturally, are not disposed to be too hastily enthusiastic over any plan that means such a total upheaval of railway organizations, with uncertain effects upon their personal fortunes. The most constructive work being done toward a solution of the problem is that of the National Association of Owners of Railway Securities. This organization represents thousands of individual owners of railway securities as well as a large majority of the holdings of these bonds and stocks in mutual life insurance companies and savings banks. It is claimed that the Association represents in one way

or another some eleven billion dollars out of the total of nearly twenty billion dollars of railway securities.

**Unified  
Railway  
Terminals**

This Association has asked the Commerce Commission to postpone any attempt to carry out the consolidation plan until a board of engineers has had time to make a thorough report on certain phases of the economies hoped for through the combination into a small number of systems. Especially in the matter of unified terminals the Association feels that the railroads have a chance for enormous savings. The terminal factor in the cost of transportation is extraordinarily large, so large as to appear amazing to the layman. In hundreds of instances the same terminal facilities could be used by several different roads, now each using separate ones, and many millions would be saved for net income if the final process of consolidation were carried out with this in view.

**Railway  
Earnings  
Better**

In the meantime the railroads are showing a decided improvement in their earnings, their net incomes for October being the best for a long time, and good even after one takes into consideration that the mid-autumn month is one in which relatively large seasonal earnings are usually reported. The railways have filed notices of reduction in the wages of practically all classes of employees ranging from 10 to 20 per cent. and will endeavor to convince the Railway Labor Board of the wisdom of the changes. That body has helped them, also, in the last month, by fixing new working rules which, while recognizing collective bargaining and the rights of the unions, practically make the railway plants open shops. The way seems to be clearing for the substantial reduction of railway rates that everyone, railway executives included, feel to be necessary for the health of business. Spokesmen for the railway unions have challenged sharply the statistics of earnings and of capital investments published by the railway heads. These union representatives contend that the earnings reported during this time should be augmented by the additional rate charges the roads would certainly have made if they had not been favored with the Government guarantee, the federal policy having been, of course, not so much to make the roads earn their expenses as to keep rates down.



# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From November 15 to December 15, 1921)

## THE CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON

November 15.—English, French, Italian, and Japanese spokesmen approve in principle the naval reduction plan of Mr. Hughes, involving the "scrapping" of sixty-six capital ships by the United States, Great Britain, and Japan.

November 16.—China proposes ten basic principles for order in the Far East through Dr. Sze, seeking application of the "open door" policy, territorial integrity of China [including Manchuria and Mongolia], political and administrative independence, abandonment of spheres of influence, and restoration of tariff autonomy.

Admiral Kato proposes Japan be allowed a 70 per cent. naval ratio—compared with Britain and America—instead of only 60 per cent. under the Hughes plan (the respective coast lines in nautical miles are: Britain, 50,938; United States, 40,206; and Japan, 21,948).

November 18.—The United States and Great Britain adhere to the 5-5-3 naval ratio, in spite of Japanese arguments.



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MME. YAJIMA, JAPANESE WOMAN PETITIONER FOR PEACE

(At the age of ninety, this Japanese emissary traveled 7500 miles to present the scroll containing 10,000 signatures of Japanese women. She has become famous as the most vigorous and successful exponent of women's equality in Japan. The petition contained a prayer for success of the Washington Conference, and was presented to the President in person)

November 19.—Japan presents her side of the Far Eastern case through Admiral Kato, who expresses good-will toward China, but suggests that Japan help China in arranging foreign relations, while permitting China to readjust internal affairs.

November 21.—The member nations, except China, adopt the four principles of a resolution offered by Mr. Root, ending special privileges in China and guaranteeing her territorial and administrative integrity.

Premier Aristide Briand, of France, analyzes his country's reasons for maintaining a large army, but says a 50 per cent. reduction is contemplated by shortening the military-service period to eighteen months.

November 22.—The Japanese are reported as recognizing Manchuria as a part of China, after having first contended that Chinese territory lay only within the Great Wall.

November 24.—Premier Briand leaves Washington to return to his duties in France, and M. Viviani heads the French delegation.

November 25.—The powers are requested to abolish their separate post offices in China, which now conducts a system of its own, serving 31,325 places; Japan has 124 post offices in China, Britain 12, France 13, the United States 1.

November 26.—The nations at the Conference agree to abolish foreign post offices in China as soon as practicable, the tentative date being January 1, 1923.

November 29.—A committee is appointed to investigate China's courts and report on the advisability of withdrawing foreign courts of assenting powers. . . . China asks removal of all foreign police and troops, telegraphs and wireless systems.

November 30.—China and Japan agree to discuss Shantung under American and British mediation at Washington.

December 4.—A deputation from the Chita Far Eastern Republic arrives at Washington to obtain help in ousting Japanese troops from Siberia, to open trade relations with other countries and to obtain recognition.

December 5.—Japan agrees to waive all preferential rights with regard to foreign assistance in persons, capital, and material in Shantung as stipulated in the Chino-German treaty of March 6, 1898, but desires to hold at least a half interest in the railway.

December 6.—China agrees to refund money spent by Japan on properties in Shantung. Japan will return to China all public property in the Kiau-Chau leasehold. . . . A radio agreement is reached, and China's neutrality is protected in case of war between other Pacific powers.

December 9.—Japan agrees to recede all of Shantung except the Tsingtao-Tsinan railroad,

which China claims neutralizes the cession of other territory.

December 10.—The draft of a Four-Power Treaty on insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific is announced by Mr. Lodge; it recognizes existing rights and provides for a joint conference of the four powers—Great Britain, Japan, France, and the United States—if controversy should arise on any Pacific question not settled by diplomacy; if any other power threatens their rights, the contracting powers shall communicate regarding most efficient measures to be taken; the agreement is to remain in force for ten years or longer, and will terminate the Anglo-Japanese Alliance upon ratification.

December 11.—Secretary Hughes announces an agreement with Japan on Yap and other Pacific mandate islands, giving the United States equal rights in cable and wireless service; American missionaries and educators are protected.

Japan consents to January 1, 1923, as the date for removing all foreign post offices from China, which is to be given facilities to search for opium and other contraband in the meantime.

December 13.—The Four-Power Treaty is signed at Washington.

December 14.—It is announced at Tokio that Japan accepts the 5-5-3 naval ratio proposed by Mr. Hughes on November 12.

December 15.—Secretary Hughes announces agreement regarding naval limitation by the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, on substantially the same lines proposed by him on November 12; Japan is to have ten ships of 313,300 tons; Britain twenty, of 582,050 tons; the United States eighteen, of 525,850 tons; and military and naval outposts in the Pacific are to remain in statu quo.

#### PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

November 16.—The Senate engages in bitter debate over the Ford-Newberry election contest of 1918.

November 17.—The House, voting 201 to 173, accepts the Senate's maximum surtax figure of 50 per cent. on the largest incomes.

November 18.—The Senate passes the Anti-Beer bill, 56 to 22, with 12 Republicans opposed; it prohibits use of beer for medicinal purposes.

November 19.—The House, voting 279 to 139, passes the Sheppard-Towner bill for the protection of maternity and infancy.

November 21.—The House approves the conference committee's Tax Revision bill, 232 to 109.

November 23.—The Senate approves the conference report on the Tax Revision bill, 39 to 29; the special session comes to an end, with failure to complete action on the tariff, railroad funding, foreign debt refunding, the "truth in fabric" bill, and Alaskan railway appropriation.



PRINCESS MARY, OF ENGLAND, AND HER FIANCÉ, VISCOUNT LASCELLES

(Princess Mary nursed the wounded during the war and is as popular as her brother, the Prince of Wales. She was 24 last April, and her fiancé, who is the oldest son of the Earl of Harewood, is 39. Viscount Lascelles has an enviable war record.)

December 5.—The Sixty-seventh Congress convenes in the first regular session; President Harding sends the first Budget to both houses; it shows a deficit of \$167,571,977 under the new tax bill estimates.

December 6.—President Harding delivers his annual message in person, advocating early refunding of foreign debts, regulation of non-taxable securities, cooperative agricultural relief, a flexible tariff; and other reforms; he expresses a desire that the Russian famine be relieved.

The Senate passes a measure directing the Secretary of War to turn over surplus medical and surgical supplies to the American Relief Administration for use in Russia.

The *Congressional Record* publishes the names of 11,000 draft dodgers.

December 8.—The Senate passes a resolution to investigate the dye industry and "lobby."

The Senate Committee investigating army executions learns that only eleven men who received the death sentence were executed.

December 10.—In the House, Mr. Fordney introduces a bill appropriating \$10,000,000 for 10,000,000 bushels of corn and 1,000,000 bushels of seed grain for Russian famine relief.

The House, voting 197 to 90, passes a bill providing for appointment of 22 new federal judges.

December 12.—In the Senate, Mr. Wadsworth (Rep., N. Y.) introduces an Administration bill to establish a Bureau of Civil Aviation in the Department of Commerce to "encourage, foster, and regulate" aviation.

The Senate passes the First Deficiency bill of \$106,800,000, adding \$3,000,000 to the House measure.

December 14.—The House doubles the Russian Relief appropriation of the Senate.

#### AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 15.—William E. Pulliam is appointed Receiver General of Customs of the Dominican Republic; he had held the post from 1908 to 1913.

November 16.—In Huerfano County, Colo.,



HON. WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING, WHO  
WILL BE CANADA'S NEW PREMIER

(Leading the Liberal party, Mr. King defeated Premier Meighen by a tremendous majority which carried 120 seats and engulfed 11 Cabinet Ministers. Women voted, in this election of December 6, for the first time on terms of equality with men. The Conservatives lost their parliamentary majority and now take third place with 50 seats, the Progressives holding 62)

Governor Shoup establishes martial law because of a strike of miners over a wage reduction.

The Philippine Senate confirms all the important appointments of Governor General Wood.

November 17.—The first authoritative Shipping Board balance sheet shows assets, aside from appropriations and fleet, of \$307,400,000 and liabilities of \$115,878,000 as of July 1.

November 20.—Governor E. Mont Reily, of Porto Rico, arrives at New York on his way to report to the President.

November 21.—The New York City Transit Commission takes testimony from subway officials showing that the Interborough paid in eighteen years \$65,625,000 on \$35,000,000 of capital stock, or 306 per cent. on the actual cash capital, out of a net income of \$67,867,878.48.

The Cape May County (N. J.) Board of Freeholders are sentenced to pay heavy fines for malfeasance in office connected with road graft.

November 23.—President Harding signs the Tax bill, the Sheppard-Towner maternity bill and the Anti-Beer bill.

Four members of the so-called Tile Trust, recently exposed by the New York City housing investigation, are sentenced to jail.

The Interstate Commerce Commission orders an investigation to lower freight rates.

November 26.—Ellis Island announces that the immigration quotas for the year ending June 30, 1922, have been exhausted from Greece, Spain, Palestine, Portugal, Africa, Jugoslavia, and Syria.

November 27.—Tax receipts fall off \$812,-579,486 for the fiscal year 1921, the Internal Revenue Bureau reports; total taxes were \$4,596,-000,765 and cost 87 cents per \$100 to collect.

November 28.—Governor Miller, of New York, appoints a Charter Revision Committee for New York City, headed by Francis M. Scott (Dem.).

November 29.—Governor General Wood's report on the Philippines is published; he recommends that the Islands be retained, and suggests more authority for the governor.

November 30.—The Railway Labor Board decides upon an "open shop" basis for the shop crafts and promulgates new rules; 400,000 men are immediately affected; the roads should save \$50,000,000 a year.

December 5.—The Lockwood housing investigation is resumed at New York City by inquiry into union labor practices shown by testimony to have mulcted members' families of death benefits and outside workers of \$250,000 a year paid for permission to work without membership in the union.

The United States Supreme Court holds strike picketing lawful, subject to injunction if methods of intimidation or obstruction are used.

December 13.—The Railway Labor Board rules no overtime rate shall prevail until after ten hours, but adheres to the basic eight-hour day.

#### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 16.—At Pandikkad, India, Gurkha troops repulse an artillery attack on their garrison by Moplah revolutionists.

The Polish Assembly is reported to have passed President Pilsudski's plan incorporating Vilna as a Middle-Lithuanian State.

November 17.—The Prince of Wales arrives at Bombay, India; he receives a rousing welcome, though natives start a serious riot.

The annual conference of the Unionist party at Liverpool sustains Lloyd George's Irish settlement policy, 1900 to 70.

November 18.—The British Admiralty suspends work on new warship construction.

There is a heavy run on Chinese banks; General Wu Pei-Fu offers to guarantee all foreign obligations if the Peking Government fails.

Soviet Russia opens a State Bank at Moscow.

November 21.—Moplah rebels in India number 100,000, with 15,000 armed men operating over 3000 square miles against both British and Hindus, attempting forcibly to convert the latter to Mohammedanism.

November 22.—The Irish truce is broken at Belfast; nearly twenty persons are killed.

Announcement is made of the engagement of Princess Mary, only daughter of King George of England, to Viscount Lascelles, son of the Earl of Harewood; precedents are broken.

November 24.—In Madras, British India, sixty-four Moplah prisoners are suffocated in a closed railway car while in transit; the incident is treated by the natives as on a par with "the Black Hole of Calcutta" in 1756.

November 25.—Lloyd George informs Sir James Craig, of Ulster, that Sinn Fein refuses to own the allegiance to the King which Ulster requires before she will enter an All-Ireland Parliament under the proposed settlement.

Crown Prince Hirohito is named Regent of Japan; the Emperor is reported to be insane.

November 26.—The city of San Juan, Argentina, is patrolled by cavalry until a great political feud, started by the assassination of Governor Jones on November 20, is settled.

December 1.—Lloyd George hands new Irish proposals to Sinn Fein; dominion status is offered with Ulster uncoerced and a boundary commission to arrange readjustment of lines between the North and South.

Nicaragua ends martial law in her northwestern departments following receipt of a shipment of arms and munitions from the United States.

December 4.—Sinn Fein delegates refuse to accede to terms of settlement; the hitch seems to be on the oath of allegiance and continuance of Irish partition.

German marks drop sharply in value; living costs rose 22 per cent. for November, compared with October, and were 58 per cent. higher than a year ago.

December 6.—At London, Sinn Fein delegates sign a treaty under which Ireland gets Dominion status under the name of the "Irish Free State"; Ulster has a month to object and remain under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, but can obtain no new powers by staying out of the settlement.

Premier Briand receives a vote of confidence on his foreign policy of 249 to 12 in the Senate and 400 to 100 in the Chamber.

The Canadian general election results in defeat for Premier Meighen and victory for the Liberals headed by W. L. Mackenzie King; eleven Cabinet members lose their seats; Liberals carry 120 seats; Progressives 62.

December 7.—King George summons Parliament to ratify the Irish treaty; De Valera calls the Dublin Cabinet; Sir James Craig asks the Ulster House to delay action until certain ambiguities are cleared up.

In Guatemala, President Carlos Herrera is deposed by Generals José Maria Lima, Orellana, and Miguel Larrave, who form a Provisional Government.

December 8.—Eamon de Valera declares himself and two Cabinet members opposed to ratification of the treaty, which he refers to the Dail Eireann; he asks the Irish people to continue orderly conduct pending final settlement of the question. Arthur Griffith, who signed the treaty as a delegate, declares himself strongly for ratification.

December 9.—At Ballykinlan Camp, in Belfast, the last Irish political prisoners are released.

In Guatemala, General Orellana, Chief of Staff, is elected Provisional President, succeeding Carlos Herrera.

December 11.—In India, C. R. Das, President-elect of the National Congress, and Abdul Kalamazad, President of the Bengal Caliphate Committee, are arrested by the British.

December 12.—At Allahabad, India, a city of 175,000, the visit of the Prince of Wales is boycotted; only a couple of thousand Europeans and Eurasians appear on the streets; 600 arrests have been made.

Germany's Federal Council raises postal, telephone, telegraph, and railroad rates 2000 per cent. above pre-war levels; the National Eco-

nomie Council approves a compulsory national credit association giving the Government power to impose credit on all trades and industries.

Britain extends the India Sedition act to Burma.

December 14.—The British Parliament meets in special session, and the King and Premier Lloyd George advocate ratification of the Irish treaty; the Dail Eireann meets at Dublin for the same purpose, but disputes between leaders result in secret sessions.

December 15.—Andrew Bonar Law, British Unionist, and former Premier Asquith, advocate ratification of the Irish treaty by the British Parliament.

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 14.—President Harding signs a proclamation declaring that the war with Germany ended July 2, 1921. Ellis Loring Dresel is appointed American Charge d'Affaires in Berlin.

November 15.—Persia's new Minister to Washington is cordially received by President Harding; he is Mirza Hussein Khan Ali.

November 16.—The British hand a second note to Soviet Russia denying the latter's allegations that charges of Red backing of the Indian revolt are based on forged papers.

France publishes her note of November 8 to London, outlining conditions for recognition of Russian international obligations.

November 17.—France and Italy agree to co-operate in developing aviation in Ecuador.



CROWN PRINCE HIROHITO, REGENT OF JAPAN

(At the age of twenty, the Prince is in nominal control of the destinies of the Empire of the Rising Sun. He has just returned from a visit to European capitals, is inclined to be liberal in his views, and is the most democratic ruler who has ever held sway over Japan's teeming millions.)

November 18.—Jugoslavs and Albanians agree before the League Council at Paris to observe the boundary line laid recently by the Council of Ambassadors.

November 23.—Britain signs a treaty with Afghanistan; the former subsidy is dropped, and no Russian Consulates are to be allowed on the Afghan frontier.

November 24.—Dr. William W. Peet, long a leading missionary in Turkey, is appointed as League of Nations Commissioner at Constantinople.

November 25.—The first reduction of American Rhine forces occurs; over 600 troops leave Coblenz for Antwerp to sail home.

December 1.—At Vienna, hungry mobs loot and riot in shops and hotels in protest against high food prices; some Americans are robbed.

December 8.—French Minister Loucheur confers at London with Lloyd George and other officials regarding German reparations; Rathenau (German) remains in London.

December 12.—Chile invites Peru to sanction a plebiscite under the Treaty of Ancon, to determine the sovereignty of Tacna-Arica.

December 14.—The Reparation Commission announces delivery of 756,000,000 gold marks' value of German shipping under Annex III, Part VIII, of the Versailles Treaty.

December 15.—Germany notifies the Reparation Commission she will be unable to pay instalments due in January and February.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

November 15.—At Atlantic City, the executive body of the Presbyterian Church approves a budget showing over \$4,500,000 for use of foreign missions.

November 16.—Railway executives announce a general 10 per cent. reduction of rates on farm products effective within ten days; it is estimated to save \$55,000,000 yearly.

November 26.—A fire in the business section of Augusta, Ga., destroys \$2,000,000 of property; the fire department of Aiken renders material assistance in controlling the blaze.

November 27.—A New Haven motion picture theater burns to the ground in the evening with serious injuries and loss of life to many persons.

At Bismarck, N. D., Marshal Foch smokes the pipe of peace with the Sioux Chief Red Tomahawk; General Foch is named by the Indians "Watapech Wakiga," or "Charging Thunder," as a mark of high honor.

November 30.—A modern "Bluebeard," named Henri Landru, is convicted in France of the murder of ten women and a boy under most unusual circumstances; he is sentenced to the guillotine.

December 5.—At Woodmont, Pa., more than twenty persons are killed and many others injured in a train wreck on a suburban railroad line.

December 7.—Packing house strikers riot in Chicago and nine persons are shot, one killed; 100,000 persons are involved, including women and children, who try to prevent police interference. South St. Paul is patrolled by 400 Minnesota guardsmen and there are riots in Omaha.

December 9.—The daring and courage of Peter F. Dunne, a Bridgeport mechanic, save forty-

three comrades trapped in the Submarine S-48, sunk in Long Island Sound on her first trial trip.

December 10.—At New Orleans, La., a fire in the business section burns almost an entire block.

Operating officials of 52 Eastern railroads announce a 10 per cent. wage reduction of 750,000 train service employees, restoring wages to the scale of the period prior to May 1, 1920.

December 10.—General Armando Diaz boards ship at New York for his native Italy.

The Nobel Peace Prize of 1921 is divided equally between Hjalmar Branting, of Sweden, and Christian L. Lange, of Norway.

December 12.—At Franklin, Kan., 2000 foreign women of strikers form a mob and attack mines nearby, driving workers away with red pepper and stones; troops are sent to maintain order.

Foreign Exchanges rise rapidly, sterling touching \$4.24; francs rise 43 points, lira 20, guilders 35, and marks .06.

December 14.—Marshal Foch and René Viviani return to France.

#### OBITUARY

November 16.—Louis Martin, widely known New York restaurateur. . . . Charles R. Cross, professor emeritus of physics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 73.

November 17.—John B. Bogart, city editor of the New York *Sun* for nearly twenty years, 75.

November 22.—Christine Nilsson, noted Swedish operatic soprano and a great beauty, 78. . . . Etienne Boutroux, a distinguished professor of philosophy, 76.

November 23.—Rear-Admiral Leavitt Curtis Logan, U. S. N., retired, 75.

November 24.—Ernest Wadsworth Longfellow, the landscape artist, 76.

November 25.—Ex-Congressman Frank Dunklee Currier, of Canaan, N. H., author of the copyright law, 68.

November 27.—Will Olcott Burr, long editor of the Hartford (Conn.) *Times*, 78.

November 28.—Lieut.-Col. Charles W. Whittlesey, commander of the famous "Lost Battalion," which cut a most heroic figure in the war.

November 29.—Ivan Caryll (Felix Tilkin), well-known musical comedy composer, 59.

November 30.—Abdul Baha Abass, leader of the Bahai religious movement, 77. . . . Baron Mount Stephen, Canadian railroad pioneer, 92.

December 2.—Rev. Augustus Hopkins Strong, D. D., of Rochester, N. Y., well-known Baptist theologian, 85.

December 5.—James F. Brown, of Charleston, W. Va., prominent lawyer, 69.

December 8.—Henry Delaware Flood, for twenty years a Democratic Congressman from Virginia, and long chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 56.

December 9.—Sir Arthur Pearson, British newspaper proprietor, who devoted his later years to work for the blind, 55.

December 10.—Victor Jacobi, composer of operettas, 37.

December 11.—Thomas Wilson Crothers, Canadian educator and former Minister of Labor, 71.

December 12.—Henry Clay Evans, of Chattanooga, twice Republican mayor and one-time Commissioner of Pensions, 78.

# MAKING A BETTER WORLD

THE CARTOONISTS SHOW HOW HARMONY IS  
SUCCEEDING DISCORD



A STRENUOUS LEADER  
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)



HE CAN'T GET AWAY FROM IT!  
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Ia.)



SOMEBODY OUGHT TO BE HAPPY  
From the *Evening World* © (New York)



"AND EVERYWHERE THAT MARY WENT THE  
LAMB WAS SURE TO GO"  
From the *Tribune* © (New York)

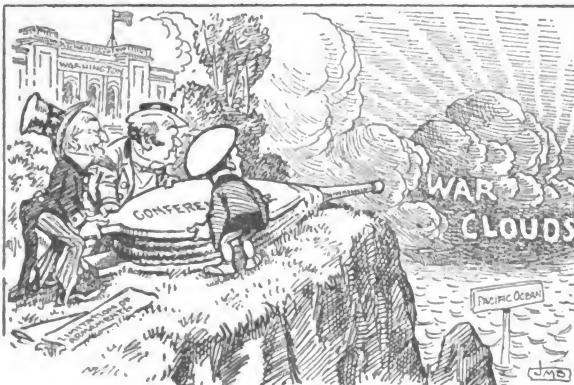




"THE HARP THAT ONCE THROUGH TARA'S HALLS—"  
By Knott, in the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



CHORUS OF DIE-HARDS: "TAKE IT AWAY!"  
From the *World* (New York)



BLOWING THE CLOUDS AWAY  
JONATHAN: "If we three put our backs to it with a will we can soon settle that."  
From *News of the World* (London, England)



THE LAND OF PROMISE!  
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Ia.)



ALL ASHORE!  
From the *Mail* (Birmingham, England)



A FINE HAUL FOR HUGHES  
From the *Evening News* (Glasgow, Scotland)



"BUT IF WE DISARM—WITH WHAT SHALL WE  
THEN CARRY ON WAR?"  
From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)



FRANCE: "YOU'RE ALL OUT OF STEP EXCEPT ME"  
From the *Daily Express* (London, England)



ASKING THE DRUNKARD TO GIVE UP  
THE DRINK  
From *Opinion* (London, England)



UNCLE SAM SETS THE EXAMPLE WITH HIS PEACE OFFERING  
OF 845,000 TONS OF WARSHIPS  
From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON  
(And its motto: "Down with Weapons"!)  
From *Kikeriki* (Vienna, Austria)



"DON'T FORGET THAT DISARMAMENT  
WILL THROW OUT OF EMPLOYMENT  
THE BEST MEN IN FRANCE"  
From *Hommes du Jour* (Paris, France)





THE "SURE SHIELD"  
From the *Bystander* (London, England)



THIS LITTLE PIG WENT TO MARKET  
From *Puck* (Tokio, Japan)



MEASURING FOR THE NEW SUIT  
(If he is to have any armor at all it must be very much lighter)  
From the *Evening News* (Glasgow, Scotland)



THE TEMPTATION OF MARGUERITE  
From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)  
[Referring to an American loan to Queensland—at 7½ per cent.]



A CONSTABULARY DUTY TO BE DONE

POLICE-CONSTABLE CONFERENCE: "It is my duty to put a stop to this silly business. He is obstructing the thoroughfare!"

From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales)



SENTENCED TO TEN YEARS!

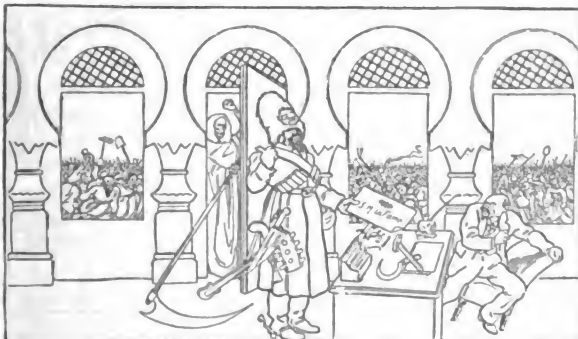
From the *Daily Express* (London, England)



THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

(Heaven help him if the liner had not heeded!)

From *Opinion* (London, England)



THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA

LENIN: "This is an error! I wanted 'Fame' not 'Famine'."

From *Il Travaso* (Rome)



THE EMPLOYER'S SYMBOL

From *Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

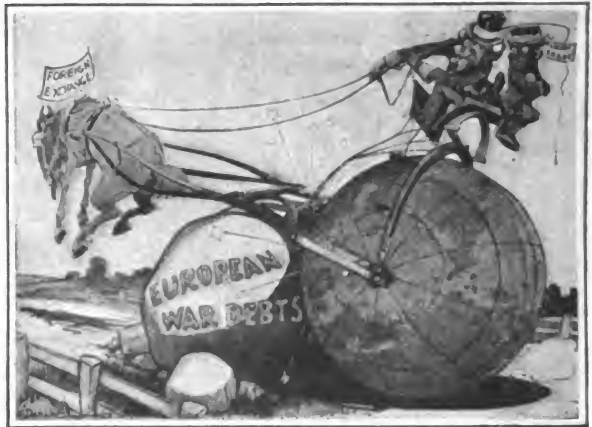
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THE TOTTERING PYRAMID—THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE FROM A FRENCH  
VIEWPOINT

JOHN BULL: "To him who hath shall  
be given."

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



UNCLE SAM: "HEAVENS, WHAT'S THAT?"

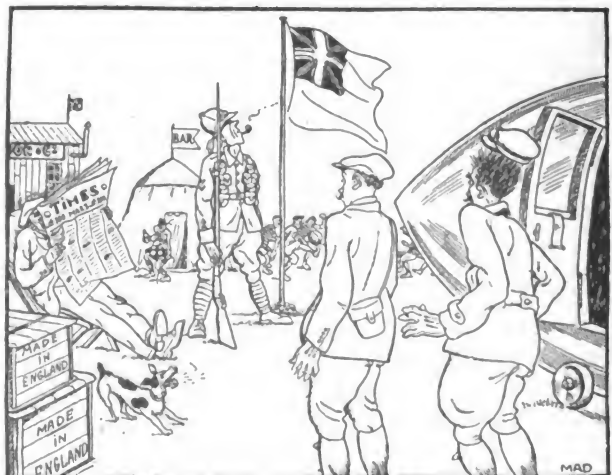
From *Collier's Weekly* (New York)



BRIAND IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

("The Government, represented by the Premier alone, scored a  
brilliant success with those who wished to ask questions")

From *Canard Enchaîné* (Paris, France)



EXPLORERS ARRIVING ON MARS FIND THE ENGLISH ALREADY  
ESTABLISHED THERE

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

# WHAT THE CONFERENCE ACHIEVED

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. RETROSPECT

THE four weeks which have passed since I closed my last article with the report of the dramatic effect of Mr. Hughes' opening speech supply in retrospect a fairly clear and definite picture. Events have flowed not always evenly, but still unmistakably toward that logical conclusion which is registered in the draft of the Four-Party Treaty which was read at the plenary session of Saturday, December 10. Behind this actual achievement lies the promise of ultimate and probably prompt agreement upon the matter of the restriction of naval armament, which has supplied the most conspicuous but in no sense the most important circumstance of the memorable international gathering.

But before taking up in detail the four weeks of history made at the American capital, I shall undertake briefly to restate the problem which has been faced and in a very large measure answered by the present conference. At the bottom of the whole question lay the unmistakable fact that the United States and Japan had been and were visibly drifting toward a clash of policy in the Pacific. American views of the Chinese policy of Japan, American disapproval, rather flamboyantly expressed, over the Shantung detail of the Treaty of Paris—these had excited natural resentment in Japan. Europe was beginning to talk openly of a coming collision in the Far East.

Now this is the actual obstacle, the real danger which the Washington Conference had to remove, if it were to succeed. There was, in addition, the growing wish of the mass of the American people to see the vast expenditures upon naval constructions reduced and the almost unanimous conviction that a competition in naval strength between Great Britain, Japan and ourselves would not only be folly but would amount to crime. This sentiment had found expression in the Borah resolution in the Senate and was, on the surface, the dominating force in dictat-

ing the summoning of the Conference itself.

There was a second circumstance which attracted less public attention but dominated the whole situation from the point of view of the statesmen and was destined to prove the most important single detail of the Conference, namely, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. While Britain and Japan were united in alliance it was the belief of American statesmen and naval authorities that no real reduction of sea strength was wise or even thinkable. There was, moreover, the similar conviction that while these nations were bound together, no viable adjustment of Far Eastern questions generally was possible.

Thus the elimination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance became from the first days of the Conference, was indeed in the pour-parlers which preceded the Conference, the most important factor, although this circumstance found no general public expression. The mass of the people had been led to believe that the Conference itself was to be occupied with the question of disarmament. When Mr. Hughes proposed his naval ratio and his naval holiday the public of the United States fixed its interest and its attention upon the rival views of Tokio and Washington over this point.

Yet the real as contrasted with the apparent task of the statesmen at the national capital for the first four weeks was almost exclusively confined to finding that substitute for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which would remove the one real obstacle to the agreement upon naval ratio and upon naval disarmament. When the secret history of this month is written the public will be surprised to see how small was the part of the naval issue in the whole matter, as it will presently be apparent how simple was the solution of the naval problem, once the alliance debate had been terminated.

There remained a third subject of negotiation, namely, China. In all the discussions which preceded the Conference the Chinese

situation divided interest with the naval item. Shantung had made of China an American issue. The expansion of Japan at the expense of China in recent years, the ever-growing area of Japanese exploitation—these matters had been more and more frequently and emphatically demanding American attention. Over this question a collision between the United States and Japan seemed inevitable unless some accommodation of conflicting views could be reached.

Those who are at all familiar with the fact as contrasted with the fiction of international relations clearly perceived that unless the Chinese situation found some tolerable adjustment no agreement in the matter of the limitation of naval armaments would in any degree abolish the real causes which were making for American-Japanese conflict, for the idea that wars flow from excessive armament is without standing among responsible statesmen.

Such, then, were the three elements in the problem set for the Washington Conference: First, the proposal for the limitation of naval armaments which gave a name to the conference and in the public mind supplied the chief occasion; second, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was the real and dominating political fact; third, the Chinese circumstances which were obviously leading directly toward an open conflict between the United States and Japan.

In his opening speech Mr. Hughes laid all his emphasis upon the naval question. He dismissed the Chinese detail with only a passing reference. He did not even mention the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; yet this last was to be the main issue and to this I desire now to turn in reviewing the events of the first month.

## II. THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was framed almost twenty years ago and was directed against Russia, then felt to be the menace in the Far East which the German Empire was shortly to become in the West. When Russia was defeated in the Russo-Japanese War and turned her attention from Asia to Europe, Anglo-Russian relations became rapidly more friendly and in time the Franco-British Entente and the Franco-Russian Alliance were more or less merged into a Triple Entente.

But at the same time Germany became

the rising danger to Japan in the Far East and to Britain in Europe. It became necessary to recall the capital ships of the British fleet to western waters and Japan took over to a large degree the protection of British interests in the Pacific, as she later undertook the protection of British commerce when the World War came. Thus, constructed against Russia, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had survived as a bulwark against Germany.

With the World War over, however, this alliance obviously lost all real reason for existence. But this was not all—the growth of American-Japanese tension had made of this alliance something else. It was unmistakably an embarrassment to British policy, which sought at all times to strengthen Anglo-American ties, since it was interpreted in the United States as having uncomfortable if not actually dangerous possibilities. More and more earnestly American voices demanded the scrapping of this alliance. Yet it had been an alliance in which the profit had been largely British.

To be sure in later years, while Britain and the United States had been occupied with the World War, the Japanese had used the alliance and extorted the Lansing-Ishii agreement to further their imperialistic designs, economic quite as much as militaristic on the Asiatic Continent. In a sense the alliance had been used as the cover beneath which Japan fastened her grip upon China. Nevertheless, from the British point of view, the alliance—become useless in practice, become a serious liability in fact, owing to American dislike, and Australian and Canadian distrust—constituted a debt of honor, an obligation which could not be simply and calmly dismissed. A decent exit had to be found.

This was the situation when the Imperial Conference met last summer and the question of the renewal of the alliance came up. From the United States came the clear and perhaps official intimation that a renewal would be inimical to the friendship subsisting between the two Anglo-Saxon countries. From Great Britain there came back the response that while renewal could be postponed, elimination could only be had with Japanese consent. There came also the suggestion for an international conference in Washington over Far Eastern matters.

American demand for a limitation of armaments supplied the public occasion for such an international conference. Perhaps

Mr. Harding had already decided upon the arms discussion. I am not attempting to give the exact sequence of events, but what is clear is that as a result of discussion between Britain and the United States it was agreed that there should be a Conference of Washington and at that Conference not only would Far Eastern matters be discussed, but that the problem presented by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance would be resolved.

As I am informed, the American view favored a conference upon the question of arms alone. In any event the decision to discuss Far Eastern matters was made on British representation and from the outset the British saw first importance attaching to the matter of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. And one can say with equal exactitude that with a slightly different point of view the American Administration looked to the removal of this alliance not only as the most important business before the Conference but as a test of the sincerity of British assertions of friendship for the United States.

These two points of view are very important in estimating later results, for they supplied the basis of all of the discussions which followed. The United States insisted that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance must not be renewed and asked of Britain proof of protested friendship, the proof to be the disappearance of the alliance. Great Britain, while indicating a real readiness to drop the alliance in deference to American wishes, insisted from the outset that such elimination could only be achieved in a way which would satisfy, not wound, Japanese sensibilities.

Most of my readers will recall the striking speech made by the British Prime Minister on this subject late last summer and about the time of the Imperial Conference. Mr. Lloyd George then dwelt upon the benefits Britain had derived from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, emphasized the inability to drop it out of hand and proposed that there should be substituted an Anglo-Japanese-American Alliance. This proposal was at once frowned upon at Washington, but it was, nevertheless, the opening move in the diplomatic game, the last stage in which was disclosed in the presentation of the Four-Party Treaty of December 10.

Now in estimating the results of recent days it is essential to bear in mind the positions of the respective adversaries, and by adversaries I suggest no hostile idea. The United States openly sought the elimination

of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The British, consenting in principle to this elimination, sought a solution which would satisfy the Japanese and meet their own personal views. As for the Japanese, they had two things in mind: The Anglo-Japanese Alliance had raised them from the rank of a second-class Asiatic power to the status of a first-class world power. To have been abandoned after the World War would have been a fatal blow alike to prestige and pride. But in addition to preserving their rank, they were equally concerned with avoiding such isolation as would almost inevitably come when the two Anglo-Saxon powers drew together as they were bound to in Chinese matters and in Far Eastern questions generally.

### III. THE DIPLOMATIC DEBATE

Accepting the fact, then, that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was the main and all-important question before the Conference and bearing in mind the interests of the various players, that is, in all the decisive period, Britain, Japan and the United States, what was the development of the affair?

We had, and I do not mean to follow the episode in detail, the opening proposal by the British, a three-power alliance in the Pacific, with certain shadings on the idea of alliance, because of the lessons learned in the battle over the League of Nations, but nevertheless with all effort concentrated upon reaching an agreement which should be as near an alliance as was possible. To put the thing bluntly, the British prepared to bow to American wish and scrap the alliance, but sought in return some agreement which should promise as close political association in the Far East as was attainable with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The Japanese attitude remained a little obscure, but in the main was the replica of the British. But Japan played her cards a little differently. She was asked to agree to a limitation of naval strength which involved the scrapping of at least one capital ship. She was asked in addition to make very large concessions in the case of China, even if these concessions amounted to no more than the restoration of Chinese rights. She was also asked to yield in the matter of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

In this situation Japan quite obviously insisted that before she made any considerable



move in the direction of agreement on naval ratios or in Asiatic concessions, she should have in her hands the written assurance of a substitute alliance, which should save her pride and prestige and assure her against isolation in the Far East as a result of Anglo-American rapprochement. This was the fact covered by all the publicly announced differences of opinion over naval ratios, sea bases, and so forth.

Now what was the American position? Substantially this: The President and Mr. Hughes clearly perceived that the Conference would fail if the Anglo-Japanese Alliance survived. They perceived that a reduction of American naval strength was inconceivable in these circumstances. Thus they clearly grasped the fact that the alliance had to be removed, but to remove it they had to agree to some substitute international agreement.

The problem became, then, to find some form of international agreement which would be sufficiently tangible to satisfy Britain and Japan and without entangling circumstances or actual commitments to avoid that repetition of the Senate fight upon the Covenant of the League of Nations which was always bound to come, if the results of Washington bore any resemblance to those of Paris. Now the maneuvering between these two fixed points supplies all of the secret history of the Washington Conference up to date. All else is by contrast subordinate and of minor importance.

In the end agreement was had upon that document which has already had world-wide publicity as the first of that series of Treaties of Washington—the series which will comprise the achievement of the present conference. But before dealing with this there is one more detail which must be considered. Britain had proposed a tripartite agreement and Japan had concurred. In this form the debate had continued until the actual text of a treaty acceptable to all three had been hit upon. But then Mr. Hughes insisted that there should be an extension of the numbers and that France should be invited to join in the Pacific arrangement.

At this point there was delay and possibly some difference of opinion. New exchanges of opinion between the delegates in Washington and the governments of Britain and Japan were necessary and almost a week of delay followed—the week which marks the extreme of tension and of pessimism in the conference. There was a general sense that

something of utmost importance was on foot, but there was a rigid repression of information.

Then, dramatically and suddenly, on the evening of December 9, came the news that Paris, Tokio and London had signified their official consent to the ratification of the agreement which had been waiting for days for precisely this endorsement. And with the news came the unexpected call for a plenary session of the conference for the next day. All this haste was a clear and interesting evidence of the degree to which the lesson of Paris had been learned and the need for avoiding all appearance of secret diplomacy appreciated.

Before the actual news came Washington had been filled with rumors that agreement upon some form of international association or even alliance had been suggested, with obvious repercussions on Capitol Hill. Tension and curiosity had both been provoked and the session of December 10 revived all of the popular interest and excitement which had been the dominating circumstances of the opening session exactly one month before.

And if the secret had been kept only imperfectly and the newspapers had already for several days contained a variety of hints and even positive statements as to the character of the forthcoming agreement, it is no less the fact that the exact character and precise connotations of this new treaty were still unknown and the simplicity and completeness of the agreement was a surprise.

But once more, before turning to the exact text of this treaty and its meaning, I desire to emphasize the fact that it was and must remain the chief fact in the Conference. It was the *sine qua non* of any success and, once it was achieved, all else in the Conference became subordinate and ultimate, success became assured.

#### IV. THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON

Looking now to the text of this already famous document it is possible to dispose of its actual commitment in the briefest manner. Its real character was best indicated by the fact that it was upon Senator Lodge, foremost figure in the battle against the Paris agreements of Mr. Wilson, that there devolved the duty of presenting to the Conference this significant proposal, already accepted by the representatives of the four nations actually concerned after submission to their governments. This circumstance of

itself indicated that the agreement of Washington would be radically different from that of Paris.

In point of fact this new treaty imposes only a single obligation upon the contracting parties. They are to confer in case of difference between members of this association growing out of the Pacific questions and they are to confer in case of a disagreement between a party to the treaty and any outside nation. Disagreements between contracting parties are to be brought before a joint conference; are to be referred to a conference of all four. Disagreements with an outside nation are to be discussed in a similar fashion. This is the extent of the commitment.

In addition there is a mutual recognition on the part of all four to respect all rights in relation to their insular possessions and their insular dominions in the regions of the Pacific Ocean. This is a pledge on the part of each nation not to seek to disturb the sovereignty of any other. We agree not to attack Australia. Britain agrees not to attack the Philippines. France and Japan make equal promises. It is a guarantee of the status quo, but not a guarantee to maintain it by our force, but by our good behavior—just that and nothing more.

Yet simple as is the thing, it is plain that it meets the British and Japanese requirements, for the final article in the four brief declarations provides that when the treaty shall have been duly ratified the Anglo-Japanese Treaty shall disappear. Now bear in mind what I have said as to the policies which were held by the countries in advance of the Conference, the irreducible minimum of recognition of respective rights which each was compelled to insist upon, and the meaning of the treaty is patent.

Thus, Britain is able to fulfil her pledge to her Japanese ally. She has found a bridge between an old and a new association of nations which satisfies her own honor and Japanese pride. She has, too, obtained some slight but not less valuable evidence of closer Anglo-American association. She has got just as much as was possible, given the situation in the American Congress.

Japan has found new recognition for her position as a first-class power. She has, in fact, advanced from a partner of one great Western nation to a partner of three. And she is assured against later isolation flowing from inevitable coalescing of Anglo-American policy and action in the Far East.

As for France, her gain is wholly on the side of prestige, but it is a real gain, given the situation she would have found herself in as a first-class nation and a really great Asiatic power, had she been excluded from such a compact.

But it is to the American aspect that we most naturally turn. Mr. Hughes and his associates have eliminated the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. They have obtained in addition a guarantee of the inviolability of our far-flung Asiatic liabilities. These two gains make possible any policy of naval reduction which can possibly be proposed in the later sessions of the Conference.

In making these essential profits, however, the United States has not been asked to undertake guarantees, to accept entangling obligations. There were and there are many, many Americans who believe that the Covenant of the League of Nations committed us to defend European frontiers. There can be no one who could imagine that Article II of the new Treaty binds us to anything more than observance of the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," and a policy of conferring before taking any other step in case of difference with a high contracting power, or of threat made by a power outside the Treaty.

Here, then, is the nucleus of an association of nations, an association which Mr. Harding has frequently discussed even in recent days. It is an application of the so-called "conference idea." But it is founded upon the fact that all parties in interest are at peace, have been at peace almost without exception, and desire to preserve peace, have, in fact, a will for peace which far exceeds in vitality any aspiration to upset the status quo which exists.

Contrast this with the circumstances of the League of Nations and a difference more profound than any divergence in texts between the Covenant and the Treaty is instantly discoverable. The League was an agreement based upon conditions created by a victorious war and was an association of some nations to preserve against certain others results of a war, results which were utterly unacceptable to those others. It was, in every sense, an alliance in fact—the grouping of some nations against others.

But the Treaty of Washington includes all great powers which could possibly have an interest in disturbing the status quo in the Pacific and it is founded upon the solemn declaration of each that it accepts the status



quo, which is itself the result of peaceful development, so far as all are concerned. Henceforth, then, it seems to me it is possible to make a clear distinction in fact if not in phrase between the League and the Association of Nations.

And politically it is quite obvious that Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes have been able to avoid both the questions of principle and the circumstances of personality which proved fatal to the Treaty of Versailles, so far as American ratification was concerned.

## V. NAVY RATIOS

Having discussed the question of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and explained the proposed Treaty of Washington which was the result of the issues raised by the Treaty, it is possible now to turn to the matter of naval limitation. In the nature of things this subject has occupied popular interest and has seemed to be the main business of the Conference. This is true because the elements were themselves simple. The original address of Mr. Hughes placed all its emphasis upon this issue and everyone could see in a minute the meaning of a ratio of 5-5-3 and of a naval holiday for ten years.

Exactly what is being undertaken is not less clear. The war led to an expansion of the navies of the three great sea powers and the end of the war left two, the United States and Japan, with naval programs which involved still greater expansion and enormous expense. Moreover, nothing was more patent than that this naval expansion, which had not yet taken on the character of open competition, might end by becoming such an undesirable fact.

Since none of the nations concerned had any wish to enter such a race, since none felt itself financially able to bear such a burden, since there was lacking any conceivable justification, an international agreement to limit construction was and is the only logical solution. Such an international agreement Mr. Hughes proposed in his famous speech of November 12. The main lines of the speech are familiar and I shall not seek to repeat them here.

In substance Mr. Hughes proposed that there should be an agreement upon tonnage of capital ships which would for the moment leave the relative strength of Britain, the United States, and Japan in the ratio of 6-5-3, but would through the arrangements made for replacement ultimately fall to

5-5-3. These figures would represent a strength in capital ships which would be indicated by the tonnage totals of 500,000, 500,000 and 300,000. Provision was made for submarine tonnage amounting to 90,000 tons for the United States and Great Britain, with appropriate strength for Japan. Finally a naval holiday for ten years was to follow.

I shall not undertake to discuss the technical side of this program, which is outside of my province, but it is enough to note that this proposal carried with it the obligation to scrap a considerable number of American units and to abandon the great naval program of 1916. It made equal demands upon Japan and in the case of Britain ruled out the four super-Hoods which had been just provided for by Parliament.

Now over this proposal there instantly arose a number of controversies which served to attract public attention, while the more important discussions as to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty were going forward in secret. First, Mr. Balfour, speaking for Great Britain, protested against the provision for submarines, and expressed the British view that instead of thus recognizing the submarine the Washington Conference should ban this form of sea craft.

Even more important was the Japanese contention that she should be allowed a ratio of 10-10-7 rather than one of 5-5-3, the smallest figure in each case representing her own total. In arriving at this figure her experts ruled out of court the units building for the United States but not yet in commission and included the new *Mutsu*, which was only just about to be commissioned.

This was fair fighting ground, and as I write this article it remains open, although we have positive intimations that Japan will ultimately accept the American ratio with some possible readjustment which will permit her retention of the *Mutsu*. In any event, despite the attention paid to this detail, it has always been clear that there would be substantial agreement, and such amendments as were made would in no sense defeat the two main objects, that of preventing naval competition, a race in sea armaments, and a reduction in the expenditures made by all three powers upon unnecessary seacraft.

The dispute over the submarines proved more serious because there was instantly indicated a sharp divergence of view between Britain and France, with the Italians accepting the French view. France accepted

the Hughes view that the submarine was the defensive weapon of the weak, and argued that, since her navy was weak and she had been compelled to abandon construction during the war to supply herself and her allies with shells, she was entitled to certain latitude in the matter.

On the indication that France meant to ask for a high ratio of submarines there was an explosion of British resentment and an interchange of amenities, mainly between the correspondents of the newspapers of the two countries but finding echo in official places. The episode was instructive to Americans as to the present condition of Anglo-French relations, but it had no real bearing upon the Conference itself. As I write the issue remains unsettled with France and Italy standing with the United States for the preservation of the submarine and agreed to ask for equal strength. As Japan holds to the same view, Britain seems isolated, and the solution will probably be found in a compromise which reduces the total tonnage allowed the various nations.

From the American point of view, while the British contention is easily comprehensible in view of British experience in the late war, the determining factor must be found in the views of our own experts, who insist that the submarine is necessary to our defense and more necessary in view of the proposal to reduce our strength in capital ships.

## VI. THE CHINESE PHASE

There remains the question of China, and I shall deliberately restrict my comment upon this phase, because it remains the one open matter before the Conference. It was clear from the outset that the Chinese case was bound to be weakened because those delegates who were received as speaking for China represented a country in a state of chaos, and were thus totally unable to guarantee any performance of the Chinese part, even if substantial concessions were made, or more exactly, if full recognition was had of Chinese rights.

At the outset China stated her case in ten points, which were the basis of all future discussion. These were in turn compressed into four points. The text was credited to ex-Senator Root, and these four points comprehend the principles which will underlie all that is finally agreed upon in the case of China. These Root principles, which Mr. Hughes described as a "charter for China,"

were adopted by the Far Eastern Committee of the Conference on November 21, and by the Conference at the open session of December 10. They provide in substance for the respect of China's integrity and sovereignty, both administrative and territorial. They assure China of the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity for development. They assert that the "open door" shall be maintained and they pledge all the powers represented at the Conference to refrain from seeking special privileges through the exploitation of China's present chaotic condition.

Beyond this there have been many more or less important proposals. France, Britain and Japan considered withdrawal from certain areas, France and Britain from Kwang-chau-Wan and Wei-Hai-Wei, respectively, but these offers were temporarily withdrawn in view of the inability of China to assure order.

Actually, however, the real questions were those of Manchuria and of Shantung, and here the debate still continues. Japan was prepared to concede that Manchuria was a part of China, but she flatly and frankly maintained her purpose to remain in the Port Arthur Peninsula and to retain her economic position in Manchuria generally. In the case of Shantung, China and Japan agreed to accept the good offices of the United States and Great Britain and sat down to conference.

At the present moment there seems fair prospect of a satisfactory settlement in the matter of Shantung. Yet it is necessary to report that the Chinese have shown themselves at times dissatisfied with the progress of the negotiations. There have been resignations from the delegation and suggestions that there might be a refusal to sign the agreement, as there was a refusal on their part to sign the Treaty of Versailles. Chinese sentiment, both among the educated few in China and in the college groups in this country, has been aroused and there have been a number of public expressions of dissatisfaction.

In the end some viable compromise may be hoped for. In the last analysis none of the great powers is ready to fight Japan to assure China of all she demands, perhaps with perfect justice. China herself, too, is torn by factions and the degree to which she could make use of any benefits which her friends might obtain for her remains open to debate. The first step in Chinese

regeneration must come from within China. The bottom fact in the Chinese trouble is the condition within China. Unless the disorder and disunity there existing are removed, or the great powers are prepared to step in and undertake the administration of China, only limited results can be achieved and these will be necessarily more impressive on paper than in fact.

Some sort of a nine-power agreement is already taking shape in the Chinese question. It will doubtless embody all the principles expressed in the four Root declarations and such specific applications as can be arrived at by common consent. Probably China will also get back most if not all she lost in Shantung. At all events things are to-day tending in that direction, but, on the other hand, Japanese position in Manchuria is likely to be consolidated rather than challenged. And this was to be foreseen.

Next month I shall hope to treat in detail the whole Chinese matter, and I reserve comment until then. Yet at worst China will find herself in an improved condition as a result of the Washington Conference and she will be able to take comfort in the fact that the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, which was for her a very real menace, has been replaced by a four-power compact, in which the United States appears. As she is bound to be a party to the new nine-power agreement, she will find further satisfaction.

After all, a condition of revolution cannot be disposed of by any parchment undertakings of interested nations. And since China is in a state of revolution much if not all the most important steps must be contingent upon her emergence from this condition of anarchy. Therefore it is out of the bounds of reason to expect a settlement of the Chinese Question at this time. It will continue to demand attention, to provoke disagreements, to incite rivalries, no matter what decisions with respect of China are reached here in Washington.

But China, as a cause of war between the United States and Japan, will be dealt with—has been dealt with—in the present Conference, and a basis of common policy for all the great powers has been decided upon. Nations may still disregard these common declarations. Chinese conditions may invite and even necessitate new interventions. Yet it is assuredly something to have exorcised the Chinese peril to American peace and to this achievement will certainly be added many gains for China.

## VII. CONCLUSION

In the present article I shall omit all reference to the dramatic episode furnished by the address of M. Briand, and the tacit consent, after this appeal, to drop the matter of land armaments from the agenda. I do this because as a consequence of this decision the whole subject becomes of minor importance and the differences of opinion which resulted between the British and the French belong to a discussion of European politics, not of an American conference.

What I have sought to do here is to give as far as possible a sort of connected narrative, not, to be sure, of the events of the Conference in their calendar order, but rather in their degree of importance and in the fashion in which they were really considered by the Conference. And beyond all else, what was to be emphasized was that the real obstacle was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the real triumph the elimination of this alliance and the substitution for it of a four-power agreement which satisfied British and Japanese requirements without exceeding the limits of the traditional foreign policy of the United States.

By this agreement we have, in a measure, formed an association of nations, limited in field and in scope, but representing the essential will for peace of four great powers in a field where rivalry and misunderstanding might easily lead to war. The more one examines this new treaty, the clearer becomes the fact that beneath the seeming simplicity there is a wealth of meaning. The lessons of Versailles and of the Senate fight are unmistakable, but in addition to these there is new testimony to the fact that the real basis for all associations of nations is a common desire to preserve the peace. This will inevitably lead to a frank and open recognition of the existing rights of neighboring countries.

The Covenant of the League of Nations was an undertaking to preserve frontiers and conditions created by a successful war. These conditions and these frontiers could be justified in history and in right, but they were nevertheless consented to by the defeated nations only under the duress exerted by victorious armies and in no sense was assent to the newly created state of fact voluntary. The Treaty of Washington has, as Senator Lodge justly pointed out, no underlying idea of force because the condition recognized by it was established without

force, as among all the parties in interest, all of whom were represented.

The League of Nations was made with the idea that force would preserve the existing situation until the conquered nations had come to the point of accepting that situation and voluntarily renouncing old aspirations and former possessions. The Treaty of Washington had as a condition antecedent to its framing the voluntary renunciation by all parties concerned of any purpose to disturb the status quo to their own advantage and to the injury of any other party in interest.

Patently it will be a long time before one can imagine Germany and France or Poland and Germany arriving at a similar willingness to accept some status quo as final and joining in giving mutual assurances of a renunciation of all desire to disturb that status quo. Therefore one must be chary of all attempts to describe the Washington agreement as showing an easy road to the solution of world disorder and the attainment of world peace. Yet so far as history gives us light this Washington method represents the limit we have yet attained in the making of any association of nations.

And so much seems assured, namely, that such success as has been achieved in Washington, and it is considerable, gives promise that there will be other conferences, that Washington may in fact become the clearing-house for Far Eastern discussions and that, given the Chinese problem, which must remain unsettled, in a large measure, whatever the agreement upon abstract principles, such conferences may enable the great powers immediately concerned to continue to work in harmony and live in peace in the Far East.

Two months ago I told my readers that there was every sign that the United States and Japan were drifting toward war in the Far East. Since Chinese conditions are what they are, it would be rash to forecast that all danger has been removed, but at the least all apparent danger has been eliminated and the mutual misunderstandings and apprehensions of the two nations have been enormously reduced if they have not been finally banished. If this were the sum total of achievement of the Washington Conference it would still justify the wisdom of the President in calling it and testify to the loyal service of all who participated in it.

## HUMAN ASPECTS OF THE CONFERENCE

BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE MIRRORS OF WASHINGTON"

**T**HERE ought to be another word than "conference" to denote an international conference. It ought to be a special word, large enough to cover all the various activities which concern the making and preserving of the world's peace. For example, I have attended the two greatest international conferences of my generation, and I have never seen them confer. A vast deal of conferring goes on around and about the conference. Experts confer, innumerable experts on innumerable subjects. Individuals confer. Big Threes, Big Fours, or Big Fives confer, privately and portentously. The press confers with eminent statesmen, or eminent statesmen confer with the press—I don't know which it is—but at any rate, there are press conferences every hour from breakfast to dinner. But as for the conference itself, I insist that it never confers, at least I have

watched two of them closely, and I never caught either of them conferring. It is something which doesn't confer, but is entirely surrounded by conferences, as an island is something which isn't water, but is entirely surrounded by water.

You all know what a conference is, which is why you don't know what an international conference is. A conference happily has become in recent years an everyday experience; there is no one so poor as to be without one. Conferring is the fashion. If you are in business, the heads of the departments have a conference daily. If you work on a newspaper, at least six conferences a day help to use up the hours which might otherwise be unprofitable. At these conferences—quite tangible, easily perceptible meetings—men sit around in a circle and resolve to do better in the future, quite as if they were



THE STATE, WAR AND NAVY BUILDING IN WASHINGTON, HOME OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT

("An ugly structure of the mid-U. S. Grant era of architecture")

writing daily a joint New Year's resolution. Higher up "the old man" bends his head together with two other heads as bald and gray as his own, in conference. If you are only flirting with your stenographer, the office boy says impressively that you are "in conference and may not be disturbed."

Now an international conference is not like any of these conferences of everyday experience. It isn't like flirting with the stenographer, though much international flirting goes on. It is not like the meeting of the department heads, sitting stiffly in their chairs and pretending to take their conference seriously, though they don't. It is sometimes like "the old man" talking mouth to ear with two other "old men," unseen and dominating the imagination of the entire shop. But I insist that the last thing you ever catch an international

which they do like the married, none too often. Out of all this emerges somehow the peace of the world, as out of vast preparations, doctors, nurses, baskets, weighing ap-



THE PAN-AMERICAN BUILDING, WHERE COMMITTEES HELD THEIR SESSIONS  
("A luxuriant tropical monument to the Monroe Doctrine")

paratus, medicine bottles, forceps, argyrol, emerges the baby. You despair often of the mother's life, but somehow there is the infant.

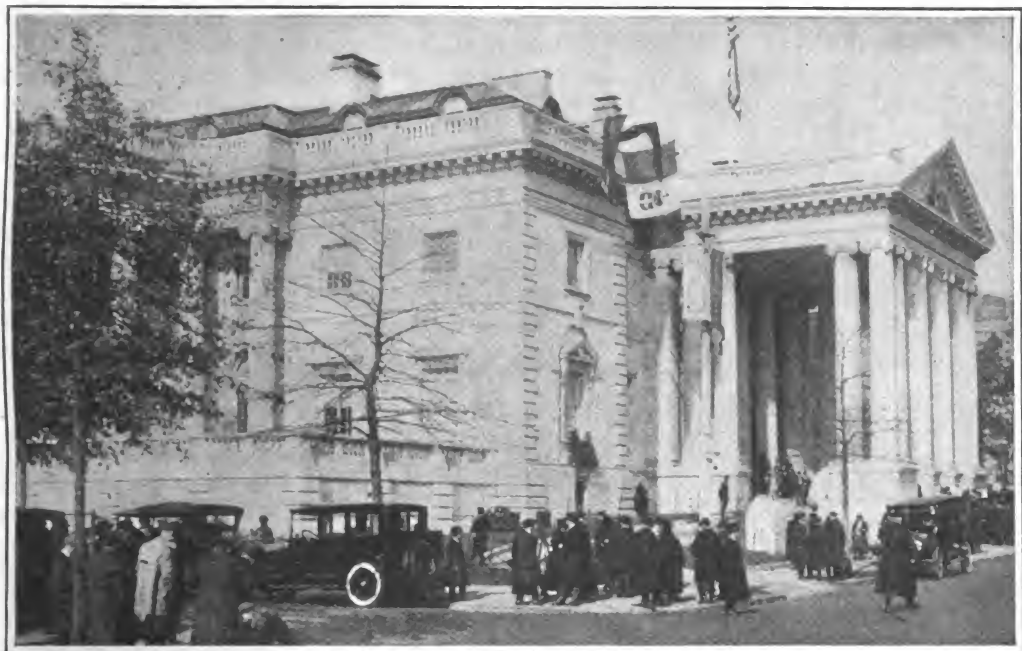
Let us suppose you arrived in Washington and were searching for that physical entity, the Conference. You were determined to see it with your own eyes. You had been told where to look, beyond the splendid White House of Colonial style, beyond the ugly State, War and Navy Building, of the mid-U. S. Grant era of architecture—sufficiently beyond it so that you can forget it—to the southeast, on the edge of a park, where you came on two beautiful buildings side by side.



Photographs © Harris & Ewing

THE "TEMPORARY" NAVY BUILDING, WHERE THE DELEGATIONS AND THE PRESS CORRESPONDENTS HAD THEIR WORKING QUARTERS

("Temporary though it will stand till age withers its charms")



CONTINENTAL HALL, WHERE THE PLENARY SESSIONS OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE WERE HELD

In front of one building someone has stuck up a couple of pillars, obviously temporary, and has strung a Coney Island-like string of electric lights across between them. You were sorry to see the Coney Island lights. A smart marine, carrying a bayoneted rifle, with extraordinary briskness flits up the street and then back again, a sign perhaps that arms we shall have always with us. Clearly this was the place. You enter Continental Hall. Silence! No one is there. The auditorium is vacant. You go to the Pan-American Building next door, that luxuriant tropical monument to the Monroe Doctrine. Committees were meeting there behind closed doors. If you could have got in you would have found them attending to unexciting details and technicalities.

#### *The Correspondents and the Delegates*

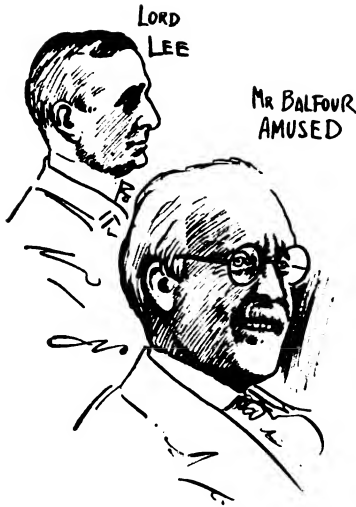
You went down the block, further from the mid-U. S. Grantian pile. Here is a low white structure of vast ground area, the "temporary" Navy Building, so called because every public building put in a park is, of course, temporary though it will stand till age withers its charms and custom stales the prefixed adjective. Again a little soldier does an astonishing double-quick across an entrance. This must be the Conference.

You went in. Straight down an endless corridor you proceeded. Doors to the right

of you, doors to the left of you volleyed and thundered: "French Delegation," "French Technical Advisers," "French Legal Experts," "British Delegation," "British—," "British—," "British—," "Portuguese—," "Portuguese—," and so on, the names of all the nine nations and the seven seas. The doors mostly were ajar. You looked in. Shiny desks, shiny desks, left over from the war, and newly varnished, everywhere, everywhere. But not a soul.

You passed on. From a large room to the left comes the sound of a British voice, and of laughter, with the American accent, with the British accent, with the Japanese accent. Ah, the Conference! Gentlemen, young and old, but not old enough or venerable enough to be world statesmen, sat, smoking cigarettes, about a long table, listening to British jokes, of the *Punch* variety.

It was Lord Riddell and the press—a conference, one of the innumerable conferences, an important conference, but not *the* Conference. You walked around the square, always doors, always names of nations, always shiny desks, always no one. Hard to find, this Conference. Hard to find, this settling of the fate of the world. You came once more near the entrance, and you saw a knob of men in the corridor. They were saying "ratio," "Japan," "capital ships," "*Mutsu*." The Conference? No, a con-



ference of newspaper men settling what is to be the news of the day, an important conference, an important part of the conference, but not *the* Conference.

On either side of the corridor typewriters clicked. Telegraph instruments sounded, men rushed in and out, gray-haired Britons with very red faces, paler and younger Americans, little and very young Japanese and Chinese. These were the quarters of the press, ample like all the other quarters in this vast building, convenient, busy. From this center went forth the story of the Conference to the ends of the earth, all the news that was fit to print, and all the views that were not fit to print, facts, guesses and propaganda, the thing that is meant to be published because it isn't true and the thing that is meant to be kept secret because it is true, the indiscriminating gatherings of the day, excused by haste and the complete oblivion of the day after.

Never did the press play so important a part in a conference as it did in this one. It did not merely report the Conference. In a sense, it was the Conference. The gentlemen who gathered behind closed doors, in committee, to talk over the agenda reported back, in the last analysis, to the press. The plenary sessions were hardly more than a gathering of the delegates to tell the press what they had really done. The powers told the press many other things at other times and on other occasions, some of them true and some of them

untrue, but in the end the day of reckoning came when the exact facts came out, for according to the rules of the game under which modern conferences are held, nothing must be hidden; no secret engagements must be made; no little slips of paper with great names attached must pass unseen into foreign office portfolios. All must be told to the press in open meetings, in plenary sessions, where nothing is really transacted; only a complete and public record is made for the enlightenment of the world.

The delegates in their private meetings had the press in mind. Their governments, when they cabled instructions, acceptances, or refusals, thought of the press—for governments, all except the American Government, which itself is accountable at least once in four years, rise or fall by what is printed in the press. Read Mr. Wilson's dispatches to Mr. Tumulty during the Paris Conference, and you will see what a crown of thorns upon the conferring statesman's brow the press is.

And much of the time of the heads of delegations is spent in conference with the press, almost as much as is spent in conference among themselves. A day's program of the statesman as it was posted up in the press room at the Navy Building, by James Preston, superintendent of the



SKETCHES BY C. K. BERRYMAN, OF THE WASHINGTON "EVENING STAR"





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## OUTSTANDING FIGURES AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

(Left to right: John W. Garret; Dr. H. A. Van Karnebeek, Minister of Finance of the Netherlands and President of the League of Nations Assembly; Dr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister to the United States; Rt. Hon. Arthur James Balfour, chief of the British delegation; Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State and head of the American delegation; Aristide Briand, Premier of France; Senator Carlo Schanzer, Italian chief; Baron de Cartier de Marchienne, Belgian Ambassador at Washington; Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, head of Japan's delegation; and Count D'Alto, of Portugal)

Senate Press Gallery, without whom no world conference in the future will be complete, read like this:

10:30 A. M.—Lord Riddell, of the British delegation, in the Navy Building.

11:30 A. M.—Signor Bartelli, of the Italian delegation, at the Italian Embassy.

3:00 P. M.—Lord Riddell, of the British delegation in the Navy Building.

3:30 P. M.—The Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, at the State Department.

4:30 P. M.—Mr. Hanihara of the Japanese delegation, at the home of the Japanese delegation on Massachusetts Avenue.

5:00 P. M.—Mr. Sze, of the Chinese delegation, at the Navy Building.

6:00 P. M.—Mr. Balfour, of the British delegation, at the Navy Building.

You will observe in this list three heads of delegations, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Sze. Mr. Hanihara takes the place of Baron Kato, the head of the Japanese delegation, because he speaks English and the Admiral does not. You will observe also three British conferences with the press in one day, to one conference each for the other nationalities. The British talk better and more constantly to the newspaper men than any other people at a conference, even including the Americans, in spite of the well-established American custom of "seeing the press" every day.

These newspaper conferences in Washington differed from any other ever held in this one respect. They were open to corre-

spondents of every nationality. At Paris, the British held conferences for British journalists, with an occasional conference for the Americans. The Americans held conferences to which only their own country's newspaper representatives were admitted. And so with the other countries.

When this gathering was arranged for, some super-patriot pointed out to Mr. Hughes the immense scandal and danger that would result from admitting Japanese and British journalists to his confidential talks with the American press. "I think I'll chance it," he replied. He did. The others followed his example. And an immensely silly division of the world into little pools of public opinion was ended.

Out of the war, out of the Paris Conference, and more than all out of this Washington Conference there has emerged one big international force more real than leagues of nations or four-power pacts, and that is international public opinion. Mr. Wilson perhaps discovered it when he tried to settle the war by talking across the Atlantic to the peoples of Germany, of Austria and Russia, as well as to those of England and France. When Mr. Hughes called this Conference, he counted on public opinion in this country, in England, in the British colonies, and in Japan, too, more than he did upon the governments of those countries to bring about the results he had in



mind. China put its faith in American public opinion. Great Britain, coming here, thought much of that same opinion and cultivated it assiduously. Japan, less accustomed to popular governments, has felt vaguely about for the opinion to which Mr. Hughes was responsive; and it had its difficulties with its own rising force of public opinion as the unwillingness of the Japanese journalists here to be guided by the Japanese delegates abundantly proved.

Men must always be governed by something bigger than themselves; it may be only a great shadow of themselves projected by the flickering taper of their intelligence upon the vast back drop of events, an anthropomorphic enlargement; mere individual humanity elevated in stature by the Divine Right; corporate humanity—humanity made impressive by the word "Nation"; or, as just now, incorporate humanity similarly magnified and known as Public Opinion; which this Conference more than anything else reveals transcending the haphazard lines and boundaries that the war traced across the surface of the earth. It is not for us journalists, servants of Public Opinion, to speak lightly of the new master. I do not; I merely record that a new amplification of man possesses the minds of men met to govern the earth and that the Great Figure is international.

An international conference is not a place where men meet and trade their national wares. It is only the center of something that is going on everywhere, in every capitol, on every telegraph wire, in every newspaper, in every clubroom and drawing-room where politics is discussed. That is why it is so hard to put your finger on one spot and say, "This is the Conference." The assembled delegates listen to what comes from the ends of the earth. They bow to Public Opinion and they distrust Public Opinion. They seek to know Public Opinion and to make Public Opinion. They put out whole truths and half truths and whole untruths, facts and propaganda. They use and they abuse the journalists who serve their ends and defeat their ends. And at last there emerges a compromise, which embodies about all the justice and right that is humanly possible.

Mr. Hughes recognized the change in the spirit of international conferences when he plunged into this one with a striking public announcement, the very first day, of the American position upon naval reductions for all three of the great powers. Nothing such as Mr. Hughes did had ever been done before. He spoke not to the delegates assembled in Continental Hall but to the whole world to focus public opinion before anyone else had a chance to play with it; and so effectively that the Japanese correspondents put his entire address on the cable at \$1.50 a word for Japanese newspaper readers.

What he did on that day may never again be repeated. Other ways of focusing world opinion will be invented as conferences multiply. Moreover, methods are largely personal and this was distinctly the Hughes method. It is the one he has followed all his public life. He moves opinion largely, directly, and by single strokes.

He is not a bold man in spite of his manner. He is a cautious man with a bold attack. Better at dealing with man in the aggregate than with men as individuals, he addresses himself to a whole State, a whole nation, a whole world, when he can, rather than to the persons whom he has immediately to influence.

A bolder man than he would have followed up his stroke on the Navy with an equally vigorous one upon the problems of the East. A man possessed and raised above himself by a great idea, a great hope, would have run head down against the impossible everywhere as Mr. Wilson did at Paris. Mr. Hughes, however, is a practical man, with a taking air of impracticality, a cold man with the dramatic manner of passion, a realist with the address of an idealist; he takes few chances as if he were taking all.

It is the fashion to speak of the Big Three in every conference. There was a Big Three at Paris. There was a Big Three at Washington. But I want to speak first of the Big One. I don't mean by this that the Secretary of State surpassed Mr. Balfour in subtlety or Baron Kato in strength of will, or that these two men, one by his discreet diplomacy and the other by his solid firmness, did not shape the result as much



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VICE ADMIRAL KATO  
(Japan's chief representative, "the hardest fighter of the Conference")



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RENÉ VIVIANI  
(A former Premier of France)

often an excellent policy, it seems to have been universally agreed from the outset that when this Conference ended Mr. Hughes should be acclaimed "the greatest statesman in the world." The other powers regarded this idea with diplomatic approval.

You have to consider Mr. Hughes in two aspects: first his relations to the Conference itself, the assemblage of the official

as the American. But this was Mr. Hughes' conference. He caught the public eye at the outset. He presented the most powerful nation whose good-will the other two sought. Public opinion was more immediately accessible to him. And modesty being

action with respect to China, for which country Mr. Hughes would have wished to do more than at this writing is likely to be done. Mr. Hughes stressed naval reduction. Baron Kato, by clinging to a 10-10-7 naval ratio as Mr. Clemenceau clung to



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ARISTIDE BRIAND  
(France's brilliant pleader)

International

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES AND  
ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, OF THE  
BRITISH DELEGATION

the left bank of the Rhine at Paris, diverted Mr. Hughes' attention from China. Mr. Balfour, by emphasizing the success of the naval proposal, made that success vital to Mr. Hughes. Between them, they made him readier to take what he could obtain easily in China. Between them, they narrowed the scope of the Conference a little so far as the East was concerned.



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SAO-KE ALFRED SZE,  
CHINESE MINISTER AT  
WASHINGTON

(One of China's representatives at the Conference)

delegates in Washington, and then in his relations to that larger conference, the currents of opinion throughout the world. He shaped the Conference. He kept it in its channels. He fixed its scope. He decided that it should not attempt too much. I think that Mr. Balfour and Baron Kato narrowed its

Perhaps also they enlarged a little Mr. Hughes' notion of the treaty that should replace the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. To this extent Mr. Hughes may have swerved, but in general he adhered to his original conception. If the larger problems before the world were not approached, it was



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HON. WELLINGTON KOO,  
CHINA'S CHIEF SPOKES-  
MAN

("Astonishingly young and brilliant"—a Columbia graduate, class of 1909)

because Mr. Hughes felt that after Paris this was the day of small beginnings. He must run no risk of repeating Mr. Wilson's failure. He must persuade the people by success, and he has his success, within limits set by himself—a saving in naval budgets, an organization of the powers with Eastern interests to promote mutual understanding.

### *The "Big One" and the "Big Three"*

Presiding at the open sessions of the Conference, Mr. Hughes was a distinguished figure. The delegates sat at tables arranged to form a hollow square. Mr. Hughes sat at the center of the table, in the end of the hall toward the stage. He was the center of attention, doing most of the talking, with that perfect command of himself, that clear sense of what he was going to say, which is characteristic of him. He suggested power, to an extent which Mr. Clemenceau, a much harder and more inflexible man presiding similarly at Paris, never suggested it. It was partly illusion; the most detached of us cannot wholly put away his national illusions. It was partly staging, voluntary subordination elsewhere. It reminded me of the Italian publicity man's calling us all into a conference to assure us that whatever was to be done the initiative must come from the United States.

The larger conference, with the press of the world, with public opinion, to everyone's surprise slipped out of Mr. Hughes' hands. Here it was supposed that the Secretary would be strong, but here he was weak. To his credit be it said, perhaps due to his early training, he does not exist comfortably in the atmosphere of half-lies that surrounds a conference. Mr. Hughes was unhappy, almost angry, at times. The press was unsparing. "Why," he was asked, "can we obtain information from other delegations but not from you?" He sought to know himself. "Oh," he was told "we thought all this information came from you."

Probably he made a mistake in trying to handle publicity himself. A delegation, so long as the press is avid for information and misinformation, should have a leak conveniently arranged, sufficiently remote and irresponsible. Mr. Hughes was too close in,

took engagements not to talk too literally, was too responsible, tells the truth too habitually to be a good leak. He was terribly outleaked.

As I pass on from the Big One to the Big Three, I must quote what one of the leading English correspondents said to me of Mr. Balfour: "It is a new Balfour at this conference." Certainly as you heard the British chief delegate's voice, moved and moving, emotional perhaps for the first time in his life, you realized that it was not Mr. Balfour, "proceeding on his faded way" as the London *Nation* expressed it, who was speaking. It was Mr. Balfour as he might

be at a great revival meeting.

I suspect that he will go back to England and shore up "The Foundations of Belief," which foundations one of the American delegates, complimenting the author, said he had found "rather slender." Mr. Balfour has been all his life the kind of man who delights to believe on foundations "rather slender." A more emotional man would thicken the foundations with imagination.

Mr. Balfour has been a man of vast disillusion. He has been detached. He wears a detached cravat, a black bow with both ends tucked under a wide turn-down collar, unlike anything mere men wear. He

made his first speech in a detached manner, as if no one else were present, clutching both lapels of his coat in his hands and looking at the sky through his wide-rimmed glasses, unmindful of the fact that a brick wall cut off his vision.

In personal relations, Mr. Balfour is charming, because he has the flattering way of surrendering his detachment and showing interest. In regard to the United States he is no longer detached. Perhaps it is "blood is thicker than water" that warms his voice. He is a "new Balfour."

Baron Kato, the other member of the Big Three, was the Clemenceau of the conference. In spite of not speaking English, in spite of not being the nominal head of the Japanese delegation, in spite of being a naval officer in a political conference, he made himself Japan's chief representative. He was the hardest fighter; his was the strongest will in the Big Three. He is the



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HON. ELIHU ROOT, OF THE  
AMERICAN DELEGATION

embodiment of that inflexible nationalism which Clemenceau made the chief obstacle to Wilson at Paris and which lay in the way of Hughes's more complete success at Washington. If Japan finds herself morally isolated in the future, it will be because she committed her case to a hard sea fighter given to saying little and yielding little. He has not Clemenceau's political skill, nor his fierce aggressiveness. He does not know the West as the Frenchman did. Given different conditions, that bony face and those narrow eyes might have dominated the Conference. His was a stubborn defensive.

When you turn from Japan to China, you go from a hard, intensely national people to a sympathetic cosmopolitan people. The Japanese is infinitely more alien to the American than the Chinese. Take the relatively simple matter of speaking English. The Japanese, however well educated, speaks it with difficulty. The Chinese uses it as if it were his native tongue. Western ideas are absorbed by China. They seem not to be by Japan. I doubt if the Japanese know what the Conference was all about except so far as it touched the interests of Japan.

Dr. Wellington Koo—small, astonishingly young and brilliant in his appearance—speaks English with a fluency and eloquence that can hardly be surpassed by any American. Dr. Sze is almost his equal in this respect. Dr. Tsao, assistant secretary-general of the Chinese delegation, is wittier in English than any American I know. They are all appealing, personally persuasive. But their country is not persuasive in any international gathering.

#### *Lord Riddell and the Fourth Estate*

When I spoke of Mr. Hughes as the Big One, I forgot Lord Riddell. But if you think of the Conference as something that went on not in Continental Hall nor behind closed doors in the Pan-American Building, nor in foreign offices the world over, the British editor who saw the press twice a day

was the most important figure. Lord Riddell had an odd relation to events. He did not represent officially the British delegation. The British Foreign Office had a man over here, Sir Arthur Willert, to do that. Lloyd George sent Lord Riddell over, and when Lord Riddell wished to go home Lloyd George cabled bidding him to stay.

Riddell is one of the British Premier's intimates. A lawyer turned newspaper proprietor, he brings out the *News of the World*, a London Sunday publication, sensational and trashy, of which 3,500,000 copies or some such preposterous number are sold. He started in during the war as a spokesman for the British Premier. He kept it up at the Paris Conference. And at Washington he scored his greatest success.

To all intents and purposes, Lord Riddell has been since November 12 the British Empire. The same qualities which have enabled him to get out a paper which everybody buys in England have given him at Washington the largest circulation in the world. When you read in the press "the Conference will do this or that," or "it is learned on high authority that the Conference thinks this or that," you were reading Lord Riddell.

What he had said at his conference was, "Now, of course, I don't know, but I imagine the Conference will do thus and so."

He was delightfully irresponsible, having no official connection. He could leak when he had anything to leak. He could guess, near the truth or far from the truth, for, after all, he was only "imagining." He joked. He indulged in buffoonery. He put out propaganda when he wished. But he mixed enough truth with it all so that the correspondents thronged his meetings. So far as there was publicity at the Conference, he was that publicity.

There was nothing of the great man about him. He did not pretend to be a statesman. He did not take himself seriously. He reached out for his public in the same undress way that he does in his Sunday newspaper.



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SECRETARY HUGHES COMING FROM  
A CONFERENCE SESSION



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## LORD RIDDELL AND NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD, WHO COVER THE ARMS CONFERENCE

(Lord Riddell is in the center of the front row, with a cane. The group stands in front of the Navy Building, where the press headquarters is located)

"Ex-tra-ter-ri-to-ri-al-ity," he would say, "that's a long word. I never heard it before I came here." "Kow Loon, where is the place anyway?" You felt that for the British Empire these places and issues were trivialities.

He was familiar, quite inoffensively. "The highly intelligent seal of the Associated Press—was it Mr. Hood here?—must have been under the table in the committee room when he got this story. He knows more about it than I do." He was humorous. "The Conference means to do good and, according to the well known rule—what is it?—Oh, yes! 'Cast your bread upon the waters'—and by a 'er certain repercussion we all expect to benefit." It wasn't said cynically. This was no effort to be funny. It was natural and inevitable. Lord Riddell himself did good to the press, and by a certain repercussion the British Empire benefited. It was a publicity "stunt" that has never been equaled. Never before did one man have world opinion so much in his hands. Only Riddell's personality, his friendliness, his apparent disingenuousness, his trifling, enabled him to exercise his power. These and the immense demand for publicity where aside from him there was little.

The story is not complete without some mention of the correspondents. There was Steed, H. Wickham Steed, editor of the *London Times*, tall and slender, with a continental beard, trained as editors are abroad but not here, assistant correspondent for the *Times* in Rome, its chief correspondent in Vienna, its political editor in London, reporter at all the world conferences in a generation—finally, under Northcliffe, editor of the world's greatest newspaper. In Italy they blame upon Steed all their troubles over Fiume, for they say that, having access to Wilson, he persuaded the American President to resist the Italian claims.



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## LORD RIDDELL

(Who, to press correspondents, was the most important person at the Conference)

Here Steed was the most American of the Britons, moved as perhaps Balfour was by a sense of closer American-British relations. Even Pollyanna, America's national spirit, may go back to London with the British and be acclimated, so near are the two countries now. I detected Polly in more than one British journalist's dispatches, which was highly complimentary to the nation.

Colonel Repington, coldly British, regarded Polly with a fishy eye. Colonel Nevinson, of the *Manchester Guardian*, was too much of a Liberal to be entirely happy.



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## A GROUP OF NOTED NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS AT THE CONFERENCE

(Left to right: Mark Sullivan, H. G. Wells, William Allen White, and D. S. Kim, Korean correspondent)

The French came and went in a gale of laughter, exploding over Premier Briand's submarine joke: "Pertinax," M. Geraud, of the *Echo de Paris*, was exposed to the emotional atmosphere of Washington and went home unchanged. Unlike Mr. Balfour, he is no "new" Pertinax. Cynical and brilliant, he wrote the most intelligent criticism of the Conference. Philip Millet, of the *Petit Parisien*, and editor also of *L'Europe Nouvelle*, the best periodical of international politics in the world, less professionally disillusioned than Pertinax, went home, I suppose, with new evidence of his favorite theory that public men are always misunderstood. He explained to me once how Lloyd George was the most obstinate and changeless politician in the world, in spite of his reputation for inconsistency. I forget the evidence, but give you the view.

M. Galtier, political *causeur* of *Le Temps*, perhaps more typically French than either Geraud or Millet, departed with, I hope, one impression corrected. "I am reading," he said to me, "'The education of Henry Adams.' He was what you would call a typical American, was he not?" I explained that he was

what I should call the least typical American. Oh, Kansas! No wonder international conferences are necessary to promote mutual understanding!

I should like to mention more of the correspondents: but an international portrait gallery would be endless. Let me list Bunshiro Suzuki of the *Asahi* of Tokio, and Osaka, whom I met first at Paris, writer of round robins to his delegation, liberal, intelligent, courageous, a brilliant sign of the rising power of the press of Japan.

I pass over the Americans except to record that Frank H. Simonds, the master of us all in this field, was author of the best epigram of the Conference: "The four-power pact was invented to save the British Empire from committing bigamy."

Critical correspondence hardly exists in America. Mostly the correspondents lend too ready an ear to Lord Riddell. Someone suggested that there should be a punctuation mark for irony. I suggest one in the American press for propaganda, like the three stars required by some States to designate "reading notices." I propose three daggers for propaganda.





ROBERT EMMET



DANIEL O'CONNELL



CHARLES S. PARNELL



JOHN REDMOND

LEADERS IN IRELAND'S CENTURY-OLD STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

# IRELAND AS A FREE STATE

BY P. W. WILSON

(Former Member of the British Parliament)

IT is hoped that this Christmas there will be peace and good-will at last in Ireland. A consummation so devoutly to be wished will remove a cause of trouble wherever the English language is spoken and will react even on India and Egypt, where also the cause of constitutional liberty is struggling to the birth. Among the large Irish population of Australia the news will be warmly welcomed, and in Canada there will be scarcely less satisfaction. Catholicism in Canada is French, not Irish; but the Dominion realizes none the less that her relations with the United States are bound up with those of Britain, and that Britain and the United States can never be as intimate and friendly as Canadians desire if Ireland remains in discontent and revolt.

At the Washington Conference, as much attention has been devoted to the negotiations over Ireland as to the agenda for the day; and the possibility that the truce might break down was regarded with dismay. Whoever might have been at fault, be it Ulster or Sinn Fein or Downing Street, the result would have been the same—a resumption of sniping, of guerrilla war, and of severe reprisals. Such a situation could scarcely fail to evoke echoes in the United States.

The American delegates, in proceeding with their plans, have been conscious that theirs is not the final word in diplomacy. To whatever arrangement may be made,

Congress or at least the Senate must agree; and the Senate has to take into account public opinion, which includes Irish sentiment. The quadripartite agreement over the Pacific, proposed by Mr. Lodge, is unusual in the foreign relations of this country and offers a target for criticism if people want to be critics. Over European debts, also, it would be easy to raise difficulties, and politicians so expert as are the Irish do not need to be taught such strategy.

## *From the Norman Conquest*

The story of Ireland has seldom been told with truth. In 1066, the Norman French conquered England and subjected the country to the rough discipline of the feudal system which in a measure has continued to this day. One century later, the same conquerors, under the same ecclesiastical sanctions, proceeded to Ireland and sought to set up the same feudal system. As illustrations of this, the architecture of the two great cathedral churches of Dublin, St. Patrick's and Christchurch, needs only to be compared with that of Westminster Abbey and of Old St. Paul's. The English absorbed their conquerors, but the Irish remained humiliated and embittered.

As the British became reconciled with and united to their rulers, so did they become involved in the quarrel of their rulers with Ireland. That quarrel was at first mainly agrarian. The barons wanted the lands held



by the Irish chieftains. But at the Reformation in the sixteenth century there was injected into the situation the sectarian passion which in Spain sustained the Inquisition, in France the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's, in England the burnings under Queen Mary, and in mid-Europe the Thirty Years War, which desolated Germany and set back her civilization for a century.

### *The Protestant Reformation*

Those were days when men believed that religion must be uniform and they who thought otherwise had to sail to a new world in the *Mayflower*. The idea of a country where any and every religion might be practised was still only an idea. While England, Scotland, and Wales became Protestant, Ireland remained Catholic. Her Catholicism was the greater offense to England because the counter-revolution, described by Macaulay in his essay on Ranke, was sweeping through Europe in the seventeenth century and threatening the liberties of democratic nations. It was the strength of the Stuart dynasty. It was the terror of the Puritans. And, than terror, there is nothing more productive of cruelty. It was terror of the invader that enabled Robespierre to establish the terror of the guillotine. It was terror of the Jesuit that led to Cromwell's massacres and to the iniquitous penal laws which were for so long the curse of Ireland.

Under the mask of Protestantism the landlords raised their rents and the merchants raised their tariffs against the Catholic Irishman. It was a policy that could not be expected to promote conversions. And with the failure of proselytism, there was attempted a policy of colonization.

It began in Ulster about the year 1611, and Cromwell continued it. Ulster is, of course, within sight of Scotland. The Scottish energy which has been so largely accountable for the development of Canada has been poured into the province nearer home, and there has grown up the great city of Belfast, rich, efficient, and self-determined, in which all the memories of the Boyne are cherished, as elsewhere in Ireland men cherish the memories of Srogheda and the broken Treaty of Limerick.

### *The Act of Union*

In the eighteenth century the hope of Ireland lay in her Parliament. Like the British

Parliament of that period, it was badly in need of reform. But, despite a franchise which ignored the Catholic majority, you had in it the nucleus of civil liberty. When the nineteenth century opened, however, Britain was involved in the Napoleonic Wars. Ireland was disturbed, and Pitt the younger was desperate. He made the fatal decision to destroy the Parliament of Ireland whether by fair means or foul and to unite her institutions with those of Great Britain. Such a blow could have been justified only—if at all—on two assumptions; namely, that in religious and in economic matters the Irish were to be treated with scrupulous equity. But King George III was intermittently mad, and he would not agree to Catholic Emancipation, which was delayed until 1829, by which time Daniel O'Connell had started the agitation for the Repeal of the Union. On the economic side, the famine of the hungry '40's, while it helped Peel to pass Free Trade, drove millions of Irish into the emigrant ship and accelerated the reduction in the country's population from 8,000,000 to 4,500,000. Hence arose the Irish problem in the United States, which has so profoundly affected the politics, the press, and the diplomacy of the new world.

### *Parnell and the Home Rule Movement*

From this time onward there were two views held in Britain about Ireland. Broadly, both parties wavered between coercion and conciliation. In 1869 Gladstone disestablished and disendowed the Protestant Episcopal Irish Church. But in 1886 he failed to carry even the whole Liberty party for Home Rule.

In the next six years the one name that stands out is that of Parnell. On the one hand, he vindicated himself triumphantly against the *London Times*, which had charged him with complicity in the Phoenix Park murders of the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and his colleague, Mr. Burke. The letters suggesting the allegation were found to have been forged by a man called Pigott, who confessed to Henry Labouchere, the distinguished and piquant editor of *Truth* in London, and then committed suicide in Spain. On the other hand, Parnell was involved in a divorce case where the respondent was Mrs. O'Shea, wife of a Conservative member of Parliament who had been set to watch him and, in the manner of great romance, had fallen in love with her victim, who returned the affection



and married her when the court had set her free.

Driven by the nonconformist conscience, Gladstone threw over Parnell, who was also deserted by the Irish Hierarchy, and the Nationalists were split into two bitterly antagonistic parties. In 1892 Gladstone was returned to power with a majority of only forty, which was not enough to enable him to force Home Rule through the hostile House of Lords. Lord Rosebery, who succeeded Gladstone as Prime Minister, was lukewarm over the matter, and in 1895 the Unionists, led by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, came into the power which they retained for ten years. Even the great electoral victory won by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman in 1905 was on condition that Home Rule be not passed in the new Liberal and Labor Parliament.

#### *Removal of Disabilities*

A great change for the better was taking place, however, in the condition of Ireland. All the religious disabilities had been swept away, save two. One of those was the King's Coronation or more accurately Accession Oath, which was insulting to Catholics and was modified at the demand of King George; and the second was the Lord Lieutenancy which had to be held by a Protestant, a restriction removed by the Home Rule Act of 1920.

By a succession of Purchase Acts, the landlords were bought out at a low rate of interest and a great class of yeomen farmers was created. Agricultural organization was encouraged and it became worth while for the young Irishman to stay at home. The decline in population was arrested.

#### *Ireland Prosperous and Progressive*

With the war, Ireland became prosperous. While conscription was passed for her, it was never applied. She obtained high prices for her commodities. All suggestion of over-taxation has long since vanished. She has no longer grievances unremedied, but she has hopes unsatisfied. Under Mr. Birrell, the best of all Ireland's Chief Secretaries, the thorny question of the universities was settled and there are now many colleges where Catholics feel that they can go.

A young Ireland has thus emerged. The Irish language, the Irish drama, Irish painting, and Irish poetry are widely recognized. And it was the intellectuals who formed themselves into the Sinn Fein. Into the old

bottles of Irish politics and controversy was poured this new wine. It found its way into religion, into labor, into Irish-America and Irish-Australia. Everywhere, the Nationalist party, as led by Redmond and Dillon, felt the challenge. It meant that Ireland was alive again. The resurrection had come.

In August, 1914, the European War broke out. Mr. Asquith was Prime Minister. He had taken up Gladstonian Home Rule and his Act was on the statute book. Even Mr. Balfour, the Chief Secretary who enforced coercion against Parnell, had accepted the inevitable. Every party in every dominion in the British Commonwealth wanted the Act to come into operation.

#### *Ulster's Opposition to Home Rule*

But an obstacle arose in Ireland herself. Four counties in Ulster threatened to resist the Act by armed force, and they claimed exclusion not only for themselves but for Fermanagh and Tyrone, which were predominantly Catholic and Nationalist. A Conference was held at Buckingham Palace but it broke down. The Nationalists fighting for united Ireland could not come to terms with the Orangemen fighting for exclusion and, in their hearts, for the continuance of the union with Britain. Mr. Asquith held that he could not coerce Ulster. It would have caused trouble in the army, then fighting ten to one against the Germans. It would also have thrown the English Tories into an attitude of irritation when the solidarity of the nation was of such paramount importance.

The Act was thus postponed and Sinn Fein, with allies in the United States and Sir Roger Casement in Berlin, became impatient. The Easter rebellion broke out in 1916, a conference held under the presidency of Sir Horace Plunkett failed to bring in Ulster, and the general election of November, 1918, swept the Nationalists out of existence and enthroned the Dail Eireann, a Republican Parliament of members elected to the House of Commons but never taking their seats therein.

With the attempt at secession on the part of Nationalist Ireland, Belfast became even more obdurate than before. To the Ulstermen, the Sinn Fein was simply a conspiracy of rebels, plotting with the Germans, indulging in assassination and boycott, and financed from abroad.

Sinn Fein itself held that it was entrusted

with a cause so sacred that any measures to advance it, whether propaganda in India, Egypt and the United States or shootings in Ireland, were legitimate. Volleys of bullets assailed Lord French, the Lord Lieutenant; and the Lord Mayor of Cork, Terence MacSwiney, starved himself to death in Brixton Jail.

Amid these brainstorms, what Britain wanted was a free and contented Ireland. Here in New York, the President of the Irish Republic, Eamon De Valera, was urged both in public and in private to cross the ocean and talk it out with Lloyd George. He declined and for an explicit reason. All over Europe there had arisen republics on the ruin of monarchies. Everywhere Woodrow Wilson's word "self-determination" was animating small nationalities to press their claims. Why should Ireland be left out? Why should she be denied the independence granted to Czechoslovakia and Poland and Lithuania?

The Prime Minister took his stand on the precedent of Abraham Lincoln and the American Civil War, and declared that Ireland could not be allowed to secede. Sinn Fein answered that Ireland had never been by her own consent a part of the United Kingdom, and that the real secession which could not be permitted was the secession of Ulster from the rest of Ireland. This was the position during the terrible autumn and winter of 1920, when Cork was burned, and Balbriggan sacked, and many creameries destroyed as reprisals for the harassing guerrilla tactics pursued by the Republican Army, out of uniform, against the British Black-and-Tans, the auxiliary troops who wore the dark caps of the police and the brown leather of the soldier.

In the summer of 1921 there came a change. The funds collected in the United States for the Republic had amounted to rather more than \$5,000,000. Little more was coming in. The Presidential election here was over, and it had to be admitted that the endeavor to involve Great Britain in difficulties with the United States had failed. The enthusiasm of the Irish-Americans had stirred an enthusiasm on the other side, and there were organizations developing which might serve to counteract the Sinn Fein influence.

Sympathizers like Senator Walsh confessed that the republican cause had failed over here, and it leaked out that Cardinal Gibbons had never favored it. Like Cardi-

nal Logue, he had wanted a fair but not an extreme solution. The Vatican also moved. The irreconcilables attributed this to the malign diplomacy of the English Catholics at Rome, and there were attacks on Cardinal Bourne, the Archbishop of Westminster. It was noticed that Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne, Australia, did not receive a Cardinal's hat, and the Pope pleaded openly for peace, even incurring the rebuke of Mr. De Valera himself.

General Smuts, who had been attending the Imperial Conference in London, visited Ireland, saw the Republican chieftains there and on leaving them wrote a plainspoken letter, saying that they must be content with a status which had been good enough for South Africa. Out of the confusion there emerged two and only two questions—namely, whether Ulster was to be forced into the Irish Dominion against her will, and whether the Dominion should be permitted to declare itself independent of the British Empire and thus be able to set up a navy and alliances against England. On these questions, the British Government said, "no!"

#### *Division in Sinn Fein*

As time passed and negotiations between Lloyd George and the republicans dragged on, it began to be clear that Sinn Fein was splitting. Arthur Griffith and even the redoubtable Michael Collins, Minister for War, and Danton of the movement, were ready for peace. But De Valera, like the incorruptible Robespierre, clung to his Presidency, withdrew from the discussions, and led the left wing. Sinn Fein wanted to retain unity.

In London, therefore, Griffith challenged a deadlock and it seemed as if we should return to the state of war with all that this would have meant. The Irish would have been hardly human if they had not been conscious that they were keeping Lloyd George away from the Washington Conference. To have such a Prime Minister as he has been, tied by the leg, was indeed a delicious revenge. Happily, that Prime Minister and King George were determined not in this case to fail over Ireland; and in the dramatic all-night sitting on December 6, they forced themselves and they forced the Irish to come to terms. Next morning, the world awoke to find the Treaty signed, with every prospect of ratification on both sides. De Valera was unconvinced, apparently, but

he was now only the leader of a minority of his party.

### *Terms of the Compact*

The main lines of the Treaty are simple. An Irish Free State is created with a status similar to that of Canada. For one year, the provisional government of this state is the Dail Eireann, a single-chamber legislature, acting through the present Sinn Fein Cabinet. Within the year, there must be a general election in Ireland. Instead of the Lord Lieutenant, there will be a Governor General, appointed in consultation with the Irish administration, and acting afterward on the advice of his ministers. All the judges, officials, police and civil servants, including whatever has been known as Dublin Castle, are subject to dismissal under compensation, which also must be paid if they resign as a result of the change.

Except in the case of the Black-and-Tans, the compensation is to be paid by Ireland. On the high seas, Ireland may patrol her fisheries and her customs, but for a period of five years she leaves her coastal defence to Britain. At the end of that period, there is to be a conference to decide what part Ireland is to play in such coastal defence. In the event of war or danger of war, it is agreed that Britain shall have strategic access to Ireland, an arrangement closely approximating to the Platt Amendment, which defines the rights of the United States in Cuba. Important naval stations are retained by the British Admiralty, and Britain will also have a virtual control over cables and wireless, which can be neither closed up nor extended without her consent. The Irish Free State may enroll its own army, but agrees that in the event of international limitation of armaments on land the number of troops in Ireland for every hundred of population shall not proportionally exceed the corresponding number of troops in Britain. This means a recognition

of the Sinn Fein forces and of their uniforms.

Over finance, the Irish Free State is given complete control. It may levy customs and excise, vary the income taxes and fix the annual budget. Ireland will accept her fair proportion of the national debt, now spread over the United Kingdom, due allowance being made for her overtaxation in years past and also for the capital subscribed by Britain to finance Land Purchase. The amount of the Irish Debt will be decided either by discussion between the two governments or by arbitration.

When the sum is fixed, Ireland will be at liberty to borrow or repay as she wishes, and there is nothing to prevent her redeeming the Fenian and Sinn Fein bonds floated among her sympathizers in the United States. She may have her own currency, her own coinage, her own flag, her own national emblems and anthem. She may establish her own trade agents abroad and may call them consuls if she wishes. On the Canadian precedent, there is nothing to prevent her having her own Minister at Washington and her own seat on the League of Nations or any other international conference. These are her rights, fully admitted by Britain, but she will find that the assertion of them will cost her a great deal of money.

The titular head of the Irish Free State will still be King George V, and after him, his heirs according to law. In Great Britain, the succession is hereditary but is strictly Parliamentary or statutory in its sanctions, and Ireland accepts this arrangement. The present Dail Eireann is not asked to take the oath of allegiance but merely to sign the Treaty of Peace, which happens to include it as a provision for the future. The oath itself is tactfully modified so as to smooth away wounded susceptibilities.

Allegiance is sworn only to the Irish Free State; and with regard to the King, the member of the future Irish Parliament is only



W. E. GLADSTONE, THE  
FIRST ENGLISH STATES-  
MAN TO STAND FOR  
IRISH HOME RULE



PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE,  
WHO BROUGHT ABOUT THE  
TREATY WITH IRELAND

asked to say that he will be faithful. That word suggests a bond between equals, rather than the duty of a man to a superior. Women as well as men vote for the Irish Parliament, and women already sit in the Dail Eireann. The Irish Free State will, however, send no members to the British House of Commons. Presumably Irish peers, as such, will cease to sit in the House of Lords.

Of reservations, there appear to be only three of importance: First, no church may be established or endowed and no worship forbidden. There are to be religious equality and religious liberty. Secondly, it is understood that customs will not be levied against British imports—in other words, that there will be full reciprocity in trade between the two islands. This does not seem to be guaranteed in the documents, but it would be a matter of treaty. Obviously, an exclusion of British products by Ireland might be followed by a much more damaging exclusion of Irish products by England.

#### *With or Without Ulster*

And, thirdly, there is dissentient Ulster.

In all cases of English-speaking democracy, there has been a province like Ulster to be brought into the general unity. It was so when the American Colonies federated, and for a long time, as it seemed, the hope of the Union hung in the balance. With Canada, Newfoundland is still holding out; and in Australia, the anxiety centred around New South Wales. After the Boer War, Natal resisted the idea of a commonwealth which would include and be dominated by the former enemy.

In every instance there was only one way of handling the objector and that way was by patience and persuasion. Force would only have done more harm than good. Ulster will not be forced into the Irish Free State. She will enter by her own consent, if at all. But whether she comes in or not, the Irish Free State will be created.

By the treaty of peace, Ulster—meaning, of course, the Protestant section of that Province—will be included in the Irish Free State unless within one month from the ratification of the treaty by Parliament in London she decides to exclude herself. On the virtues and the limitations of the Irish Protestant, it is Gilbert Chesterton who, as usual, has said the final word. Discussing Bernard Shaw, Chesterton says that the Ulsterman is simply a sentry on guard. He

displays all the fidelity which there should be in a garrison. He is faithful to the Reformation against the Jesuits, faithful to landlords against land leagues, faithful to the Union against disruption, faithful to the King against sedition, faithful to Capital against Labor, and so on; he is faithful rather than sympathetic and progressive, and above all humble-minded. He feels it to be his duty to be right and to say so.

It is the fashion to blame Carson for the attitude of Ulster. But Carson, like Wyndham when Chief Secretary, and Walter Long, has only been the mouthpiece of the Orange mind. Had he held back, Ulster would have found a more obedient instrument. Not only Lloyd George but Asquith and Redmond agreed that Ulster could not be coerced into accepting Dominion rule.

De Valera has differed from this view. He has held that an Irish boycott of Ulster with persistent propaganda in doubtful areas would force compliance. The boycott has been severe. From the branches of Ulster banks in the south and west, deposits have been withdrawn. Orders for Ulster goods have fallen off. But the fact remains that the new siege of Londonderry failed; and when the Parliament for Ulster was set up this year, the Orangemen secured, whether by undue pressure or otherwise, an overwhelming majority in both Houses, while the King and Queen, on visiting Belfast, received a welcome which placed the sentiment of that city beyond any manner of doubt. It is for this Parliament to say whether Ulster joins the Free State or not. And the decision must be given by identical addresses of both houses in one month.

If Ulster stands out, she will continue to send members to the British House of Commons. She will, moreover, pay taxes into the British Treasury. Her naval and military defense will be entirely in the hands of Great Britain. She will in fact remain a part of the United Kingdom, with certain provincial rights conceded to her local legislature. Her status will be quite easily understood by Americans with their experience of federal and State rights.

The Irish Dominion will exercise over Ulster no jurisdiction of any kind, and the frontiers of Ulster will be delimited as regards the two disputed counties exactly as if we were dealing with neighboring and foreign powers. It is, to say the least, a very inconvenient solution. Railways, post offices, finance, trade, and law now apply

uniformly to Ulster as to the rest of Ireland; and a surgical operation separating the two areas can be achieved only at an immense social loss.

The mind of Ulster and the mind of Connaught are not mutually exclusive but mutually supplementary. All over Ireland, a Protestantism and a Catholicism that work together will produce a fuller citizenship than either can produce by itself. Every reason of public policy supports the view that it would be well for Ulster to accept the situation.

By the treaty, the Irish Free State agrees to discuss with Ulster certain matters on which she may desire assurances. For instance, there is the appointment of civil servants in the Protestant area, and the collection there of public revenue. Also, there is the misgiving in Belfast lest a parliament in Dublin, mainly dependent on the agricultural vote, might tax the raw materials and the other imports on which the industries of Belfast depend.

Education is another subject which might have to be mentioned. Assuming that Ulster can be brought to the point of trusting Ireland as a whole, she would retain her Parliament for local purposes, if she so wished, but her members would sit at Dublin and would form an important group in the legislature there—a legislature where already it is clear that the Sinn Féin bloc, united against British rule, will break up, when that rule is ended, into various parties and groups.

The religious and social differences which have given so much trouble in Ireland, if properly handled, will make of her a greater nation than any nation can be in which all classes take the same view of life, here and hereafter. The Dutch in South Africa were perhaps too exclusively Protestant. The French in Quebec may be too exclusively Catholic. In India the great hope consists in the interplay there of divergent religions. For Ireland, united in her nationality and with variance in her beliefs, there opens up a most noble vista of the greatness that comes so often to the small country. Her debates will stimulate her literature and her arts. The intermingling of her farms and her factories will arouse her imagination. There is little in her economy which need ever blacken the loveliness of her emerald landscapes.

Ireland is one of the few countries that may hope to be prosperous without losing the soul of her romance and the lilt of her song. From the martyrdoms and the crucifixions on which her mind has meditated for centuries, she now turns to a future full of opportunity. She may find that government is less interesting than grievances, and administration of the law less thrilling than the defiance of it. She will pass inevitably out of the lurid limelight which has become for her almost a second nature. But in the serene atmosphere of a most welcome emancipation, she will work out her own destinies and with them, it may be, the problem of happiness for nations less fortunate.



THE FIRST DAIL EIREANN (IRISH PARLIAMENT) WHICH BEGAN THE AGITATION THAT HAS CULMINATED IN THE CREATION OF THE IRISH FREE STATE

(In the front row, seated, the second from the left is Michael Collins; the fourth, Arthur Griffith; the fifth, President De Valera; the sixth, Count Plunkett; the seventh, E. MacNeill)



A FIELD OF VIRGINIA TOBACCO

# THE SOUTHERN FARMER TRIES COÖPERATIVE MARKETING

BY SYDNEY D. FRISSELL

AMERICA'S greatest liberty-lover, America's greatest gambler, America's gamest loser, the man who endures hardship, debt, and isolation in order to think himself the monarch of all he surveys upon his own few acres, and clings at any sacrifice to his little kingdom—the Southern farmer—is waking from a dream.

For a generation he has dreamed he was the most independent man on earth, even through the hard years that have been relieved by rare flashes of prosperity.

In the sudden flare of high prices for cotton and tobacco, and with the first sweet taste of prosperity hitherto unknown, when war demands brought 40-cent cotton, dollar tobacco was common, thousands of cotton-planters and tobacco-growers approached a standard of living on the Southern farms which might compare with the advantages of city dwellers.

In the fall of 1919 cotton-fields held fortunes, the log tobacco barns became the owners' treasure houses, filled with golden weeds which yielded from \$500 to \$1000 for a curing, and the Southern farmer, thinking he had come into his own at last, spent money "like a drunken sailor." Touring cars supplanted horse and buggy. Thousands who had gone afoot or "mule-back"

began to race upon the roads in new and shining Fords.

Meanwhile a solid gain was made in thousands of Southern homes toward higher living levels than had hitherto been reached by the great majority of cotton and tobacco farmers. Houses were painted, yards improved; children were taken out of cotton fields and log tobacco barns and sent to school on time, while thousands of tenants pulled themselves by one crop into the owner class.

Prosperity had come, but only like a passing dream, and Southern farmers soon felt again such losses as 10-cent cotton and 25-cent tobacco brought when produced with the high cost of labor and fertilizer which followed boom times.

## *A Rude Awakening*

Within a year after the crash of prices cotton-planters and tobacco-growers looked about and found themselves staggering under crop mortgages again, and laboring to meet their debts. In desperation they took account of stock.

The Southern farmer found the independence, which he had made a fetish, a pitiful delusion. The rampant individualism which he boasted as his one inalienable right, he sees to-day as his most glaring fault.



A LOG TOBACCO BARN

(In the "boom" period of 1919 these barns became the owners' treasure houses, filled with golden weeds which yielded from \$500 to \$1000 for a curing)

In the game he called a gamble, and where he took his losses like a "sport," the cotton-planter or tobacco-grower found the dice were loaded, and that the stakes for which he played went four times out of five to others who are organized to win.

Common to every cotton and tobacco market in the South, where growers dump their products down at public auction and take whatever price the speculative buyers may give, are the following cases which recently occurred in Georgia and North Carolina:

A farmer selling a pile of tobacco on the Wilson market this fall was offered 31 cents a pound. Dissatisfied, he asked a Wilson resident to sell it in his own name. The tobacco, for which 31 cents was bid when first offered, brought 67 cents the same day on the same market when offered by another man. The market mentioned is the largest bright tobacco market of the South, but similar instances could be multiplied by the thousand, and occur daily throughout the cotton and tobacco belts.

A recent letter to a leading farm journal of North Carolina shows clearly why the growers wish to change the cotton-selling game.

About May 1st, I carried a bale of cotton to town to sell. We have four buyers here. I stopped at the first one that bought. He had a new man to grade it for him. He showed the sample to the grader and bid me seven and a quarter cents for it. I grabbed the sample away from him and went to the next one. He insisted that I tell him what I had been bid. I told him

while he looked at it. Then he said it was worth eight cents all right.

I went to the other one. He looked at it and said he would give me ten and a half cents for it. I sold it to him.

Now for the rest of my experience. The man who bought my cotton at ten and a half cents threw it on his platform, and that evening sold it to the buyer who first bid on it, and who only offered me seven and a quarter cents. I don't know what the last man got for it, but I have no idea that he lost any money on it.

For years the Southern farmer boasted of his skill in playing a lone hand, but looking back he sees that he has always paid the profits to the groups that are combined against him in the game. He sees that he has put his children in the game, has called his wife to help him win, has worked from dawn to dark, from year to year, and sadly smiled at losses when he let the other fellows who have put their heads together make the rules and take the winnings.

### *Seeking the Way Out*

In Virginia and the Carolinas, with more than half the cotton and tobacco farmers carrying crop mortgages, the growers met in desperation at the opening of the markets in the fall of 1920 when the prices of their product were cut in half or to a third.

At many places in the South gins were burning, warehouses closing, while farmers were mobilizing in almost every county in the cotton and tobacco belt throughout the fall of 1920.

With angry protests, futile plans and confused counsel, the farmers who gathered in mass meetings seemed hopelessly befuddled. Slowly, but with increasing clearness, some big ideas loomed through the mists of confusion and discouragement in which the farmers met and groped for help in every Southern State.

For the first time, the cotton-planter clearly saw he could not play the lone hand and survive. The tobacco-grower saw that his donation to the speculator, manufacturer and middle man of 90 cents out of every dollar paid by the consumer was too high a price for such untrammelled individualism as had brought his family to the verge of poverty.

### *A Light in the Clearing*

Hearing that the Danish farmer kept close to 90 cents of the consumer's dollar in his fist, while tobacco-farmers of Virginia and the Carolinas let all but 8 or 10 cents slip away, the planter of the old tobacco belt began to see a light.



Promising themselves that speculators should not meet them with the old excuse of over-production, 10,000 tobacco-planters of Virginia pledged to cut their crop a third. Outposts of organization sprang up through Virginia and the Carolinas.

Although the planters kept their pledges, and cut their crops a third, the leaders in the old tobacco belt were certain that no rope of sand, like the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" to reduce their acreage, could give more than temporary relief to growers.

With mobilization of cotton and tobacco growers in the lower and upper South, growers' associations taking form in every State, and local units springing up in almost every county, a new hope reached the farmers of the South. That hope was spelled Coöperative Marketing.

The story of the California Coöperative Marketing Associations reached Virginia and the Carolinas, where independence is held precious even at the price of poverty.

#### *The Worker of Coöperative Miracles*

The peanut-growers of Virginia and North Carolina, who had suffered heavy losses by a sudden drop in prices, mobilized to save their industry, and called on Aaron Sapiro, counsel for fourteen California co-operative exchanges, to draw up their plan of organization in the fall of 1920.

No sooner was the campaign of peanut-growers well under way toward a majority of signers, than leaders in the tobacco-growing industry of Virginia and the Carolinas called the Western worker of coöperative miracles to a conference of growers.

The representatives of the Carolina and Virginia growers met with Aaron Sapiro in Richmond, Virginia, on December 16, 1920. Mr. Sapiro pointed out the fact that tobacco, like cotton, is in some respects more easily adapted to coöperative marketing than the raisins, prunes and apricots by which the California growers have risen to prosperity from a debt-ridden condition, similar to that in which the majority of Virginia and Carolina growers find themselves to-day.

After painstaking consideration of the task of signing up a half of all tobacco-growers in the most conservative and oldest industry of Virginia and the Carolinas, and the large problems of warehousing, storage, finance and distribution involved in handling a crop of several hundred million pounds, the leaders called a mobilization of representative tobacco-growers in each State.



DR. J. Y. JOYNER

(Chairman of the organization, committee of the Virginia-Carolina Tobacco Growers' Coöperative Association. Dr. Joyner was formerly Superintendent of Public Instruction for North Carolina)

County delegates from most tobacco-growing counties of Virginia met at Lynchburg early in 1921. State leaders there outlined the plan of marketing tobacco by coöperative sales. The growers of Virginia faced Aaron Sapiro, and were asked why they persisted in the worst marketing system in the world. Asked why they dumped tobacco on the warehouse floors and were willing to accept the grades and prices set by speculators, instead of marketing their crop like business men, through an association of the growers, they saw the need for change.

Told that 2 per cent. of California farmers carry crop mortgages to-day, while 60 per cent. of all tobacco-growers in Virginia labor under them, the growers of Virginia heard how California farmers had bridged the gap between the country and the city, by maintaining such prosperity, by coöperative markets, as the Virginia growers had tasted only once of late, and lost again.

When Aaron Sapiro told the growers of Virginia that they could stabilize their industry within a single year by marketing a majority of the crop of the old tobacco belt

through coöperative sales of a marketing association, the growers of Virginia took him at his word, and forthwith planned their task of signing a majority of growers in their State to the five-year marketing contract to sell their crops through the Tobacco-Growers' Coöperative Association.

After similar mass meetings at Raleigh, North Carolina, and Florence, South Carolina, a similar program was adopted for both cotton and tobacco farmers, each group organizing by commodity.

Backed by the Extension Divisions of three States, endorsed by the State Bankers' Associations of Virginia and North Carolina, the coöperative movement in those States has made amazing progress. Virginia has already signed up 17,000 out of her 29,000 tobacco-growers, North Carolina a majority of her cotton-growers, and South Carolina has made rapid progress in the movement for coöperative sales.

#### *A Prophecy Fulfilled*

The cotton-growers of Oklahoma, Texas, and Mississippi, with a majority of cotton signed in each State, are now selling cotton through their marketing associations. Aided by a loan of \$10,000,000 from the War Finance Corporation, upon a half million bales of cotton under five-year contract, the Texas cotton-growers, merchandising their cotton instead of dumping it upon the speculative markets, are now assured of a reasonable return by selling in accordance with the world's demand.

Oklahoma growers, with a loan of \$6,000,000, Mississippi growers with a loan of \$5,000,000, handling the majority of cotton in their States, through expert managers and salesmen, have fulfilled the prophecy of Sapiro, and have stabilized their industry within a year.

#### *Big Business Takes Notice*

Now that the farmers of the South are organizing in strong business associations throughout the cotton and tobacco belts, and the success of the coöperative marketing movement seems inevitable, a miracle of change is taking place.

The Federal Reserve Board, with a sudden change of heart, passed recent resolutions promising liberal rural credits to enable growers to move and market crops. The War Finance Corporation has agreed to lend millions of dollars to efficient marketing associations, and New York bankers are pre-

paring to stack million for million along with some of the State banks which are backing the organized farmers of the cotton belt.

The farmer in the marketing association can now talk business, and big business sits up and takes notice of the farmer, when at last he holds the majority of his State's cotton or peanuts, raisins, prunes or tobacco in his hands, and under contract for five years.

#### *California Looks Backward and Goes Forward*

During this year the prune-growers' contract in California expired. Instead of signing a five-year contract for marketing their prunes through their coöperative association, the growers made a contract for seven years with their association. Instead of signing 60 or 70 per cent. of the prune-growers of California, their association gained 90 per cent. for the entire State.

T. S. Montgomery, president of the Garden City Bank of California, wrote of this Coöperative Marketing Movement in his section: "The perpetuation of the California Prune and Apricot Growers' Association is the very foundation of our future prosperity. Its discontinuance would be a calamity. Any grower who is too short of vision to look forward should look *backward*, and profit by experience."

Looking backward in California means looking backward from prosperity to such debt-ridden bondage as Virginia tobacco-growers—60 per cent. of them loaded with mortgages—now labor under, and such losses as the cotton-growers have sustained of late.

By means of the loans obtained upon hundreds of thousands of bales of cotton, the cotton-growers who have organized their business can now "eat their cake and keep it too." Upon delivery of his cotton, every grower in the marketing associations which are organized from business receives cash payment for from 50 to 60 per cent. of the value of each load delivered, and can be certain that the cotton will be merchandised with skill, where it will bring the best obtainable returns.

#### *The Way Back to Prosperity*

With 20-cent cotton now in sight, with the assurance of an orderly, skilful sale of his year's crop, with a State-wide organization to protect him from the glutted markets and the speculative system which has proved

his bane, the cotton-grower who has signed the marketing contract can feel that he has fairly won his independence.

While the cotton-growers through organization and coöperative effort have let go their own bootstraps, and pulled together out from the depths of despondency caused by 10-cent cotton, up to the level of 20-cent cotton, with the hope of better days ahead, the organized tobacco-growers of Virginia, Kentucky and the Carolinas look forward to a better day.

In the rise of cotton from 10 to 20 cents, the State-wide organizations of farmers have not played the least important part. Successful at first in reducing their crop, they are now meeting final success in marketing it by organization.

From 7½ cents last July on the South Carolina markets to 20 cents in September on the Virginia markets is a considerable rise for tobacco. The growers of South Carolina were poorly organized in July, but the tobacco-growers in Virginia had attained a 60 per cent. sign-up in September, and in this connection a well-known warehouseman has said: "Tobacco prices are being battered because of the Coöperative Marketing Movement."

Virginia planters are already reaping the first fruits of victory in the success of the pool of the sun-cured belt, which was formed in advance of the Tri-State Growers' Coöperative Association. Those growers who marketed their tobacco by coöperative and orderly sales gained an average of 16¼ cents a pound, as against the 9-cent average of those who dumped their product on the warehouse floors for auction sale.

### *Coöperative Marketing in a Nutshell*

Dr. Clarence Poe, whose journal, the *Progressive Farmer*, has consistently advocated coöperative markets in the Carolinas, has aptly summarized the advantages of coöperative marketing by the following comparison:

Under the present system we now (1) ignorantly, (2) individually, (3) helplessly, (4) *dump* farm products (5) in piddling quantities, (6) without proper grading, (7) without modern scientific financing, (8) selling through untrained producers.

By coöperative marketing we will (1) intelligently, (2) collectively, (3) powerfully, (4) *merchandise* farm products, (5) in large quantities, (6) with proper grading, (7) with modern scientific financing, (8) selling through the most expert selling agents.

There in a nutshell is an explanation of the movement which has stirred thousands of homes from Virginia, through the Carolinas, to the Georgia line, and has roused the great Southwest with hope of a prosperity that will not waver with the fluctuating rise and fall of markets, where the growers are but pawns in the great speculative game of cotton and tobacco.

More than 150,000 Southern farmers who raise cotton, peanuts, or tobacco have now signed the contract which they call their Declaration of Independence.

Both capitalist and laborer, indomitable conservative, and individualist, the farmer of the South, stung into the knowledge of his power, and catching up at last with modern weapons of organization, in the struggle for existence, has reached the turning of the road.



THE TOBACCO MARKETING METHOD NOW ABANDONED—DUMPING SAMPLES ON A WAREHOUSE FLOOR, WHERE GRADES AND PRICES WERE FIXED BY SPECULATORS AND NOT BY THE PLANTERS

# OUR NEW BUDGET SYSTEM

BY SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY

**A**FTER a decade of active discussion since President Taft tried to establish executive control over national expenditures, Congress in sheer desperation over the muddle in national finances greatly aggravated by the increase in federal expenditures and the multiplication of governmental activities during the war, passed an act approved June 10, 1921, to provide a national budget system and an independent audit of government accounts. President Harding in his address to Congress at the opening of the present session—having on the previous day submitted the first budget prepared by the Executive under the specific authorization of Congress—said to Congress and to the country: "The first budget is before you. Its preparation is a signal achievement, and the perfection of the system, a thing impossible in the few months available for its initial trial, will mark its enactment as the beginning of the greatest reformation in governmental practices since the beginning of the Republic."

The President had submitted a special budget message transmitting to both Houses of Congress the budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, and the report of General Dawes, Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

## *General Dawes' Fine Work*

As a result of six months' work General Dawes has succeeded in reorganizing the business practices and methods of the great spending departments of the Government. Through conferences with the budget officers representing each of the spending departments, and through the establishment of coordinating agencies by Executive order to rectify faults in the routine business of the Government, amazing results have been achieved even before the new budget system has really begun to function; and economies have been effected in the expenditures for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, which will amount to \$582,000,000. General Dawes estimates that further continued Executive pressure, affecting also the estimates for 1923, will produce a further

reduction of \$462,000,000 under the estimated expenditures for 1922.

Another way of measuring the results of General Dawes' work, in which he has had the strongest possible backing of the President and thereby secured the active coöperation of the heads and subordinate officers alike in all of the spending departments, may be seen in the statement that the estimates sent to Congress for the next fiscal year (1923) are approximately one billion dollars less than the Secretary of the Treasury estimated on August 4, 1921, to be necessary to meet the total expenditures for the fiscal year 1922, and nearly five hundred million dollars less than the Budget Bureau estimates will be necessary to cover the expenditures for 1922 after the economies it has effected are realized.

## *The Budget and the Citizen*

It is difficult for the average citizen to visualize the significance of such large figures and to understand what the assumption of full responsibility for business management of the governmental business organization by the President—through the Budget Bureau as his agency and a properly functioning budget system—may mean to the country in terms of lessened tax burdens, full employment to labor, business prosperity to the farmer and industrial producer. It is therefore a matter of no small concern to every man and woman as worker, producer, and citizen and not merely of interest to financiers, bankers, and industrial magnates to ask—What kind of budget system have we? What is needed to complete it and make it yield the largest measure of results? What will it do to the country, to Congress, to the President; and what will Congress do to it?

Only a beginning has been made as yet in setting up a powerful new mechanism in government for the United States. Are we going to see it through? To do so means a veritable revolution in many practices and may lead eventually to radical changes in our form of government or at least in the pivotal centers of political influence and control. Are we

to have a real executive budget system? Will the precedents in congressional procedure of over a hundred years yield to the necessities of an effective budget system? Can we have an effective system of any kind without amendment to the Constitution? Will Congress insist upon its prerogatives with their attendant advantages to individual Congressmen, who have their eyes on services to their districts and the individual gains from piecemeal committee control of Government business rather than on services to the nation and the collective gains from centralized planning and executive management and control of Government expenditures?

These are the questions and problems of vital interest to us all that hang in the balance while Congress proceeds to consider the President's budget and to determine whether the high hopes expressed in the President's message shall be realized.

#### *What Is a Budget?*

The term "budget" is used in many different ways and is somewhat difficult to define briefly and accurately. The concept of a budget system, however, is not a difficult one to understand. A financial statement containing a full, detailed, and itemized account of authorized and expected revenues and expenditures properly balanced for a definite future period, usually the fiscal year, would constitute a budget. The important distinguishing feature that marks off a budget system from other methods of handling Government finances is that *both* revenues and expenditures are presented *as a whole* and in their relation to each other.

For effective consideration of the budget by Congress it is necessary to have, in addition to such a financial statement, a similar statement giving receipts and expenditures for several previous completed years and especially a separate statement covering estimated receipts and expenditures for the incomplete current fiscal year. This information is necessary to judge the relative merits of different parts of the budget for a future fiscal year not yet entered upon but for which Congress is about to legislate.

The information required in a budget is not easy to obtain where it covers the complicated and manifold transactions of a great Government requiring and spending billions of dollars every year. It never was obtained fully and satisfactorily by the Secretary of the Treasury, representing the executive branch of the Government, or by the most

powerful leaders in Congress under our old system. Senator Aldrich as chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, a great master of national finance, years ago admitted his inability to get the information necessary for budgetary consideration of either revenue and tax measures or appropriation bills. Only recently on the floor of the House of Representatives the chairman of the leading committee on appropriations, which had been made a consolidated Committee on Appropriations, Congressman Good made a similar admission.

It is fair to say that with appropriations handled by a dozen or more separate committees in each house of Congress and revenue measures controlled by still other committees in both houses, and with the executive branch of the Government assuming no responsibility for the unified control of ordinary routine business or the proper conduct of the business of the government corporation as a whole and not encouraged by Congress to do so, it was practically impossible to devise any kind of a budget scheme.

The Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 therefore set up a Bureau of the Budget in the Treasury Department but responsible directly and subject only to the President, and placed upon the President the responsibility of presenting to Congress an executive prepared budget. The same act also provided for an independent audit of Government accounts under a Comptroller General and a General Accounting Office which is independent of the executive departments. Both the Comptroller General and the Assistant Comptroller General are appointed by the President of the United States with the advice and consent of the Senate for fifteen years, which means that their terms will probably overlap several administrations. They are removable only by impeachment or by joint resolution of Congress, while the Director of the Budget and the Assistant Director of the Budget are appointed by the President without confirmation by the Senate and are therefore removable by him at any time.

Much of the information which the President and the Director of the Budget Bureau will need for the preparation of the budget will be developed currently through the General Accounting Office, and the closest coöperation between the Budget Bureau and the Accounting Office is desirable and has been inaugurated.

*The Defects of the Old System*

As General Dawes has pointed out in his first report, Congress has had to make radical reductions in estimates in the past to protect the public against departmental extravagance. Now the Budget Bureau, with the estimates for the next fiscal year pruned and organized, affords such protection through Executive supervision of estimate-making and through better Government administration and the application of correct business principles to the routine business of spending money appropriated. This would make the funds go as far as possible toward accomplishing the objects of legislation.

General Dawes likens the Government in its routine business administration to a private corporation in which the president of the corporation gave practically no attention to its ordinary routine business, avoided responsibility for the proper conduct of the business, and did not even delegate the active control over it. The administrative vice-presidents ran their several departments without enforced contact in the discussion of routine business, without coördination on any outlined business plan having back of it executive pressure or supervision, without a unified policy for making purchases or selling products, without a balance sheet of the corporation as a whole, without complete inventories of property on hand, including salable material and current supplies, and without any provision for reconsideration of unwise projects entered into by any department. In addition the corporation is not operated for profit, and its principal funds for operating expenses are secured by a levy upon the stockholders (appeal to Congress for appropriations, which means a collection of taxes). There is a strong feeling of independence of executive control on the part of the chiefs and subordinates in each of the several administrative departments, the heads of which are selected as a rule for a brief tenure without regard to business qualifications to become earnest advocates of departmental plans concerning which they have had small business experience and in the operation of which they compete with each other for popular approval without regard to their consideration by the head of the corporation and without decisions as to policy resulting from a unified corporation policy in routine business.

This is not a bright picture for the stockholders, however patriotic as citizens they

may be. It is an accurate one and accounts for the waste, extravagance, and ineffectiveness of Government enterprises.

*What Has Been Accomplished*

While the new budget system is only a first step, the operations of the Budget Bureau have already resulted in putting heart, purpose, and control into the Administration. The President of the corporation has assumed full responsibility and is able by means of this new agency of the Budget Bureau to add to the duties of his strenuous office those of a real business manager of the routine business of the Government. The Budget Bureau has set up a great variety of co-ordinating agencies established by executive order, such as:

(1) A Federal Purchasing Board, on which the chief purchasing officer of each department serves with a chief coördinator as chairman named by the President;

(2) A Federal Liquidation Board, co-ordinating sales under a unified plan of large surplus stocks of the various departments of the Government;

(3) A Corps Area Organization, corresponding to the nine Army Corps Areas, to provide for interdepartmental transfers and exchange of supplies in connection with either purchases or sales and operating together with the Purchasing and Liquidation Boards at Washington to handle properly the entire purchase and supply situation;

(4) A Surveyor General of Real Estate, to handle property owned by the United States and leases of property required for Government business and to assign and re-assign spaces to the various departments, bureaus, or offices;

(5) A Federal Motor Transportation Agent, to coördinate motor transportation;

(6) A Federal Traffic Board, to co-ordinate and classify articles shipped by the Government and the business involved in the Government's annual transportation bill, which now amounts to \$200,000,000;

(7) A Federal Board of Hospitalization, for which now more than \$256,000,000 is being spent and in which the United States is feeding and housing about 500,000 persons;

(8) A Federal Specifications Board, for the standardization of specifications; and

(9) An Interdepartmental Board of Contracts and Adjustments.

These agencies have been created under the executive powers of the President by executive order for the unifying of Govern-

ment business. Such orders are issued through the Budget Bureau. They provide methods of conducting business where, as in the majority of cases, there is no limitation of law, and they seek to impose a unified plan concerned only with routine business and not with methods of governmental policy. Policies are determined by the Executive and by Congress. The coördination agencies established by the Executive create a mechanism to insure efficient and economic expenditure of money appropriated by Congress and to make more effective the policy adopted by Congress and the Executive. They involve merely the organization and rearrangement of existing personnel under highly efficient methods of management the value of which has been demonstrated in the experience of large, successful private business corporations and in the experience of the military organization of the American Expeditionary Forces. In both types of experience and constructive experimentation General Dawes has been a conspicuous leader.

#### *What Remains to Be Done*

The President's budget now before Congress demonstrates the great value of an executive budget system, or rather, its great possibilities. Executive leadership has been given a chance; "executive pressure" and "a treasury conscience," to use General Dawes' happy expressions, have been created and aroused. The result is a budget in Congress founded on estimates without the usual padding and greatly reduced in their demands on the public treasury for 1922-'23 below current appropriations and all recent expectations. More than that, as a by-product of the work of the Budget Bureau, current expenditures under appropriations already made for the current year will be less by many millions than they would have been without the budget organization. All this means dollars in the pocket of every citizen through lower taxes, speeding up of business, and less unemployment. Still more, General Dawes has built up a business organization which it is safe to say will add 50 per cent. in the service it buys to every dollar that Congress appropriates.

The executive branch of the Government has done its part under the new budget system remarkably well. Will Congress do its part? Much remains to be done before we shall have the assured benefits of an executive budget system. Probably a certain amount of popular pressure through interested and

enlightened public opinion upon members of Congress will be just as necessary as Executive pressure upon the executive departments was necessary to achieve the first steps in establishing the budget system. Congress must pass what will seem to many members to be self-denying ordinances but which in reality will be merely accustoming themselves to a better way of performing their tax-gathering and appropriating functions.

Briefly, Congress must arrange:

(1) To consider and act upon the so-called Alternative Budget instead of the estimates in the old form as required by law.

(2) To give consideration to the budget in both houses in Committee of the Whole, after reports by a single appropriation committee in each house. The House of Representatives has already a consolidated general Committee on Appropriations and through that Committee will arrange for a detailed examination, scrutiny, and criticism of different parts of the budget by various other general standing committees having special knowledge of those departments, which is a highly desirable plan of procedure. The Senate is said to be favorable to the idea of creating a consolidated committee or super-committee on appropriations.

(3) To prohibit by further amendment of the rules in both houses, until the budget is finally disposed of, the consideration of any bill appropriating money for any object not included in the budget, except an emergency measure recommended by the President through the Budget Bureau as supplementary to the budget and as provided for in the Budget Act. Under the Budget Act the executive departments and executive officers of the Government are forbidden, except upon request of Congress, to submit any estimate or request for appropriations or any increase in any item in the budget. An executive order will probably soon be issued which will carry this principle farther and forbid the executive departments or officers to advocate any legislation requiring the expenditure of money without first going through the Budget Bureau. Members of Congress should correspondingly restrict their own right to proceed independently of the Budget Bureau with legislative proposals requiring appropriations, without first proceeding through the machinery of the Budget Bureau to have them considered and incorporated in the budget or supplementary budget measures, or at least until after the budget has been disposed of by Congress and



the financial ability of the Government is known and determined for the coming year.

(4) Ultimately to give to Cabinet officers and the heads of independent executive establishments, together with the directors of the Budget Bureau, the privilege of the floor in Committee of the Whole when the budget is considered and to require them to attend and publicly defend those parts of the budget which concern matters under their executive control. Only in this way will the fullest executive responsibility be enforced and Congress have an opportunity to enforce its functions of criticism and control of policies.

*Private Agencies Coöperate to Secure an Executive Budget System*

Business organizations generally, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, bankers' organizations, and a great variety of civic agencies have for years endorsed the principle of a budget system, and demanded its installation in our federal, State and local governments. The Bureau of Municipal Research in New York began two decades ago to do effective work with municipal governments resulting in the introduction of budget systems in cities throughout the nation. It soon branched out into effective research and advocacy of similar practices for the State governments. One of the directors, Dr. F. A. Cleveland, a pioneer in this work, became the chairman of President Taft's Economy and Efficiency Commission and the leader in the efforts of a decade ago to establish a national budget system.

The Institute for Government Research in Washington, established a little over five years ago, has been a most valuable and helpful research agency and technical adviser both to the executive departments and to the committees in Congress as well as to civic agencies and business men's organizations, in developing the basic principles of the Budget Act and in preparing the way for the administrative work of the present Budget Bureau. It has published valuable handbooks and is at present engaged in the preparation and publication of a series of handbooks which will furnish accurate descriptive accounts of every branch and service in the national Government.

The National Budget Committee, a still more recent organization under the leadership of Mr. John T. Pratt, has in its directorate men of great experience and knowledge of government finances, some of whom occupy or have occupied high positions in

government administration. It has been a leader in arousing public interest and sentiment for correct budget procedure and will continue to focus the interest of business and of every group of citizens upon the development from day to day, in Congress and out, of budget practices that will lighten the burden of taxation and make possible more effective service and a greater sense of responsibility on the part of every officer of the Government. A Government responsive to public opinion cannot be economically administered or fulfil the aspirations of a nation of prosperous free citizens living under the complicated conditions of the new day in America, without the best devices and mechanisms that the experience of governments everywhere and of large corporate business in our own land provide.

The executive budget, in the opinion of the majority of our most competent citizens, is undoubtedly one such agency for the establishing of which we have taken the initial steps under happy auspices, but the words of warning of a former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board are significant: "The friends and advocates of sound business methods in the affairs of the Government must not be lulled into a security by a good beginning. The work in Congress remains to be done, and eternal vigilance and continued coöperation on the part of the people are the demands of the hour if ultimate success is not to slip from our hands."

Congress seems to be appreciative of what General Dawes and the Budget Bureau have accomplished under the direction of the President. Will their appreciation be strong enough to see the budget system through and to reorganize the legislative department accordingly? Just as Civil Service at first seemed to many Congressmen to deprive them of power they exercised under the spoils system, but in reality freed them from onerous imposition at the hands of their constituents, so the handling of all projects involving the raising and spending of public moneys in the first instance through an expert executive and central planning department of government will not diminish their power or opportunity for public service, but rather will free them from importunities and responsibilities which their constituents have no right to impose. When Congressmen realize that this is the essence of an executive budget system, and when their constituents understand that fact, Congress is likely to see the budget system through.

# WILL THE RAILWAYS BE CONSOLIDATED?

BY SAMUEL O. DUNN

(Editor of the "Railway Age")

THE most extraordinary changes ever known in public opinion and federal legislation relating to railway matters were those which recently occurred regarding railroad consolidations.

For almost thirty years public sentiment and federal legislation forbade every consolidation or agreement which would interfere with unrestricted competition in the construction of new railway lines, the rendering of service, or the making of rates. At the end of 1917 Government control was adopted, and the first order issued by the new Director General abolished railroad competition. When, early in 1920, the railways were returned to private operation, it was under legislation directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to proceed at once to make a plan for their consolidation into a "limited number of systems"; and in September, 1921, the Commission made public a tentative plan for merging the railroads by wholesale into nineteen great systems.

The gradual consolidation of the railroads into a comparatively small number of large systems would merely be in conformity with a tendency which has prevailed since the first railroads were built. Nearly every large railroad is a combination of many small lines.

## *When Railroads Began to Combine*

In the twenty years from 1870 to 1890 the railway mileage of this country more than trebled, increasing from 53,000 to 164,000 miles. This rapid increase resulted in intense competition, consisting largely of open or secret cutting of rates with disastrous effect on earnings. To stop this rate-cutting the managers of the railways formed various "pools," under which a specified part of the competitive traffic or earnings was assigned to each of the competing carriers. These pools were destroyed by the passage in 1887 of the original Interstate Commerce Act. The railway managers then entered into traffic agreements which prescribed maintenance

of certain rates and provided penalties for departure from them. The Supreme Court of the United States soon held that these traffic agreements were in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

This ushered in the era of large consolidations, intended not only to prevent excessive competition in rates but to effect large scale economies in operation. These consolidations were brought about in various ways. Parallel railways sometimes bought each other's stock and put representatives on one another's boards of directors. The great consolidated system directed by E. H. Harriman was built up chiefly through the purchase of the stock of other companies by the Union Pacific or its subsidiaries. In some cases there were formed "holding companies," which acquired competing railways by buying their stocks. The most notable example was the organization, under the leadership of James J. Hill, of the Northern Securities Company, which, through ownership of the stock of the Northern Pacific, Great Northern, and Burlington systems, was to have effected the merger of these so-called "Hill" lines. One of the great consolidations was that of the New York, New Haven & Hartford, the Boston & Maine, and other roads in New England, during the régime of Charles S. Mellen.

## *The Government Then Opposed*

The various large consolidations effected during this period, like the earlier traffic associations, were successfully attacked by the Government under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The Northern Securities merger was held illegal by the Supreme Court in a famous decision. Later dissolution of the merger of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific was decreed.

The persistent attacks of the Department of Justice caused the disintegration of many of the large combinations. Meantime the Government, with great inconsistency, was carrying out another policy which was ren-

dering its railway "trust busting" a work of supererogation. The main ground of its attacks upon railway consolidations was that they interfered with competition in rates. In 1906, however, Congress passed the Hepburn Act, empowering the Interstate Commerce Commission to reduce any rate that it found excessive or unfairly discriminatory; and in 1910 it passed the Mann-Elkins Act, giving the Commission power to prohibit any proposed advance in rates that it found unreasonable. This legislation virtually deprived the railways of power to make rates. Nevertheless, the Government persisted in its policy of trying to enforce unrestricted competition right up to the time when it seized all the railways and began to operate them as a single system.

### *Lessons from War-Time Control*

The main cause of the change in the attitude of the public and public men toward railroad consolidations was our war-time railroad experience. That experience convinced many that regulation which prevented not only consolidations, but even reasonable coöperation between competing roads, made it impossible for the railways as a whole to render the largest practicable amount of useful public service. In consequence, a widespread sentiment sprang up in favor of consolidation into a few systems, or even a single system. This sentiment was so strong that many confidently expected unified Government operation would enable the railways to handle a much larger amount of traffic, and to handle it more economically. These expectations were disappointed. The railways in 1918, under unified operation, handled only 2 per cent. more freight than in 1917, while their operating expenses increased over 40 per cent. In 1919 there was a decline of traffic, but a further increase in expenses. The failure materially to increase the traffic handled, and the large increase in operating expenses, were generally attributed to excessive centralization of management, which destroyed competitive rivalries and opportunities for independent initiative.

While our war-time experience was the main cause of the remarkable change in sentiment regarding railroad consolidations, there was another important cause. Railway experts and economists had pointed out for years that the Government's efforts to enforce unrestricted competition did not tend to prevent rates from being made excessive, since regulation had transferred from the

railroads to the Interstate Commerce Commission the power of rate-making, but that it did greatly increase the difficulties of the Commission in regulating rates fairly and beneficially. In every part of the country there are some railways which are relatively "strong" financially, and others that are relatively "weak." It was pointed out that if the Commission made as high rates as were needed by the weak lines, the strong railways would make more money than the public would approve. If it made them only high enough to enable the strong roads to earn what the public deemed reasonable, it would make it impossible for the weak railways to live. The remedy for this condition, it was argued, was to consolidate weak and strong roads wherever practicable. This reasoning strongly influenced many members of Congress and largely shaped the consolidation provisions of the Transportation Act.

### *The Government Now Proposes Consolidation*

This Act, as already stated, directs the Interstate Commerce Commission to adopt a plan for the consolidation of all the railways into a limited number of systems. But this must be so done that "competition shall be preserved as fully as possible, and wherever practicable the existing routes and channels of trade and commerce shall be maintained." Under another law the Commission is making a valuation of all the railways, and the Transportation Act provides that if two or more railways are consolidated they must not, after being merged, have outstanding more bonds and stocks than the Commission's valuations of the combined properties.

One of the most important provisions regarding consolidations reads: "The several systems shall be so arranged that the cost of transportation as between competitive systems and as related to the values (valuations) of the properties through which the service is rendered shall be the same so far as practicable, so that these systems can employ uniform rates in the movement of competitive traffic and under efficient management earn substantially the same rate of return upon the value (valuations) of their respective railway properties."

The point should be emphasized that under this legislation any consolidations which are made must be effected by the railways voluntarily. The Government could buy all the railways, consolidate them as it pleased, and then sell or lease the consolidated systems

to private companies. But as long as the railways remain in private ownership, while the Government can say what consolidations must not be made, it cannot compel any consolidations to be made, because it has no constitutional power to force any railway company to buy the property or securities of another.

#### *What Consolidation Would Involve*

The proposed consolidation of all our railways into a few systems would involve the most gigantic changes in ownership and management of railways ever made without their transfer to Government control. The railway system of the United States is five times as large as that of any other country, and ten times as large as that of England or France. The number of steam railways in the country is 1811, and their total mileage is almost 264,000.

There are hundreds of small independent railways scattered over the country. They were built for speculative purposes or to serve local needs, real or imaginary, and most of them lead a starveling existence. It would be best to abandon those which do not render a service that is essential under present conditions, and for those which are really needed by the public to be acquired by the large railways and used as branches and feeders.

Furthermore, there can be no question that many consolidations of larger railways in all parts of the country would be beneficial, if so made that they would be fair as between the railways themselves and at the same time preserve a reasonable amount of competition. Traffic would be more evenly distributed over the country's railway mileage and uniform development would be practicable, thereby promoting more economical and better service on lines where operating costs are now relatively high and service is comparatively poor.

In considering consolidations we should not, however, overlook the fact that they can be carried out illogically or on too large a scale. Everybody who has studied the operating results of our railways knows there is no merit in mere size. The operating and financial results of the present large systems usually are better than those of the small railways; but there are many comparatively small roads which have made their physical properties and service better, carry more tons of freight per car and per train, and get better financial results than most of the larger systems.

#### *Professor Ripley's Plan*

The first plan of consolidation prepared for the Interstate Commerce Commission under the Transportation Act was made by Professor William Z. Ripley, of Harvard University. Professor Ripley showed remarkable thoroughness and skill in so working out the combinations as to forestall various objections that might be raised and at the same time make them comply with the requirements of the Transportation Act. The difficulties he encountered in making a plan which would literally comply with the requirements of the law are strikingly illustrated by the fact that the twenty-one systems he proposed vary in mileage from 764 miles to 22,900 miles, had total earnings in the year 1917 of \$8000 to \$43,000 a mile, net operating incomes of \$1400 to \$7800 a mile, and net return varying from 3 per cent to more than 6 per cent. The total mileage included in his plan is only 221,000, leaving about 45,000 miles unassigned to any system. The average mileage of the systems he proposed is 10,500. This exceeds the mileage of any single railway in the country except the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe.

Under Professor Ripley's plan there would be one large system in New England, five from Chicago and the Mississippi River to New York, two from the Great Lakes to the soft coal mines in the Chesapeake Bay region, four in the Southeast, five from Chicago and the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, two from Chicago to the Southwest, one small system in the southern Michigan peninsula, and the Florida East Coast Railway, which would not be included in any of the larger systems.

#### *Nineteen Systems Only*

The Interstate Commerce Commission used Professor Ripley's plan as the basis of its own tentative plan, but made a number of important changes and proposed only nineteen systems. In the Commission's own plan, as made public in September, it assigned a few important railways, such as the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, to different systems, doubtless intending definitely to assign each of them to a system after hearings. It also authorized the important railways in New England to be either united with railways running west from New York, or to be put together as a single New England system.

Space will not permit mention of all the railways included in the Commission's pro-

posed systems, but the larger railways suggested for each group are as follows:

- (1) New York Central; Pittsburgh & Lake Erie; Rutland; Michigan Central; Big Four; Western Maryland; Boston & Maine.
- (2) Practically all of the lines now included in the Pennsylvania Railroad System.
- (3) Baltimore & Ohio; Philadelphia & Reading; Central of New Jersey; Chicago, Indianapolis & Louisville; New York, New Haven & Hartford.
- (4) Erie; Delaware & Hudson; Delaware, Lackawana & Western; Bessemer & Lake Erie; Wabash Lines east of the Missouri River.
- (5) Lehigh Valley; New York, Chicago & St. Louis; Toledo, St. Louis & Western; Wheeling & Lake Erie; Bessemer & Lake Erie.
- (6) Pere Marquette; Ann Arbor; Detroit, Toledo & Ironton.
- (7) New York, New Haven & Hartford; Boston & Maine; Maine Central; Bangor & Aroostook.
- (8) Chesapeake & Ohio; Virginian.
- (9) Norfolk & Western; Toledo and Ohio Central.
- (10) The lines of the present Southern Railway System.
- (11) Atlantic Coast Line; Louisville & Nashville; Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis; Norfolk Southern; Florida East Coast.
- (12) Illinois Central System; Seaboard Air Line.
- (13) Union Pacific System; Chicago & North Western System; Wabash lines west of the Missouri River.
- (14) Chicago, Burlington & Quincy; Northern Pacific; Chicago Great Western; Minneapolis & St. Louis; Spokane, Portland & Seattle.
- (15) Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul; Great Northern; Duluth & Iron Range; Duluth, Missabe & Northern; Spokane, Portland & Seattle.
- (16) Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe; Colorado & Southern; Denver & Rio Grande; Western Pacific.
- (17) Southern Pacific; Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific; El Paso & Southwestern.
- (18) St. Louis-San Francisco; St. Louis Southwestern; Chicago & Alton; Missouri, Kansas & Texas.
- (19) Chicago & Eastern Illinois; Missouri Pacific; Kansas City Southern; Texas & Pacific; Gulf Coast Lines; International & Great Northern.

### *Some Difficulties to Be Overcome*

It may be argued that certain of the systems proposed are too large, although most of them are smaller in mileage and in the total traffic handled than some of the existing systems. The consolidations proposed would not seriously disrupt existing traffic routes and commercial relationships, since in many cases the railways it is proposed to combine already work more or less closely together. They would not destroy competition, since there would be two or more large systems in almost every part of the country.

The practical difficulties encountered in trying to carry out this or any similar plan are bound to be very large, if not insurmountable. Railways which because of advantages of location, superior condition of physical properties, and sound financing, are able to earn substantial net returns on any reasonable basis of rates, will be extremely reluctant to accept as partners railways which are disadvantageously located, whose physical properties are not in good condition, and whose financial results always have been poor, at any price which the owners of these latter railways will accept. Financial difficulties would also be encountered in effecting some of the proposed consolidations in compliance with the requirements of the Transportation Act. For example, the Northern Pacific and Great Northern jointly own the Burlington and have used its stock as collateral in the issuance of bonds. It is proposed to put the Northern Pacific and Burlington into one system and the Great Northern into another. This would require a revolution in the finances of these railways. It is proposed completely to dismember some systems, such as the Wabash, which would involve important and difficult financial changes.

Again, under the law, before two or more railways whose total valuations were less than their combined capitalizations could be united they would have to reduce their outstanding securities; and this always has been practically impossible without receivership.

Before the plan of consolidation tentatively adopted by the Interstate Commerce Commission can be made permanent, opportunity must be given to all concerned to present their views. These hearings are sure to disclose the greatest diversity of opinion among public men, financiers, shippers, and railway officers regarding both the desirability of extensive consolidations at all, and the particular combinations which the Interstate Commerce Commission has suggested.

If the law merely authorized the railway companies to make such consolidations as the Interstate Commerce Commission might hold were in the public interest, and under such financial arrangements as the Commission might approve, there would be in course of time many important mergers. The authority to effect consolidations actually given by the Transportation Act is, however, subject to such limitations and restrictions that it is doubtful if rapid progress will be made toward merging the railways into a comparatively small number of systems.

# WOMEN AS INTERNATIONALS

BY MARJORIE SHULER

**B**ACK of the obvious campaign which women have been conducting on behalf of the Conference on Limitation of Armament, back of the presence of four women on the American advisory committee, there lies a subtle network of relationships which the women of various countries have quietly been establishing for years.

Women are great sentiment makers. Through their international organizations and through the magazines which those international groups publish they have been collecting and disseminating information concerning the mental attitude, the characteristics, the actual government of the peoples and countries of the world.

In Shanghai there is a women's club which has been sending messages to women of other countries. About bound feet? Or opium? Not at all. They were brochures on the art, the age-old craftsmanship, which China desires the world to believe she would like to be left alone to follow.

In Hawaii there is a women's club whose representatives have met with the women of other countries. To talk about the abolition of the poi bowl? Or how to make leis? Not at all. They met to discuss citizenship training, better educational facilities, all those public institutions by which the Islanders hope for greater self-development.

From Sweden, from France, from Turkey, from Georgia, from Poland, from Crimea, cables constantly come to women leaders of organizations in this country. Inquiring about things of peculiar concern to women? Not at all. They ask for an explanation of a policy of our national government, or of a State law, or of an action by some group of citizens.

That these lines of communication have resulted in formulating opinions which have had their effect upon international relationships has been recognized even by governments. Recently the Mexican Government invited the General Federation of Women's Clubs to send five women as guests of honor for the celebration of one hundred years of freedom in Mexico. The Federation did

send representatives, and these women were entertained for sixteen days by the Mexican Government. They were taken on trips of inspection through public institutions, they had interviews with Government officials, they were given every opportunity to acquaint themselves with conditions in Mexico to-day. Before they left they were urged to tell the Mexican women how to organize clubs and how to affiliate such clubs with similar groups of women in other countries.

## *The Women's Congress at Geneva*

A dozen governments gave evidence of the importance with which they regard these international activities of women by sending official delegates to the congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Geneva, Switzerland, a year and a half ago. There the women of thirty-one countries met together and counseled for days—ostensibly on the program of work for the present two-year period, in reality upon how better relationships might be established between their nations.

The responsibility of the individual citizen for right conduct, and the vital necessity of perfecting neighborhood government as the first step toward perfecting national government in its relations both at home and abroad, were stressed again and again. The official delegate of the German government, Frau Marie Stritt, said, with quiet emphasis: "There will be no question of future war so far as Germany is concerned, so long as we are able to continue in the Reichstag as large a proportion of women members as we now have."

It was the Japanese delegate to the Congress, the wife of Sir Edward Gauntlett, who said, "My little head is too stupid to grasp this question of world relationships, but I think that if we Japanese learn to think and act rightly the other nations will like us better. I am going home to tell my people this." To-day the ninety-year-old leader of thought among Japanese women, Madame Kaji Yajima, has taken the little competence which the women of her country gave to her

for her support in her last years, and with it she has come to Washington to bring the petition of more than ten thousand Japanese women for the establishment of peace.

Very noticeable at all these international conventions and in the messages which have been exchanged has been the eagerness of the women of South America to establish more definite friendly relations with those of North America.

At the Geneva congress Professor Brundhilda Wien, of the University of Buenos Aires, said: "I regard it as the chief concern of the women of North and South America to establish such definite and permanent relationships that we can bring our countries closer together. The economic problems in trade relations and the diplomatic questions arising between governments can be helped immeasurably if we women understand one another and through ourselves come to know one another's countries."

Dr. Pauline Luisa, the delegate from the Government of Uruguay to the congress, was emphatic in presenting the request of her country for closer contact between women on the western hemisphere. The South American delegates announced that they were prepared to coöperate in a Pan-American conference, and plans were laid for one in Buenos Aires in 1923 with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt as the chief speaker.

#### *A Pan-American Conference of Women*

Now another step has been taken leading to more immediate action, for the National League of Women Voters has arranged to have a Pan-American Conference of women at the time of its own third annual convention, from April 20 to 29, in Baltimore. The Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hoover, and Dr. L. S. Rowe, director of the Pan-American Union, are coöperating with the League in arranging for the conference.

The invitations to the governments of South and Central America to send delegates to this Maryland conference have been forwarded by the State Department through our own diplomatic representatives in those countries. It is hoped that the meeting may be representative of all the countries in this hemisphere, including, of course, Canada and Mexico.

Official entertainments are being arranged for the visiting women in Washington, in

Baltimore by Mayor Broenning, at Annapolis by Governor Ritchie, and at Bryn Mawr College by President M. Carey Thomas. Plans for a day's visit to Washington on April 28 include trips to the Capitol, the Pan-American Building, the Congressional Library, and the various embassies. Luncheons will be given to the visitors by members of the diplomatic corps and others in Washington. In Baltimore there is to be a large dinner on the evening of April 24, with speeches on International Friendliness. April 29 will be spent at Annapolis, where Governor Ritchie will give a reception, and in order that the visitors may see a girls' college there will be a trip to Bryn Mawr, where President Thomas will entertain at luncheon.

Not only are the Bryn Mawr College women interested in the conference. There are students from South America at a number of colleges in this country, including Smith, Wellesley, Radcliffe, Columbia, Vassar, and the Frances Shimer School in Illinois. These students have been invited to the conference, as well as a number of teachers and educators from Central and South America who are on study trips to this country. Resident teachers of Spanish in this country have volunteered their services as interpreters.

Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the National League of Women Voters, will preside over the conference. Of especial interest will be round table meetings for the exchange of information between the women of the various countries. These are to be presided over by women officials of the United States Government as follows:

**Child Welfare**—In charge of Miss Grace Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor.

**Education**—In charge of Miss Julia Abbott, Kindergarten Division, Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior.

**Women in Industry**—In charge of Miss Mary Anderson, Chief of the Woman's Bureau, Department of Labor.

**Prevention of Traffic in Women**—In charge of Dr. Valeria Parker, Executive Secretary of the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board.

**Civil Status of Women**—In charge of Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice.

There is also to be a conference on the political status of women, in charge of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.



# EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF JUGOSLAVIA

BY L. W. CAPSER

**W**ILL the Balkan States ever become anything more than a source of trouble, a medium of new diplomatic entanglements and possible wars?

Has the war produced any fundamental change which will be a help to these troubled countries?

During the past five years the writer has been in a position to follow closely events in the Balkan States, especially in Yugoslavia. Perhaps the most important development that he observed among those peoples, as a result of the war, was the new desire for education. Their needs in this respect had been brought home to them. The lesson has permeated so deeply into the very hearts of the people that it cannot fail to bring about a real change in their national development. This influence is the hope, if not the solution, of the future peace of the Balkan States—possibly of Europe and the world.

Prior to 1914, few thought that any situation in the Balkans could result in a world war. Since 1914 the opinion has been expressed many times by keen observers and humorous critics that perhaps Europe has been "Balkanized." Whether this is true or not, the Balkans have unquestionably been "Europeanized."

This was due to the direct influence of Western civilization which was forced upon them. This change has taken place in a manner and to an extent considered impossible before the war and certainly beyond the hopes of the most optimistic student of Balkan affairs.

## *Present Desire for Education*

For a number of years these peoples have been in close contact through military coöperation with the intellectual influence of Western civilization. They learned new methods of living and of thinking, and saw the development of European countries. This brought about a desire for a general education that has become almost phenomenal.

During the war the lack of general education among the peasantry of the Balkan States had a striking illustration, in the fact that the peasants could neither send word to their men at the front nor receive word from them. This object-lesson in the value of education has not been ignored.

Only the future can decide whether or not this new influence will make possible a self-protecting group in the Balkans—a sort of hope for the principle of the Monroe Doctrine in the Balkan States—or involve them in new entanglements.

Perhaps the most impressive indication of the possibilities of this influence is the almost pathetic endeavor to increase their facilities for education and to bring them the culture, literature, and methods of the West.

The opportunity for utilizing this influence for good in the Balkans has presented itself. The general culture and development so earnestly desired should be fostered, encouraged, and developed. This should be of interest to the peoples of all nations.

## *Elementary Schools of Serbia*

The elementary schools were among the institutions in Serbia that suffered most from the effects of the war. Even before 1912 many districts were entirely without schools and the existing schools were wholly inadequate for the large number of children who should be in school. But when the Serbs returned to their country in 1918 they found many of their schools entirely destroyed and others simply shells. The enemy was not content to take simply doors and windows, but the entire frames were taken as well, and even part of the masonry. Desks, furniture, etc., were used for firewood. All books and libraries were burned. Not only were the communities without school buildings, but without the means of repairing them.

In Serbia the Opstina, or the community, is responsible for the building of its schools and their maintenance. The teachers are paid by the national government a stated salary,

which is increased with length of service, and a maintenance allowance based upon the salary. In addition to salary and maintenance the Opstina must provide living quarters in the school or in an adjoining building for the teacher or teachers.

If the Opstina is too poor to build its school, it may appeal to the srez (the town), the okrug (the district), or the state; but it is not obligatory for the national government to aid in building schools, although since 1918 it has contributed 6,000,000 dinars (equivalent to French francs) toward the repair of elementary schools, and anticipates further appropriations.

One of the greatest aids in the development and reconstruction of these elementary schools is the organization work which is being done by the American Mission of the Serbian Child Welfare Association.

#### *Higher Education*

One of the most vital problems of the Serbians after the armistice was the immediate necessity of offering educational facilities to the youth of their country. Their task seemed almost impossible but in spite of tremendous difficulties and the lack of funds and material for reconstruction, they met this problem in the most energetic and promising manner upon the return to their stricken country. The University of Belgrade was "patched up" and opened within a short time, and the University of Zagreb was opened to these people. University courses were started in temporary quarters in three new places, Ljubljana, Subotitsa, and Skoplje.

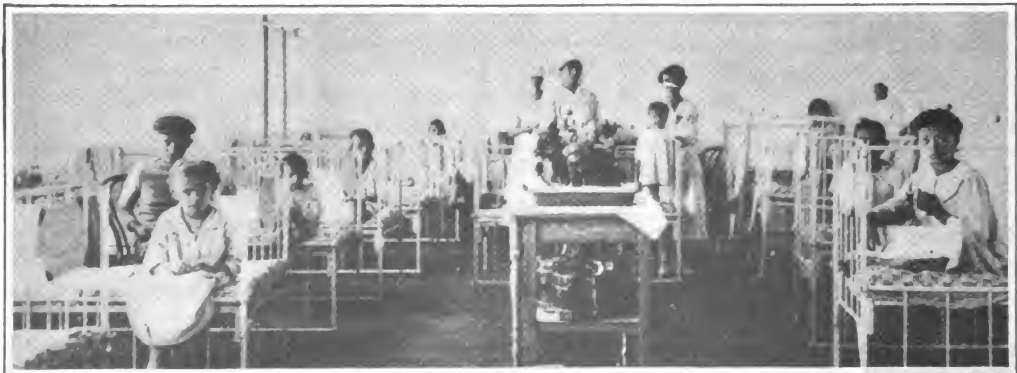
To-day in Belgrade alone the attendance at the University is almost 6300, as compared to 1500 to 2000 before the war.

In spite of its tremendous handicaps and the problems of finance, the government has made extensive plans for the development of its higher educational institutions. Plans for an entirely new university campus and building were practically completed in August of last year. These plans have been exceptionally well made and form a radical departure from the former Balkan institutions. The buildings will be ornamental, yet practical, and the plans embody many of the most modern features of Western construction. There will be a central water, light and heating plant, and other features which show advancement.

This project is to be entirely completed in six years, and will cost approximately 120,000,000 dinars, of which 20,000,000 has been voted by the Parliament to the credit of the University with which to commence work at once, and 20,000,000 dinars is to be given each year until its completion.

The new university campus is to be located on what is known as the grounds of Trikalishta, given by the municipality of Belgrade, and is in the form of a huge triangle. The library presented by the Carnegie Endowment is to have the place of honor in the center of this campus, and will be a memorial which will bring to the Serbian students of future generations a realization of the bond of sympathy and friendship with our country.

This will mark an epoch in the cultural advancement of these people, as practically all the technical and professional men were formerly educated outside their own country, through lack of proper educational facilities, and this limited the number who could receive such an expensive education.



A CHILDREN'S WARD IN DR. KATHRYN MACPHAIL'S HOSPITAL, IN NORTH SERBIA

(Supported by voluntary contributions and affording not only a medium of practical relief, but a means for educating and training native doctors and nurses)



A SERBIAN BABY CONTEST UNDER AMERICAN AUSPICES—PRIZE WINNERS FROM THE VILLAGES

# HELPING TO RECONSTRUCT A NATION

BY WILLIAM J. DOHERTY

[Mr. Doherty returned from Serbia late in November. His observations of pitiful conditions and of relief efforts are therefore fresh and authentic.—THE EDITOR.]

**D**OWN in the Balkan country, in the "Old Serbia" section of the newly organized Yugoslav state, there is an American at the head of a relief organization, supported by the American public, who is doing a remarkably unique piece of public-health and child-welfare reconstruction work.

The reconstruction work of this American and of the organization that he represents is unique in that it is not conducted as an exclusive American "show," a sort of Lady Bountiful, free-gift agency, manned solely by Americans and operated and administered along American lines, with no thought of having it fit into the needs of the country and the customs of the people.

This American believes in having the people of the country work with him on the partnership plan. He is opposed to all free "hand-out" methods, firm in the belief that if the reconstruction job is worth while and is to be made permanent, the people of the country in which the reconstruction work is being done should participate actively in it.

In his own words, his interpretation of right reconstruction work is that "Whatever you induce a people to do for themselves is of infinitely more value than what you do for them."

## *Caring for Half a Million Orphans*

When Dr. R. R. Reeder, the American in question, went to Serbia as the Overseas Commissioner of the Serbian Child Welfare Association of America, he found a mighty big job ahead of him. Serbia had emerged from the war with 500,000 war-orphaned children on her hands and most of them were sick and homeless. How to make adequate provision for this army of sick and homeless children most certainly was a problem. What could poor Serbia do, with all her hospitals despoiled and ruined by the enemy, with no trained nurses, and with only one doctor to every thirty thousand inhabitants?

Along with other American and British agencies, foremost among them the American Red Cross, the Serbian Child Welfare Asso-

ciation of America heeded the cry for help and sent to Serbia Dr. R. R. Reeder, an expert in modern child-welfare and public-health work.

Dr. Reeder, from the start, determined to "sell" his reconstruction program to the Serbians. He got the Serbians to work with him on a partnership basis. Now they are contributing money and service to help solve their country's dual problem of the care of homeless children and the health of a war-stricken people. In his work Dr. Reeder is using Serbian organizations and is trying not only to get the money contributed in the most direct way from "producer to consumer," but likewise to build his whole constructive program into the permanent structure of Serbia's existing organizations and her own social institutions.

Of Dr. Reeder's program, Mr. Homer Folks, recognized internationally as a leading expert in child-welfare and public-health matters, and who made a personal survey of the work in Serbia, has this to say:

I happen to have been in a position where I have been called upon to consider and deal with many different programs of relief of war sufferers in several countries. Dr. Reeder's program for child welfare in Serbia strikes me as the *high water mark*.

Associated with Dr. Reeder in the work is an advisory committee of eminent Serbians, a number of sub-committees largely Serbian, a staff of American, French, English, and Serbian physicians, dentists, nurses, nurses' aids, teachers, social workers and interpreters. In every aspect of the work an American leader instructs a staff of Serbians in modern methods of coping with child-welfare, public-health and educational problems, so that when the Americans withdraw, Serbians may be able to "carry on."

In the upper half of "Old Serbia," Dr. Reeder opened public health, child-welfare,

and educational stations in nineteen of the larger centers of population. In the operation of these stations Serbian public and private agencies coöperate most heartily.

### *A Record of Achievement*

Here is a partial list of some of the work accomplished at these stations during the past year.

Twenty-two thousand of the neediest Serbian homeless children, through a generous donation of the American Relief Administration, have received shoes and winter clothing. The clothing material provided by the American Relief Administration was made up into garments by poor Serbian peasant mothers, to whom was paid a small wage.

Eight thousand orphan children have been registered for placement in family homes, where they are clothed, fed, medically and dentally treated, and provided monthly financial aid. Thousands of other half-starved and sick children, not registered, have received assistance from the health centers and visiting nurses.

One thousand of the neediest and most anemic children received three weeks' open-air treatment, medical and nursing care in summer camps.

Three hundred orphan boys and girls have received industrial and agricultural training at the Chachak American Institute, now operated by Serbians, but supported and supervised by the association.

One hundred orphan girls received trade instruction in the Dom Ucenica Srednjih Skola, a well-managed Serbian trade school. In a year or more these girls will be equipped to earn their own livelihood.

One hundred orphan boys were taught trades in the Belgrade Orphanage.

Ten health centers, generously supported by the American Red Cross, ministered to the health of thousands of Serbia's poor, in districts where there is only one doctor to every 30,000 inhabitants and where hospital and medical facilities are lacking. To each of these health centers there are attached a dispensary, a small emergency hospital, and a training school for Serbian nurses' aids.

Five thousand patients, on the average, have been treated monthly in the dispensaries, in addition to the association's own 8000 registered orphan children.

Three thousand school children, exclusive of the association's orphans, were examined monthly



A LITTLE FELLOW WHO HAS KNOWN SUFFERING SINCE THE DAY OF HIS BIRTH



"NOW, REMEMBER WHAT I TELL YOU!"

(Nurse's admonition to a poor little Serbian cripple)

by the doctors and nurses, given first aid, and sent to the dispensaries for further treatment.

Eight hundred children monthly received dental treatment.

Six hundred visits were made to homes of the sick poor each month by the nurses, and medicine, clothing, and food were distributed.

Two hundred classes in public-health education were held monthly by the doctors and nurses, instruction being given in the laws of health, the care of the sick and injured, pre- and post-natal care of mothers and babies, first-aid treatment, etc. Ten thousand mothers and older girls each month were at these classes.

Seventy-seven sewing schools, with a total attendance of 2500 girls, have been equipped with sewing and knitting machines, generously donated by the American Red Cross and the American Relief Administration. In return these schools help in making clothing for the infants and children in the association's care.

One hundred Serbian district schools, destroyed during the war, have been rebuilt, thus permitting children to resume school attendance. This school reconstruction program was made possible through the generosity of the Junior Red Cross. In reconstructing these schools, local Serbian communities contributed from 50 to 75 per cent. of the cost.

Four trade schools, wrecked by the enemy, have been reopened and supplied with money, equipment, and machinery. Hundreds of Serbian orphans thereby will be enabled by the shortest cut possible to make their own way, and, incidentally, produce what their country most needs.

Dr. Reeder's health work is unique and far-reaching in its influence. Through class health instruction in the schools, through friendly visitation to the homes of the sick poor, through various health educational classes conducted for mothers in pre- and post-natal care, through classes held for little mothers in home hygiene and first aid, through baby shows and other health educa-



A SERBIAN DOCTOR, AN AMERICAN NURSE, AND A SERBIAN NURSING CANDIDATE GIVING TREATMENT IN A DISPENSARY

tional propaganda, the work of these public health centers now reaches out to the entire community, preaching and teaching by demonstration the gospel of public health and sanitation. They are now really becoming health clearing houses in the communities in which they are established.

#### *Aid From the Peasants*

Coöperating with Dr. Reeder in getting his health program across to the people, to stand behind the work and "carry it on" when the Association shall have departed from Serbia, is a strong peasant body, organized into so-called "Health Zadrugas." As is well known, the agricultural coöperative movement has made a tremendous headway in Serbia during the last twenty-year period. At the present time the Agricultural Coöperative Association has a membership of 100,000 in Serbia proper, and 600,000 in all Yugoslavia.

In Yugoslavia, all coöperative organizations are governed and regulated by the co-called "Law of Coöperatives," which has been worked out with care and



"ARE YOUR TEETH CLEAN?"



SERBIAN SCHOOL CHILDREN HARD AT WORK

detail. Under this law, all local coöperative associations and the members composing them must be registered with the court. Usually each Zadruga (coöperative) has a membership of from 15 to 100, and, as each member is the head of a family composed of at least seven persons, it is conservative to state that each Zadruga will embrace seven times its membership.

After numerous conferences with various governmental officials and other important people conversant with the situation, Dr. Reeder definitely determined to enlist the aid of the coöperatives in establishing Health Zadrugas throughout the country and in perpetuating the public-health work already projected. Accordingly, at the last national convention of the Agricultural Coöperatives the proposition to form Health Zadrugas throughout the country was placed before the delegates. The delegates adopted the scheme unanimously and voted to transfer to these Health Zadrugas the "Health Fund" of the Agricultural coöperatives, amounting to a considerable sum.

To each health center taken over by the

local federations or health coöperatives, the Association will donate a first-class medical equipment for dispensary and infirmary work and a supply of drugs to be furnished free of charge to patients unable to pay. To assist in getting the program started, Dr. Reeder proposes to make a donation of certain "health materials"—such as beds, stoves, soap, linen, underwear, towels, handkerchiefs, tableware, etc.—from surplus stocks on hand, with the understanding that the money realized from the sale of these articles to the coöperative members is to be applied to the work of the health centers.

Concerning the total effect of the program Dr. Reeder is putting into effect in Serbia, one has but to consider the effect upon the life of a community of three or four hundred orphan children cared for in its family homes with the aid of a family subsidy which requires and makes possible school attendance; which brings about the establishment of a health center, where every youngster is registered, his school attendance checked up, the subsidized homes visited, material aid given wherever needed; where the health of the orphans as well as that of all other poor people of the neighborhood is looked after by doctor, nurse and dentist; where classes in practical home hygiene and the care of babies and little children are conducted and apprentices in the art of nursing are trained.

Finally, this whole program is administered by local committees, whose officers represent both the Government and the leading civic organizations of the country, upon whom rests the responsibility of the success of the entire enterprise.

Thus, Dr. Reeder's reconstruction program knits together the community life into a compact social unity. It is real *community building*, the consummation of all the organized efforts of various social, sanitary and cultural groups to improve the health, child-care, and education of each community. It is the whole working for each one and for all, against the common enemies—disease, ignorance, and selfishness.





THE S. S. "DATCHET" BEING UNLOADED ON AUGUST 10, 1921, AT BATUM, RUSSIAN TRANSCAUCASIA

(From Batum the insistent appeal has come from relief workers for food, food, and more food. Captain E. A. Yarrow, relief director for the district, declares that more than 100,000 children in the Caucasus district alone will die unless the Near East Relief is able to extend its aid to them in addition to maintaining its present work. Besides the children there are thousands of adult refugees from whom aid must be withheld until all of the youngsters are cared for. The *Datchet* was one of the first food ships sent out from the United States in the face of the present crisis)

# ARMENIA TO-DAY

BY JOHN H. FINLEY

[Dr. Finley was at the head of the Red Cross Committee in Palestine during the last months of the war. After the armistice he was the first American to make his way from the Euphrates to Constantinople, the object of his going being to bring the Red Cross forces into contact with those of the Near East Relief approaching from Constantinople. Under the arrangement made at this time the Near East took over all the work in that region and has since then carried it on with tireless energy and heroism. Dr. Finley is now vice-chairman of the Near East Relief organization. —THE EDITOR]

**C**ONDITIONS in Armenia to-day are worse than they have been at any time since the armistice. Such is the statement made by a Commission of the Near East Relief, recently returned from a survey of conditions throughout the field of operations of that organization. Four hundred thousand people are homeless and destitute; one hundred thousand orphaned children are without shelter or food.

To the American people, long since wearied with the story of the sufferings of this tragic nation, the statement must be dismal and disheartening. Millions of dollars have been given and dispensed for the saving of Armenia, and the Armenians to-day are worse off than ever before. Yet a brief consideration of events in this part of the world explains very clearly not only the situation that now exists, but our responsibility for it.

While the rest of the world has been fighting its way out of the chaos of war, re-establishing its economic and industrial life and rebuilding its resources, Armenia has remained a battlefield. Warring armies

have continued to lay waste her fields and destroy her homes and render her people destitute. When at last peace came, with the establishment of the present Government of Armenia last spring, it was too late. The resources of the Armenians were exhausted. Their fields were barren. Famine was upon them.

The American Commission found, in the principal cities of Armenia, a state of appalling want, with the dead lying about the streets—the same conditions that existed in 1919, when the United States Government sent a large quantity of flour to Armenia to succor that unhappy people. But now no government aid is available, and the situation, as shocking to-day as it was two years ago, is being met entirely by private philanthropy through the Near East Relief.

The description of conditions in Armenia as observed by this Commission of Americans is almost incredible in its bald statement of horrors: the dead, gathered up daily and carted like so much refuse to the outskirts of the city, and there interred without ceremony in a common ditch; the





ONE OF THOUSANDS APPLYING FOR RELIEF

market places, the railway stations, crowded with homeless, hungry people, clad in miserable rags, begging for food or listlessly awaiting death, too weak to move; every train carrying hundreds of the stronger on the roofs of the cars, on the bumpers, anywhere that foothold could be secured, all in search of food that did not exist.

As the American party descended from its train at Alexandropol, the old Russian garrison town and railway center of

Transcaucasia, they stumbled across the dead body of a little boy, lying on the tracks. A grown man, livid with cholera, starting toward their car to ask for a bit of bread, fell dead at their feet. At every turn, new instances of the same harrowing kind gave evidence of the desperate nature of conditions which this commission of Americans found.

"The cause of the present acute famine situation in Armenia," as stated by the com-

mission of five Americans who visited the famine area in Armenia, "was the destruction of some 140 villages by the invading Turks, from which the populations were driven, and whence all beasts of burden, agricultural and household implements and furniture were removed by the invaders. The evacuation of this portion of Armenia did not take place until April 21, 1921, too late for any extensive crop to be put in, even had the peasants the draft animals and the implements to plough and sow the ground, which they did not have. Of the original 585,000 Armenian refugees from Turkish Armenia, there remained some 280,000 still unassimilated among the vil-



ALEXANDROPOL BOY SCOUTS

(Indicating what can be done with the boy shown above at the left)



INDUSTRIAL TRAINING—HELPING THE NATIVES TO HELP THEMSELVES

lages of the Armenian Republic, a charge upon the meager resources of the country. To this number the Turkish invasion added some 120,000, making a rough total of about 400,000 homeless refugees now facing winter without food in Armenia.

Of the 50,000 Armenians concentrated in cities and towns, by far the greater part were actually in starving condition when observed by this commission early in August. Children were lying dead in the streets, and the sick and infirm were dying in great numbers daily. Cholera had set in and was making havoc.

The one hope amidst all this misery and despair is the Near East Relief. Within their orphanages, mostly old army barracks turned over to them by the Armenian Gov-



ONLY THE NEEDIEST CAN RECEIVE THE CLOTHING SENT FROM AMERICA

ernment, more than 60,000 children are sheltered and clothed and fed. In the Alexandropol orphanages alone 18,000 boys and girls, the largest collection of orphans in history, are being cared for, at an average cost of less than \$10 a month per child.

In all these orphanages an attempt has been made to make the children self-supporting. Recognizing the fact that Armenia's future depends on these boys and girls, Near East Relief is endeavoring to train each one in some trade, so that at the earliest possible moment they will be able to undertake not only their own support, but the economic regeneration of the country. Classes in shoemaking, carpentry, printing, tailoring for the boys, and weaving and sewing for the girls, are turning out every month ex-

perts in each of these various lines. A few promising children are given especial schooling, with a view to becoming teachers.

This work in the orphanages has served not only to train the children and teach them self-reliance and independence, but it has enabled the organization to run its establishments on a most economical basis.

Outside the orphanages 50,000 more children are fed one meal a day and provided with clothing sent over from America. The meal consists of a bowl of soup and a piece of bread, but it is enough to keep the children from starvation. There are sixty-three hospitals in various centers throughout the Caucasus and Asia Minor and 129 clinics, to which people come on foot from miles around, often three or four days' journey.



PLAYTIME FOR THE KIDDIES OF THE NEAR EAST RELIEF ORPHANAGE AT ALEXANDROPOL



ALICE DURYEA, THE HEROINE OF THE NEAR EAST RELIEF'S PHOTOPLAY, "ALICE IN HUNGERLAND"  
(Alice is herself a striking example of what American relief organizations are accomplishing in Armenia)

But even with all of this, the facilities are woefully inadequate. For every child inside an orphanage there is at least one outside, without shelter or food or friends. There are thousands of adult refugees whom it is impossible for the Near East Relief, with its limited funds, to help at all. For the saving of the children must come first. In nearly all of the centers, the industrial work, which promised so much, has had to be discontinued for lack of room, lack of materials, and lack of skilled workers to carry it on. Education is being given up reluctantly, but of necessity, in many of the larger orphanages. And worst of all, dozens and even hundreds of

children are being turned away every day to wander the streets, hungry and halfnaked.

"All this," says Mr. Vickery, general secretary of the organization, "was in August, when the danger from cold and exposure was at a minimum. Even then the toll of deaths was twenty or more in one city alone each day. What it must be now that the snow is on the ground can only be imagined."

Another element in this distressing situation throughout the Near East was brought to the fore by Captain Paxton Hibben, recently returned from an investigation of conditions both in Russia and Transcaucasia.

"We are bending every energy to remodel the world on a little higher level than before the war," he said. "But we are permitting millions of children throughout the famine regions of the Near East to grow up with



"PLEASE TAKE ME IN!"



A LUNCH TABLE OVER A MILE LONG

the terrible complexes of moral disintegration that are created by hunger and the sight of hunger all about them. There must somehow be found for them the element of kindness and brotherhood to be brought into their lives at an age when impressions mold the future of the man or woman."

The problem of the Pacific is ended. The constructive thought of America is free to turn elsewhere in the task of regenerating the world after the war. There is no spot in the world which needs this regenerating influence more than the Near East, and no agency of mercy and rehabilitation better prepared to conduct such a work than the Near East Relief. It is a worthy cause and should have the support of America.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## COMMENT ON THE FOUR-POWER TREATY

THE first actual agreement reached in the Conference at Washington—the Four-Power Treaty announced at the session of December 10th—was explained to the delegates by Senator Lodge, representing the United States, in the following words:

The Conference will perceive that I spoke correctly when I referred to the terms of the treaty as simple; to put it in a few words, the treaty provides that the four signatory powers will agree as between themselves to respect their insular possessions and dominions in the region of the Pacific and that if any controversy should arise as to such rights all the high contracting parties shall be invited to a joint conference looking to the adjustment of such controversy. They agree to take similar action in the case of aggression by any other power upon these insular possessions or dominions.

Each signer is bound to respect the rights of the others, and before taking action in any controversy to consult with them. There is no provision for the use of force to carry out any of the terms of the agreement and no military or naval sanction lurks anywhere, in the background or under cover of these plain and direct clauses.

We rely upon their good faith to carry out the terms of this instrument, knowing that by so doing they will prevent war should controversies ever arise among them. If this spirit prevails and rules we can have no better support than the faith of nations. For one, I devoutly believe the spirit of the world is such that we can trust to the good faith and the high purposes which the treaty I have laid before you embodies and enshrines.

The press comment on the terms and purpose of the treaty immediately after its publication was almost without exception favorable. Mr. H. G. Wells, writing at Washington for the *New York World*, described the treaty as

essentially a departure from the normal tradition of the treaties of the nineteenth century. It is the first attempt to realize—what shall I call it?—the American way or the new way in international affairs. Its distinctive feature is the participation of two possible antagonists, America and Japan. Instead of a war they make a treaty

and call in Britain and France to assist. It is a treaty for peace and not against an antagonist.

I think that the difference between “treaties for” and “treaties against” is one that needs to be stressed. The Anglo-Japanese Treaty was a “treaty against,” a treaty against first Russia, then Germany and then against some vaguely conceived assailant. It is a great thing to have Japan and England cordially immolating that treaty now that this Four-Power Treaty of the new spirit may be born.

The leading organs of public opinion in London expressed themselves as follows:

### “THE TIMES”

The unanimous adoption by the Washington Conference of the draft of the quadruple treaty is an achievement of which the American people and their President may justly be proud. Never has a document of greater promise to mankind been approved by the representatives of four such mighty states. Never has an agreement upon a subject of such unprecedented importance been so easily and gladly sanctioned by the spokesmen of nations whose most vital interests it concerns. In lands where peace is cherished as the chiefest of blessings it is welcomed with profound satisfaction. It promises to fulfil what has long been the dearest wish of all the peoples of this empire. On this agreement, based as it is upon the principles of political morality which they have made specially their own, all the English-speaking peoples of the earth promise to be entirely at one, but they will not stand alone in their admiration of the high act of statesmanship which has been done at Washington.

### “THE DAILY CHRONICLE”

Four specific comments occur to us: First, that the British Empire, including Australia and New Zealand, has the most varied and vulnerable interests in the Pacific and will proportionately be an immense gainer by the elimination of militarism and rivalry from that vast region; secondly, that the powers outside the new concert, such as Holland, will not lose but gain by its establishment; thirdly, that we entirely endorse what Mr. Balfour said about our excellent relations with Japan and are most gratified that the bond between us has not been severed but only enlarged so as to bring in other friends; fourthly, that the prospect thus opened of close and definite coöperation with the United States

corresponds to the dominant political instinct of all the British democracies, both that in Great Britain and those in the dominions.

"THE DAILY NEWS"

The news from America could not be better. When Germany and Russia are included in some such common agreement, we may almost begin to believe that in spite of poison gas and indemnities and anti-Bolshevist crusades and Silesian controversies there is hope for civilization yet. At least we shall have proved that we are not all mad all the time.

"THE DAILY MAIL"

World friendship stands to be greatly strengthened by the Washington four-handed pact of powers concerned in the Pacific and the disappearance of our own treaty with Japan, which has increasingly obstructed a complete understanding with the United States.

"THE DAILY TELEGRAPH"

There was made at Washington on Saturday an announcement which, like the news of the Irish agreement, sent round the world a thrill of joy and hope, confirming the general sense that a new spirit has come into the ordering of the world's affairs and that its deadliest difficulties are not beyond the solvent power of clear-sighted and practical idealism. The agreement between the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan in regard to their interests in the Pacific is a solid foundation of peace in a region to which the prophets of disaster have pointed as the destined theater of another fearful clash of armaments. Our alliance with Japan, which even more seriously than the Irish question blocked the way to real understanding and diplomatic accord between the two great divisions of the English-speaking peoples, has passed out of existence upon the only terms which Japan could regard as satisfactory and we could feel to be honorable. By this achievement alone President Harding's Administration has justified to the full the bold and magnanimous stroke of statesmanship which amazed the world six months ago.

"THE MORNING POST"

Article II of the new treaty, which meets any "aggressive action of any power," is a much surer guarantee against any breach of world peace than all the debates, edicts and machinery of Geneva. In a word, the proceedings at Washington show that after the turmoil of war and the distorted imaginings which its horrors awoke in the minds of well-intentioned but hysterical men, the world is at last returning to common sense, and the way of common sense is the way of peace. We are sure that his country, remembering the many services of his great career, is convinced that at Washington Mr. Balfour has reached the highest pitch of unselfish patriotism and supreme statesmanship.

"THE WESTMINSTER GAZETTE"

The automatic expiration of the Anglo-Japanese treaty when the four-power pact about the Pacific is formally ratified is the ideal solution of a problem which would have had to be faced sooner or later and the Washington conference has achieved few better strokes of diplomacy. Its

one weakness is that it does not guarantee the integrity of China and there are reservations to be considered with regard to the United States and Japan concerning Yap, but it will be better to get a settlement on that question before the treaty is ratified than to leave over any possible sources of friction.

With the Anglo-Japanese Alliance out of the way England will occupy a stronger position as an honest broker in any dispute between America and Japan, and Anglo-American relations should be immeasurably happier and Anglo-Japanese relations no worse. We have emerged from a nightmare of misunderstanding about secret motives by these two ten-year agreements, and President Harding has earned well of the world by the success of his initiative.

### American Opinion

The newspapers of the United States, with few exceptions (notably the Hearst papers), voiced hearty approval of the Treaty. The *Times*, *Herald* and *Tribune*, of New York City, strongly endorse the Treaty, as might be expected of papers favoring the Administration, but the *World*, which was the chief organ of the Wilson Administration and led the fight in behalf of the League of Nations, is quite as enthusiastic for the Four-Power Agreement as are any of its contemporaries. Practically all the Republican papers from Boston to San Francisco and many of their Democratic contemporaries north and south have only commendation for the form and purpose of the Treaty.

The New York *World* has only praise for the agreement as "a treaty to keep the peace rather than a treaty to insure cooperation in making war." The *World* at the same time



A REMARKABLE RESEMBLANCE  
From the *World* (New York)

thinks that the moral obligation implied in Article II of the Treaty should be frankly admitted. The United States, Great Britain, Japan and France agree to respect one another's rights in the Pacific and will try to reach a common understanding as to what they will do in the event that some other country seeks to violate these rights. This, says the *World*, is the price that we pay for the abandonment of the Anglo-Japanese

Alliance, which many Americans regarded as inimical to the United States.

It is not a heavy price. In all probability the American people will never know that they paid it, for it is hardly conceivable that during the ten years in which this treaty runs, anybody will venture to challenge the rights in the Pacific of the four great powers that have made the treaty. It will not cost us a dollar or a soldier or a ship, and it will have added immeasurably to our security and our self-respect.

## WILL THE CONFERENCE REPRODUCE ITSELF?

IN concluding a survey of the first phase of the Washington Conference the *New Statesman* (London) speaks with enthusiasm of future possibilities in this field. The promise of the Conference, it says, is illimitable:

It has already shown that international problems may be dealt with by new methods and in a new spirit—in brief, that international coöperation is not a hopelessly remote ideal. The Lord Chancellor suggested in an address delivered to the Aldwych Club that “from the point of view of historical perspective this was perhaps the greatest moment in the history of the world.” Who will dare to say that that is the language of exaggeration? There are occasions when the pessimist and the cynic are the most foolish and deceived of men, and we believe that the present is such an occasion. We were inclined ourselves—as our readers know—to be pessimistic about the Conference before it opened, but when it opened something happened, and the day of its opening became at once and obviously a land-

mark in history. It has proved to be a conference of a kind that has never taken place before. It may still achieve little that is immediately measurable, but it has opened a new vista. It holds the promise of a new League of Nations that might be really a league of nations instead of merely a league of some nations, and that would not be handicapped by association with any such transient instrument as the Treaty of Versailles. No such league is yet in prospect as a definite and permanent piece of organization; that will come later, perhaps much later; but its beginnings may be discerned.

As a matter for immediate decision, however, the *New Statesman* earnestly suggests that the Washington Conference, irrespective of what it may actually achieve, before it breaks up, should arrange for another meeting, preferably in Washington. On this point the editor says:

We are not whole-hearted admirers of the New World, but in this matter of the reorganization of international relations the New World has overwhelming advantages. It has no traditions and no commitments, and it has an atmosphere which tends to neutralize the evil traditions of the Old World. Things can be said and done in Washington which would be impossible in Paris and very difficult in London. We ought to send our statesmen, and especially our Foreign Secretaries, on a pilgrimage to Washington every year, until they have learned how to sweep away the cobwebs of European diplomacy. Then, but not till then, will it be possible to hold a successful Conference of the World on this side of the Atlantic. The question is, will America thus extend her hospitality, and, above all, will she recognize that conferences of the “Allied and Associated Powers” can never achieve what might be achieved by greater and therefore more authoritative gatherings? We must meet again, but Germany and Russia must not be left out. The larger the conference the less chance the wreckers will have. No doubt the world has to move slowly in these matters, but a beginning has been made, and there are real grounds for believing that it will lead eventually to very much greater things than the organizers of the present Conference can reasonably have hoped for.



BEHIND IT ALL  
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)



# THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

**I**N his inaugural address as president of the University of Illinois on December 1, Dr. David Kinley dwelt on the relations of the national and State governments in the domain of education. He made a vigorous plea for the independence of the States, and especially of the State universities, and showed that the increasing intervention of the Federal Government in State educational matters is not without its dangers.

In outlining his ideas of the proper activities of the national government in the field of education President Kinley said:

If federal aid is to be given the States for education or research, it should be on the principle of the first federal grants for the Land Grant colleges and of the second Morrill Act. That is to say, appropriation should be made direct to the States, to be distributed by their legislatures, and to these should be left the mode of distribution. For the public schools that mode should ordinarily be the public school distributive funds already established in the different States, or which could be established. There should be no more of the practice of the wealthy private donor of giving a dollar, provided it is matched by another.

Federal statutes on education should not undertake to determine for the States the subject matter of school curriculums, at any rate beyond those commonly accepted curriculums which are regarded as the warp and woof of a general education for citizenship in a democratic republic like our own. Assignments of money for special kinds of education should be made by the State authorities, presumably the legislatures. If there is a class of people widely distributed among the States who need education of a special kind, it would be proper to earmark a certain proportion of the appropriation to the State for that purpose. Such a purpose would be education for Americanization of adult immigrants. Federal concern, especially so far as it involves appropriations, should be primarily with the public school system as ordinarily understood.

As an example of the success of the original federal policy of an assignment of funds direct to the State to be appropriated by the State Legislature, President Kinley cites his own institution, the University of Illinois, a State university, including a Land Grant college. The greatness and strength of this

university are due to the interest of the people of the State, but President Kinley is free to admit that the federal appropriations under the Agricultural College Act have been an incentive to the students to make their College of Agriculture, and other departments of the university, worthy of that great State. As to future relations with the federal government, President Kinley says:

It is one of the glories of the State of Illinois that it has made its university free. Its trustees are the direct representatives of the people and are free to go back to the people at any time for instructions and support. The representatives of the people in the legislature loyally support their institution. One of the wonders of our history is that the State legislature has always been so generous and so ready. We are held to strict accountability, of course, and we are glad to be so held. But in the discharge of the duties entrusted to us no institution could be freer from political control. We desire to maintain this relation, both with reference to the State government and to the federal government. We would welcome further federal support of public education and would welcome closer relations between a federal department and the university itself. But that federal relationship should leave as much freedom and give as much generous moral support to the university as the legislature of the State itself does and always has done. Any federal intervention in education which does not do this for the higher institutions of learning and for the public schools will not, in the long run, promote education of

the kind that we need in a country like ours. It may develop a mechanical, uniform system of education throughout the States, dictated from a central source. But it can never give that freedom of teaching and research necessary to the highest success. It can never furnish that variety of curricula and methods of administration required by the varying conditions of life in the different States and the continuance of which is necessary if we are to have that variety in unity and unity in variety which in all departments of American life is the very essence of Americanism.

The most important question of internal administration before the American people to-day is whether or not this onward sweep of federal control over the details of their local affairs shall go on. The part of that question which we are considering to-day is whether it is advisable to permit it to include our education. Shall we accept the doctrine that we are destined to become a great continental democracy, governed in



PRESIDENT KINLEY, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS



all important public activities from Washington, or shall we try to preserve the local autonomy in communities and States which is necessary to the preservation of our liberties? If we accept the doctrine that it is well to become a continental democracy, there is no need of further

discussion, and State governments may as well be abandoned. If we do not accept that doctrine, but stand up against the present tendency, we should keep our State governments in substance. Above all, we should keep our education out of federal bureaucratic control.

## THE FARMERS' BLOC IN CONGRESS—ITS MERITS AND ITS PERILS

FOR many years the French word *bloc* has been employed in discussions of European politics to designate definite groups of members of legislative bodies who are united in support of some particular principle or measure. It is a new word in American politics, but within the past year it has come into general use as applied to those men in the present Congress (about 100 in the House and twenty-two in the Senate), largely from the West and South, who are supposed to be banded together for the purpose of securing legislation in the interest of the American farmer.

Those members of Congress who oppose the methods of the so-called Agricultural Bloc contend that the legislation which it advocates is class legislation. This charge, however, is resented by the members of the bloc. Writing in the December *Forum*, Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas says: "As one who has actively supported and advocated these measures, I have no sympathy with class legislation, and I need hardly say that I see nothing of the evils of class legislation in the agricultural program."

Senator Capper holds that since our entire business structure in this country rests upon the land, any effort to improve and stabilize conditions surrounding the ultimate industry of food production is just as vital to the city man and to business in general as to the farmer himself. It is also true, as the Senator points out, that the farmer is the sole survivor of the era of domestic industry. As he puts it, "Farming is the only business left that buys at retail and sells at wholesale; that pays what is asked when it buys and accepts what is offered when it sells. The farmer remains merely a producer of the necessities of human life. After he has produced them other organizations take them over at their own price for distribution. This is true of no other important industry."

Middlemen's organizations have developed a system by which they hold, store and dis-

tribute the farmer's products, in accordance with demand for consumption, thus obtaining what the products are fairly worth during the entire year. The farmer now proposes through self-organization to control elevators, warehouses and credit and to market his own products. The Volstead-Capper Bill, authorizing farm coöperative marketing, is the first measure on the program of the Agricultural Bloc.

Our anti-trust legislation has thus far stood in the way of coöperation. In its inhibitions against farm marketing coöperation Senator Capper asserts that America stands alone among the nations. The Agricultural Bloc, he says, is not asking special class legislation for farming, but merely the removal of legal obstructions to farm coöperation and the placing of the American farmer on the same footing as his competitor in every other country on the globe. The Anti-Grain Gambling Bill, also supported by the Agricultural Bloc and already enacted into law, gives the Secretary of Agriculture the right to investigate and report any



IS THE AGRICULTURAL BLOC GUILTY OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS?

From the *World* (New York)

suspected manipulation of the grain market, to check the books of market operators and to prescribe rules for boards of trade.

Other measures included in the bloc's program are Senator Dial's Anti-Cotton Gambling Bill, bills regulating cold storage and providing control of the packing industry, the Capper-French Truth in Fabrics Bill—applying to fabrics provisions similar to those of the Pure Food Act—and bills creating more liberal banking credit, particularly personal credit on crops and farm machinery, making such paper more easily discountable. In summing up his reasons for advocating these bills, Senator Capper says: "The measures supported by the Agricultural Bloc are not proposals to give the farmer something for nothing, nor are they class legislation. They are the remedies urged by economists and students of agriculture, and, above all, by the farmers themselves, to uplift this fundamental industry to a place where it will be a blessing to the country because it is self-sustaining and prosperous."

### Dangers of the Bloc System

In the same number of the *Forum* the perils of the Agricultural Bloc in Congress are outlined by Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire. His contention is that the bloc has no place in a republic like ours, with representative institutions and government. He admits that in countries where responsible parliamentary government exists the bloc system may have a place, but even there it is rarely valuable in the continuity of governmental advance. Assuming that legislation must proceed by compromise, how much more difficult it must be to get results when such compromise must be sought among all the conflicting groups that frequently make up the coalition majority in a European Parliament!

Passing to a consideration of the Agricultural Bloc as it actually exists to-day in the United States Senate, Senator Moses notes that none of the most active members of this group is a farmer and that most of them are lawyers. He thinks it not without significance that although the bloc was formed under Republican auspices, none of the three "real dirt farmers" of the Republican side of the Senate was invited to share in the organization or in the later councils of the bloc. Senator Moses looks anxiously forward to a time when the coalition will attempt to seize complete control of domi-

nant party machinery, to choose its own Speaker of the House, its own President *pro tempore* of the Senate, to name its own leader of party conferences and to select and arrange the membership of all Congressional committees. This means, of course, the disappearance of the rule of seniority (and what could be more horrifying in the thought of the conservative, party-bred Senator?).

It means that the membership and chairmanships of important committees shall be thrown open to political competition, with its attendant evil train of log-rolling and a still further subsidiary development of the bloc scheme. It means destruction of incentive for individual effort in the drudgery of the committee room; it means, in a word, chaos.

The rule of seniority is, of course, by no means perfect; but nothing yet has been devised to take its place which will correct all of its evils or even measurably do so. It has one element to its credit—its certainty.

The object of the bloc is to secure legislation beneficial to the farmer. Senator Moses calls attention to the fact that the organization was formed after four months of a Congressional session which passed the Emergency Tariff and Farmers' Finance bills.

As economic consequences of the bloc system, Senator Moses expects to see blocs formed for the purpose of obtaining for the less populous, less enterprising, less thrifty States of the Union a share of the profits of toil which their more industrious States have piled up. But even such consequences do not constitute the worst fault of the system.

If it continues it means the breaking down of party coherence, of party responsibility, and of party government. And when these disappear the Constitution disappears with them; because the American system of government was framed upon lines so distinct and so clear that the introduction of a bloc into the plan means the introduction of a blot which will be the effacing efficaciously of all that has held this Republic for well-nigh a century and a half in the first position among the self-governing peoples of the world. Our sense of nationality has been developed under the Constitution and through political parties. Its fires have thus far kept the melting pot at sufficient heat to assimilate all that the Old World has hitherto given us, but they cannot reduce this latest introduction from the parliamentary storehouse of the Old World.

Since the bloc is neither fusible nor malleable nor ductile nor friable, what means shall be employed for dealing with it? It should be dissolved. Not necessarily by disintegration—which will probably take place—but by party coherence solvent and persuasive. Such is to be found amply in the Republican party whose traditions contain enough of affirmative forbearance to absorb the most refractory of political elements—even a bloc.

# WHAT WILL THE IRISH MAKE OF THE IRISH FREE STATE?

UNTIL quite recently Irish publicists have concentrated their thinking and writing to a great extent on the redress of their country's wrongs. Few attempts have been made to answer the pertinent question, "What would the Irish do with Ireland?" But almost simultaneously with the signing of the treaty between the British Government and the representatives of Ireland the *Survey* ("Graphic Number," November 26th) published a highly interesting series of answers to that specific question. That this American magazine should be able to present in a single issue at precisely the right time a consensus of Irish opinion, authoritative in the best sense because representing the highest type of Irish leadership, is a journalistic feat of which America may well be proud.

The leading article of the series, devoted to "Irish Anticipations," was contributed by "A. E." (Mr. George W. Russell). This cultured Irishman cannot look forward to a triumph of nationalism without visualizing an Irish government that will so foster a knowledge of Gaelic that the ancient tongue of Ireland will be taught in every Irish school and that the next generation will be bi-lingual. "A. E." is far from believing that English will ever be superseded in Ireland. In common with other forward-looking Irish leaders, he recognizes the fact that a language spoken by so many great nations on so many continents will inevitably be retained wherever it has a foothold. But the national schools must, in his view, be made adaptable to Irish conditions, and he predicts that the Irish people after a generation or two of free development will have a civilization as distinct in character as that of the Japanese.

The Gaelic tradition, an almost untapped fountain of beauty, will affect poetry, drama, romance, music, painting, and the arts applied to industry, so that we may expect houses, their furniture, carpets, decorations, pottery and ornament grad-



FLOWSHARES AFTER REVOLUTION—SIR HORACE PLUNKETT, PROPHET OF IRISH AGRICULTURE, TRYING OUT A MOTOR PLOW

ually to take on a national character evolved from a study of ancient Irish ornament. I also expect that the complete triumph of nationalism will generate its own antitoxin, and great numbers of young men will begin to ransack world literature and science for truth, and bring the aged and the new thought of the world into Ireland, not to submerge the Gaelic culture but to enrich it and graft onto it those fundamental and universal ideas without which the intellectual life of a nation would be barren and its culture and literature provincial.

Men withhold criticism of their own nationality when its existence is in peril, but with its triumph comes moral courage to face defects in national character. Lack of moral courage has been attributed to the Irish by some critics, but I think the silence they complain of was largely caused by a sense of fair play. It was felt while Ireland was with difficulty organizing resistance to a foreign power it was not right to weaken, by savage criticism of leaders or policies, forces already too feeble for the work which had to be done . . . but I have no doubt the land of Swift, Berkeley, Mitchel, Synge, and Bernard Shaw will never lack aristocratic characters to offset stagnation which is the disease which eats into harmonious or too subservient life. I think political freedom and the dissolution of that tense and artificial uniformity of mood and mind necessitated by the struggle to gain it will allow free development for such aristocratic and independent characters, and their growth will be stimulated by the increased familiarity of young Ireland with its heroic sagas.

On the economic side Ireland's hope is in coöperation. The movement, so well started a quarter of a century ago by Sir Horace

Plunkett and others, has reached a point where about 130,000 Irish farmers are united in more than 1000 coöperative associations. Mr. Russell is very hopeful of the future development of these societies:

If this tendency goes on, as I have no doubt it will, because it is economically beneficial, we shall find rural Ireland in the next generation with endless rural communities, each covering an area of about four or five miles around the center of business, all buying together, manufacturing together, and marketing together, using their organization for social and educational as well as for business purposes. These again would be linked up by national federations, or groups of them would conspire together for enterprises too great for parish associations to undertake. All this to some extent is going on now, and with the perfecting of this economic machinery undoubtedly there would come about among all who were members the conscious sense of identity of interest, which is the tie that knits nations together, and which would be required to balance the disruptive forces which might be let loose if those aristocratic characters I have spoken of were too numerous and energetic. There would be a solid sense of unity which would take a great deal of shaking even by the most eloquent voices.

As to the Irish labor movement, in general, while socialist generalizations about state control of land and industry have been avowed by the leaders, it does not seem probable that a majority could be secured in Ireland for any form of land or industrial nationalization. Mr. Russell points out that there are over 500,000 peasant proprietors in Ireland—"men who would pour boiling lead on anybody who tried to nationalize their land, the land they had sweated sixty years to pay for, for which they went to prison and endured many hardships during the long agrarian agitations. Most of them are workers themselves, employing no labor except that of their families."

An article on Ulster's position, signed by "Richard Rowley," has bearing on the situation created by the terms of the treaty:

It would seem evident that if Dail Eireann can rule its own part of Ireland economically and well, if it can foster trade and agriculture, and administer the law fairly between man and man, if it can show that it has no bitterness against those of alien blood and different faith, then it can, by the mere spectacle of its success, force Ulster to ask for the privilege of sharing the benefits of such rule. But until these benefits are proved and seen, Ulstermen will not give up what they possess; they will not embrace a change which may risk the whole fabric of their commercial achievements. The Northerners are weary of the age-long conflict, but their desire for peace will not make them betray their native caution.

A few years' waiting is but a little thing in the long and troubled history of Ireland. The Northeast corner must be won by conviction. It must have proved to it the capacity of Celtic Ireland to govern itself wisely and unselfishly. The suspicion which clouds the relations of the two peoples—suspicion which is the natural legacy of so many centuries of racial strife—can be removed only by the spectacle of the task of legislation and administration carried on successfully for a certain number of years. Could this suspicion be so removed, the miracle would be performed, Ulster would be reconciled, and Ireland would be one.

Mr. Lionel Smith-Gordon concludes an optimistic forecast of "the economic consequences of Irish freedom" with this paragraph:

Taking it all in all the economic future of Ireland is exceedingly hopeful provided that certain conditions precedent to prosperity are fulfilled: the reestablishment of peace at an early date, the restoration of the many creameries and business houses which have been partly or wholly destroyed, and the provision of such a system of land settlement and of financial assistance to settlers as will enable the active young men and women to remain in the country instead of emigrating. Education of a prolonged and intensive character such as Mr. Griffith has long carried on in the columns of *Young Ireland* will do the rest.

Sir Horace Plunkett's own summing up of the achievements and aims of agricultural coöperation has especial interest at this time:

In short, we have learned in Ireland, and would impress upon all rural communities which have become backward owing to the concentration of all that is best in thought and feeling for public welfare upon the problem of the cities: (1) The vital need of thorough organization upon coöperative lines; (2) the paramount importance of reliance upon voluntary effort rather than upon state assistance, in the sure belief that what by intelligent combination we can do for ourselves is immeasurably more beneficial than what the best of governments can do for us; and (3) the insistence upon building up rural society on its three sides; namely, the technical side, the commercial or business side and the social and intellectual side.

I would add one piece of advice for universal application by rural communities in the English-speaking countries. They should take steps to inform themselves, as we did in Ireland, as to the organization of agriculture in those countries which have not neglected the farmer, and should exchange experiences and ideas among each other as to the progress made in repairing this neglect.

There are also in this number interesting discussions of schools and public health in Ireland, an account of government under the "Dail Eireann," by Erskine Childers, and "Ireland Returning to Her Fountains," by James Stephens.

## AN AMERICAN MISSIONARY ON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

**A**N impartial view of the present unrest among the people of India and of Great Britain's problems of government in that country is presented by Dr. Robert A. Hume, the veteran missionary of the American Board in the *Missionary Herald* (Boston) for November.

After severely criticizing the action of General Dyer at Amritsar in the Punjab and describing the so-called Non-Coöperation Movement, headed by Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Hume deprecates the crusade of hate that has been initiated against both Europeans and Indians who regard Non-Coöperation as suicidal, and especially the violence that has been stimulated and practised by Mr. Gandhi's followers. In concluding his brief article, Dr. Hume says:

In short, the political situation is something like this: Britain has given India peace, order, and progress; has been steadily qualifying Indians for self-government; and of her own accord is now in diarchy giving them actual control of many departments of government. *E. g.*, in the Bombay presidency, of the four members of the governor's executive council or cabinet, two are

Indians and two are Europeans; and the three ministers who are elected members of the Provincial Legislature and are in charge of administrative governmental portfolios are Indians; *i. e.*, five out of seven of the highest administrators are Indians, while about seven-tenths of the legislature are elected non-official Indians. Yet on account of a few recent autocratic and unwise governmental acts, because Indian national sentiment has been bitterly hurt, much of Britain's great service is forgotten and many desire to get rid of the British connection. It is very, very sad.

In this dark hour, however, one strong British characteristic shines bright, *viz.*, gritty resolution to do what seems duty. The Government calmly allows even disloyal utterances in the press and in public and private, and steadily goes on with its work in the consciousness that Providence has placed on it responsibility for the welfare of 320,000,000 people, the very great majority of whom have no fitness for exercising political power and no desire for change. Meanwhile, the Government is placing increased responsibility on the worthiest of Indians. . . . It is up to those educated and influential Indians who are receiving a large measure of legislative and administrative power so to show wisdom that in due time larger powers will be cheerfully accorded till India is in all respects like Canada and Australia, a self-governing member of the British Empire.

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## NO EIGHT-HOUR DAY FOR FRENCH FARM LABOR

**I**N the *Economiste Français* (Paris) for November 12, M. André Liesse discusses, in rather caustic but interesting fashion, the proposal just made at the International Conference of Labor, at Geneva, to urge the passage, in all countries, of one uniform law reducing the agricultural working-day to eight hours. A majority of delegates voted to make the question the order of the day, but the representatives of the French Government, following their instructions, opposed even its consideration. It is here discussed as part of the "three-eighths formula," which sixty years ago was contributed from Australia to the socialist programs of all lands, and was to some extent embodied in the French law of 1919. The same writer, at the latter date, opposed the hasty attempt to apply the new legislation to the railroads. The measure is treated as part of the socialistic argument that has thus far culminated, says the writer, "in the definition of a normal

full day's labor, by M. J. Noble of New York, as two hours, and by Dr. Jones, in all seriousness, as an hour and a half, with assurance of large gain in quality and quantity of prospective output!" Yet "the plan was favored by some governments who are following a short-sighted Socialist policy, and by others, such as Germany, for reasons whose origin we must not neglect to investigate."

The writer takes for granted throughout that the "eight-hour day" means: No man shall actually work more than eight hours in each or any twenty-four. On this theory he makes a strong case to prove that "from the point of view of the direct interests of agricultural production it would be 'an indefensible mistake.'"

It is an axiom that the agricultural methods of every land are absolutely subject to the seasons—the weather. The American reader will be surprised to hear that no

country on the entire globe presents so wide a diversity of agricultural conditions as France, from the "Land of Mid-Day" with its vineyards to the inclement north with its cereals and beet-fields! Even in cattle-raising not the prairies, steppes and pampas, but Normandy, Nivernais and Bourbonnais represent worldwide diversity of conditions.

We are reminded that most of France is cultivated in little farms—ten or twelve acres—or medium ones, of from seventy-five to a hundred. Such economic machines as the great American tractors cannot be utilized under such conditions. A large proportion of leased estates are still worked "on shares," so that the tenant is vitally inter-

ested to attain a maximum output; and, at seed-time, harvest, or under threat of coming storms, he will work night and day, with his family and permanent employees, to avert serious loss. The ordinary type of day-laborer is not in control of the situation there. Legislation for the factory or workshop, open and busy, perhaps, every week in the year, has no proper application to the farm. To attempt such control would require a whole army of inspectors with voluminous records, and evoke numberless pleas for exemption from the law.

At present, it is asserted, no element of French life is so stable, conservative, and contented as farm labor.

## A DECADE OF BRAZILIAN COFFEE

**S**TUDY of recent official (Brazilian) figures proves that the coffee industry is beginning to recover from the effects of the war, says *La Revista Economía y Finanzas* (Buenos Aires).

The crop of 1919-20 was somewhat short, the total entries at the ports of Rio de Janeiro and Santos (the two chief export foci of the coffee industry in Brazil) being about 6,700,000 sacks of sixty kilograms each (about 132 pounds). This is less than the 1918-19 crop, which was more than 9,172,000 sacks. On the other hand, the 1920-21 crop is better. Up to June 30, 13,816,000 sacks had been delivered in Rio and Santos—nearly double the amount for a similar period the preceding year.

The following interesting table shows the amount of coffee in sixty-kilogram sacks delivered in Rio and Santos for ten years:

Years	Rio	Sacks Santos	Totals
1910-1911...	2,438,000	8,110,000	10,548,000
1911-1912...	2,484,000	9,972,000	12,456,000
1912-1913...	2,906,000	8,585,000	11,491,000
1913-1914...	2,960,000	10,855,000	13,815,000
1914-1915...	3,349,000	9,497,000	12,846,000
1915-1916...	3,250,000	11,747,000	14,997,000
1916-1917...	2,310,000	9,803,000	12,113,000
1917-1918...	2,952,000	12,143,000	15,095,000
1918-1919...	1,779,000	7,393,000	9,172,000
1919-1920...	2,549,000	4,169,000	6,718,000
1920-1921*..	3,305,000	10,511,000	13,816,000

\*To June.

In spite of augmented production during the past year foreign sales were inferior to those of 1919, as one can see in the following

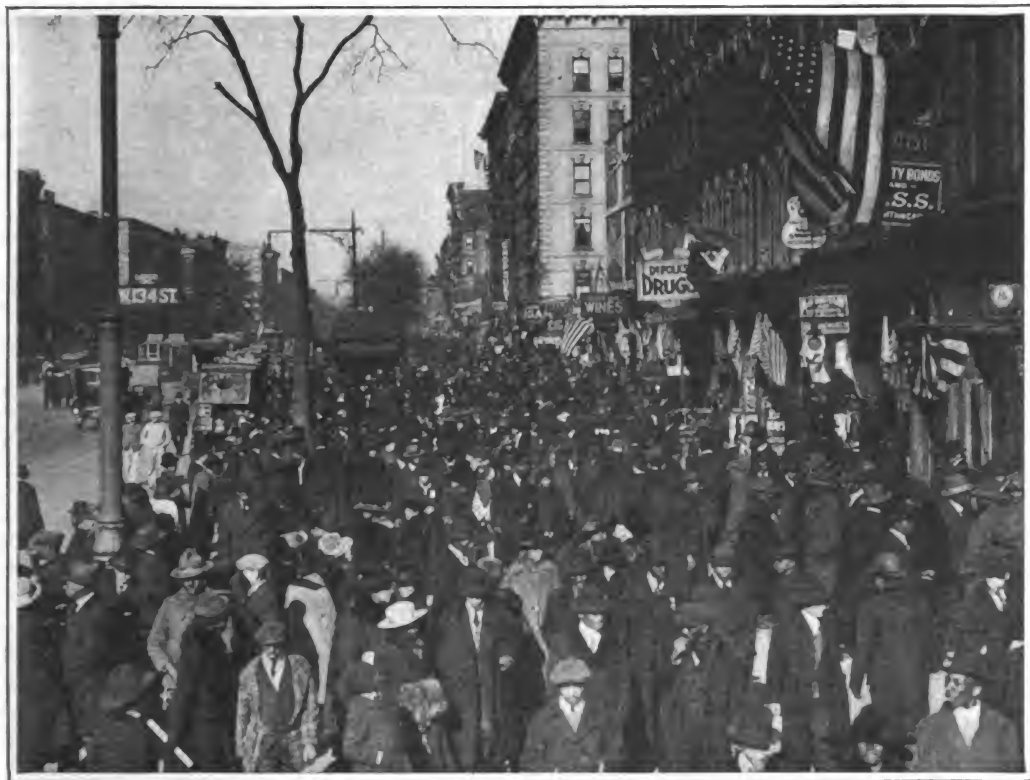
table—in which the money valuation is based on *contos* of paper *reis* (in Brazil large sums are reckoned in *contos* of *reis*, or amounts of 1,000,000 *reis*—the nominal exchange value being \$1080). It will be noted that sales of the last few years, though smaller in volume, have been larger in money terms, which is explained by the depreciation of money purchasing power, caused by war economic conditions.

Year	Sacks	Value in <i>contos</i> of paper <i>reis</i>
1912.....	12,080,303	698,372
1913.....	13,267,449	611,674
1914.....	11,269,724	439,708
1915.....	17,061,319	620,491
1916.....	13,038,663	589,201
1917.....	10,606,014	440,258
1918.....	7,443,048	352,727
1919.....	12,963,000	1,226,463
1920.....	11,523,000	860,854

This notable diminution in exportations has been the immediate consequence of general restriction in consumption provoked by high living costs throughout the world and by the German Government's decision to prohibit the importation of this product in the interest of its trade balance.

Despite the apparently unfavorable market, a speedy increase in exports may be expected soon, owing to the actual scarcity of coffee in European stocks.

The reader will note that figures quoted are based on Rio and Santos stocks only, not taking into account the actual crops harvested, so that only a partial view (chiefly from the export standpoint) is given. The official 1921 figures are not yet available.



SCENE ON LENOX AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY, IN THE HEART OF THE NEGRO COLONY  
(Many of the buildings are owned, and practically all are tenanted, by colored residents)

## REDISTRIBUTION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

**P**RESIDENT HARDING'S recent address at Birmingham has reawakened interest in the future of the negro race in this country. A citizen of Alabama, Mr. A. S. Van de Graaff, has contributed to the *Tuscaloosa News & Times-Gazette* an article on the redistribution of the race in America. Mr. Van de Graaff has been a careful student of the subject for more than thirty years, and as long ago as 1896 he wrote and published conclusions which have been strikingly verified by movements of the Southern colored population which have since taken place.

To show what were the actual changes in the twenty years between 1890 and 1910, the northward movement of the American negro is clearly indicated in the census returns:

There are now more blacks in Cincinnati than in Louisville—more in the border States of the North than in the border States of the South. On the northern side of the old line of cleavage

which the Civil War removed, the number of negroes has been increasing through all of fifty-six years, and has had its greatest increase within the last four. On the southern side there has been as steady a decline, at first only relative but later absolute, until in Kentucky there are now fewer negroes than in 1860, and the black percentage of its population has become less than that for the United States as a whole; until also, as is even more significant, the last census has shown the loss of black population in all the four contiguous subjacent States—Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. This radical change of trend—this decisive turn toward uniformity in the redistribution of the negroes between North and South under the conditions of freedom—is thus shown to have already operated over wide areas, and it is now being extended over the whole country.

The movement of the blacks out of the South assumed proportions during the World War which have caused the returns of the census of 1920 to be received as a revelation and heralded as sensational by some Northern editors. They should not have been such to any close observer, or student of statistics. The movement has been continuous since the surrender of the armies of the Confederacy, and its expansion was a logical anticipation. But the cumulative influences of



the war and of the boll-weevil invasion have quickened it beyond all expectation. Contrasts are now presented between groups of States, Northern and Southern, even more striking than those between the different regions of the South resulting from the use of the country as the geographical racial unit thirty years ago. Down to 1910 the immigration of the blacks into the North was pretty well confined to the border States from Illinois to New Jersey, and to the city of New York. To this Northern territory in order to equalize area with that of my upland South, I used to add the District of Columbia, the three lower New England States, and the part of New York south of a line drawn from Massachusetts' northwest corner to Pennsylvania's northeast, making up a total of 206,000 square miles, against 210,000. This "Negro Canaan," as I named it, in 1910 held 840,000 blacks whose decennial rate of 21 per cent. compared with one of less than 4 per cent. for the 1,974,000 blacks of the upland South. It contrasted in another way with the western South, an area twice as large, holding only 912,000 negroes.

Even then a more informing comparison—certainly one more readily followed—would have been afforded by adding to the Northern territory the remainder of New York, raising the area to 246,000 square miles, and contrasting with the 227,000 of the five Southern border States, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, with Tennessee and Virginia added. In the Northern group there were 856,000 blacks, with a decennial gain of 147,000; in the Southern 1,891,000, with a decennial loss of 5000; the half-century gains were in the Northern 632,000, or 283 per cent.; in the Southern 312,000, or 37 per cent. only. Now, from the returns of the census of 1920 we find in the Northern group 1,236,000 blacks, showing a decennial gain of 380,000, or 44 per cent.; and in the Southern 1,917,000, showing a gain of 26,000, or less than 1½ per cent. And if we again extend the comparison back to 1860, as the beginning of the new dispensation, we have in the Northern area an increase of 1,002,000 negroes, or 448 per cent., against one of 538,000, or 40 per cent. only, in the Southern.

A still more striking comparison from the returns of 1920 is that between the seven great States of the North leading in negro population, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, with the District of Columbia added as before, and those six States of the lower South—South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana—in which in 1830 there was already that "black population accumulated along the Gulf of Mexico," which De Tocqueville thought "would have a chance of success, if the American Union is dissolved when the struggle between the two races begins."

These were also six of Judge Tourgee's "eight black republics," and for them his anticipation seemed much better grounded than for North Carolina and Virginia, for in 1860 the two races had stood in them on practically even terms, whites outnumbering blacks by only 32,000, whereas in 1880 the blacks outnumbered the whites by 243,000. But while the blacks still led in 1900 by 25,000, in 1910 the whites held a majority of 557,000, and this had grown in 1920 to 1,607,000. This rapid relative gain of the whites

is itself striking enough, but the difference between the rates of growth of the black population in this supposedly most congenial habitat, and that of the widely differing Northern area, is even more so. In the Northern territory of 290,000 square miles in 1860 there were 202,500 negroes; in the Southern of 287,000 square miles, 2,166,000. In 1920 there were in the Northern 1,219,000 negroes, showing a decennial gain of 409,000, or 50 per cent.; in the Southern 4,957,000, showing a decennial loss of 16,000. For the successive twenty-year periods beginning with 1860-80 the rates of increase in the Northern were respectively 112, 55, and 83 per cent.; in the Southern 47, 39, and 11 per cent.

This contrast may be startling, but that the figures are only typical may be seen by comparing the black rates of increase for the three great divisions—North, West, and South—as defined above. For the last three decades, beginning with that ending in 1920, these rates have been in the North, 46, 20, and 25 per cent.; in the West 55, 68, and 12 per cent.; in the South 2, 10, and 17 per cent. For the three twenty-year periods since 1860, beginning with 1900-20, in the North 74, 52, and 124 per cent.; in the West 160, 156, and 165 per cent.; in the South 12, 32, and 42 per cent.

Mr. Van de Graaff is convinced that in the long run only good can come to both South and North and to whites and blacks alike from the continuance of the migration movement:

In no State of the North was the percentage of blacks as high as 4 in 1920, and in only six States did it reach 2. With the first turn of the industrial tide the cities and industries of both North and West will again need and bid for negro labor. For the South, answer might well have been made to the Nebraska inquiry by the secretary of the Montgomery Chamber of Commerce, which within six months preceding had raised \$100,000, not to bring back any of the 16,000 negroes Montgomery County lost between 1910 and 1920, but to induce the coming of white farmers from North and West. Now, as twenty-five years ago, it is plainly to be seen in agricultural Alabama that progress and prosperity for counties and communities large and small vary in inverse proportion to the relative numbers of their blacks. Wherever the negroes are in the majority there is stagnation and decay. And this holds in other realms than the material. The negro has risen and is to continue to rise in America. But it is none the less true that American standards are to remain white standards, and community standards ought everywhere to be fixed by the whites. If the number of negroes be such that by their mere mass they fix the community standards, these decline; the negroes rise more slowly, if they rise at all; and the whites, who live with them, may themselves sink toward a lower level. This has been always felt, if not declared in words, in the South. The life of its black belts has not been acceptable to the white man—the standards, political, industrial, and other, of the black belts, have been hardly less unsatisfactory to the Southern white man than to the man of the North.

# LENINE'S ECONOMIC "TRANSFORMATION"

THE fourth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia seemed an opportune time for Nikolai Lenine to write an article which appeared in *L'Humanité* (Paris) for the edification of French communists. On the same 10th day of November, he delivered a speech before the Second Russian Assembly for Political Education, and it may prove interesting to study both efforts together. In the French communist organ, Lenine lays down as the most imperative task of the revolution the destruction of "what survived in Russia of the Middle Ages . . . all that was opposed to every sort of culture and progress,"—chiefly revivals of serfdom and feudalism in government and institutions.

In Moscow, on the same day, the Russian Premier was telling his people that "the chief lack in the work of most of our assemblies is the absence of immediate connection with the practical problems which confront us." The Bolshevik leader outlines for France what has been accomplished, and he harangues the Russians as to what is yet undone. In the New York *Times*' translation of the French text in *L'Humanité* on December 4, 1921, Lenine says:

What, in 1917, were the most important survivals of feudal serfdom? They were autocracy, the nobility, property ownership, exploitation of the peasant, social inferiority of woman, orthodoxy, oppression of nationalities. Whereas, in all civilized States, the revolutions of a century ago—as well as the English Revolution of 1649—abolished all these medieval survivals merely in a very incomplete way, we Russians have thoroughly cleaned our Augean stables. In ten weeks, from November 7, 1917, to the dissolving of the Constituent Assembly . . . the ancient edifice of the old social order was demolished by us in a way that could not have been more thorough. Whereas, in Germany, France, and England, lands of a high degree of culture, vestiges of the remote past still survive, nothing remains in Russia of feudalism and servitude. . . .

In Moscow, Lenine calls attention to the sharp change involved in the new economic policy. He and his associates counted, undoubtedly, on gathering by requisition from the peasants their surplus crops and distributing them as bread to the workmen, who, in turn, would employ themselves in communistic production—presumably for requisition of *their* surplus by the peasants, although Lenine says nothing about that phase of it. At any rate, the scheme failed, and the Russian Premier says, "Before they

have thrashed us definitely, let us retreat and construct everything over again, but more solidly." He says, in the speech at Moscow, also printed in full by the *Times* (New York):

The new economic policy means the change from the requisition of the surplus system to an impost; it means in a considerable measure a transition to the reestablishment of capitalism—in what measure we do not know. The concessions to foreign capitalists (it is true that as yet we have signed very few of them, especially if we compare them with the proposals that we have made) the leases by private capitalists—these are a direct reestablishment of capitalism, and this goes to the roots of the new economic policy.

It follows that the abolition of the requisition-of-the-surplus system means for the peasant free trade for the agricultural surplus not taken by the natural tax. And the natural tax takes only a small portion of the products. The peasants constitute a gigantic portion of the whole population, and of the whole economic structure, and thus, on the soil of free trade, capitalism cannot fail to grow.

What Lenine means by "free trade" is not altogether clear, but it would seem to be synonymous with barter. He asks, what will be the economic foundation of the proletariat state, and answers as follows:

In this connection, we must think of the peasants. It is entirely beyond dispute, and evident to all, that in spite of such a tremendous misfortune as this famine, an improvement of the condition of the population has set in as an accompaniment to the change in our economic policy. On the other hand, if capitalism wins, industrial production will grow and the proletariat will grow with it. The capitalists will win, owing to our own policy, and they will create the industrial proletariat, which, thanks to the war and the desperate disorder and ruin, has been declassed, that is to say, it has been knocked out of its rut, and has ceased to exist as a proletariat. . . .

The communist revolution is differentiated from past affairs as a war of the state authority against the bourgeoisie of its own country and against the united bourgeoisie of all countries, and such a war, says Premier Lenine at Moscow, has never been before.

It was not possible for the people to have had experiences in such a war. We must create it for ourselves, and in this experience we can rely only on the consciousness of the workmen and the peasants. Therein lies the keynote and the greatest difficulty of the task.

We must not count on an immediate transition to communism. We must build it up on the self-interest of the peasant. They tell us that the

"self interest of the peasant" means the establishment of private ownership. No; as regards the peasants we never destroyed the private ownership of objects of necessity and of tools. We destroyed individual ownership of land, and the peasant kept on with his farming without individual ownership of land, for instance, on rented land. This system has existed in a great many countries. There is nothing economically impossible in that.

Points of light gleam from this mass of somewhat unintelligible jargon that are not negligible by the student. Lenine says deliberation should be common; responsibility individual, and that from lack of knowledge of how to vitalize this principle communism has suffered at every step. He deplors the failure of practical fruition from the deliberations of masses who for tens and hundreds of years had been forbidden to deliberate on anything, and says, in his Moscow speech:

We must so arrange matters that every man shall put in his whole strength for the benefit of the workmen's and peasants' government. Great industries can be created only thereafter.

It is necessary that consciousness of this should penetrate into the masses, and that it should not only penetrate but that it should manifest itself in them in a practical form. . . . In their day declarations, manifestos, statements and decrees were needful. We have now had enough of them. . . .

The mere fact that we had to create an extraordinary commission to abolish illiteracy proves that we are a people (how shall I say it more gently?) of something like half savages, because in a country where the people were not half savages it would be a disgrace to create an extraordinary commission to abolish illiteracy—there they abolish illiteracy in the schools. There are tolerable schools, and they teach in them—what? First of all, they teach how to read and write. But if this elementary problem is not first solved, it is ridiculous to talk of a new economic policy. . . . We need a tremendous raising of the general level of culture . . . that the peasant shall have the possibility of applying his knowledge of reading and writing to the improvement of his domestic economy and of the state.

Curiously enough, capitalism is teaching and preaching that the surest defeat for Bolshevism is education—that no people will deliberately let themselves in for communism if they are beyond that stage of culture which Lenine so aptly describes as something like half savage. One must also notice that the communist leader hopes and expects to weed out from 100,000 to 200,000 members of the party to purge it of "do-nothingism and graft" and it looks as though Premier Lenine were forming a most highly disciplined party organization out of the heterogeneous adherents of communism and the Institute for Political Education. Either Sovietism or its malingerers must perish.

## THE RUSSIAN THEATER

THE theater in Russia has suffered little from the revolution, if at all. All observers, both native and foreign, speak of the vitality of dramatic art in Russia, which has survived political cataclysms, cold, hunger and disease, and emerged from the four-year ordeal full of artistic vigor and promise. A very interesting picture of the Russian theater during the tumultuous years of the revolution is drawn by A. Bobrishcheff-Pushkin in the Russian weekly *Smena Vekh*, published in Paris. This writer says:

There is an enormous difference between the academic European theater, which has become petrified in its forms, and the Russian theater after the revolution. They are as comparable as a chunk of ice with a boiling kettle, a museum with a mass-meeting. . . . The conditions of existence and creativeness are entirely different. But some may ask, is creativeness possible when there is such a bitter struggle for existence? Is it possible to create when one's stomach is empty? True, but does not the whole history of the Russian theater give an answer? When was a Russian actor—the mass of them, with few excep-

tions—not hungry, and when did his creativeness cease? From time immemorial that was the lot of an actor in limitless Russia, and is he not accustomed to create amid hunger and cold? In the provinces his condition has even improved in some respects: He received a government food ration. The Soviets made much of him. In small towns there are stock companies with a personnel of forty people, which was a great luxury for the capitals a few years ago. Of course, the picture is different on the heights of the theatrical profession, among the chosen; what is an ideal of prosperity to the average actor is to them terror and misery. But even here are not only negative sides, but also positive ones of great merit. All that is peculiar to all revolutionary epochs, including our revolution.

The greatest trial is, of course, the constant thought of the food ration, the conditions of life totally unsuitable for great talents, which have to be cared for and kept under a hothouse glass, like rare flowers. Now the hot-beds are destroyed. A storm broke into the sheltered alleys. The high-priests took a broom—they sweep their rooms, carry bundles of wood on their old shoulders. One old actor, the pride of the Russian stage, plays in the suburbs for such a bundle of wood, but, when the performance is over, he does not always succeed in getting an automobile to

return home, and then, throwing away the heavy bundle, he trudges several miles to the luxurious but unheated apartment which was requisitioned for him.

How the Russian actors lived in those years may be gathered from the statement of one who said that his salary was sufficient to buy a pound of lard. "The singer N., thanks to her European reputation, has about thirty food allowances; she has a special maid to collect these allowances. Just think to what a strain she must subject herself and her voice in order to earn all those thirty allowances in thirty places!" These and similar statements bearing on the condition of actors are true of all Russian theatrical centers.

In Petrograd the Mikhailovsky Theater and the Palace Theater, the Alexandrinsky Theater and the Chinizelli Circus are a few steps from one another. I observed myself in 1918 how, taking advantage of the proximity of the theaters, the actors managed to play in several places; in the Palace Theater, a part in the first and last acts, and in the Alexandrinsky Theater, in the second. It was practicable, only it was necessary to run across the Nevsky Prospect three times and as many times wash off and put on the make-up. But sometimes the time calculation was wrong, and the performance got stuck in the middle, without the performer. At the Circus "Macbeth" was played, at the Palace Theater a farce, but that did not interfere with the rapid transformations; in addition the actors would run in great haste to the "Bee-ba-bo" (a vaudeville house in Petrograd) and do a cabaret stunt.

As is known, the Soviet government declared all theaters national property. According to Mr. Lunacharsky, the Commissar of Public Education,

the reform instituted by the commissariat of public education divided the theatrical problems into two categories, and created two theatrical centers: in the Glavpolitprosvet (main politico-educational bureau) and the academic center. To the Glavpolitprosvet were subordinated all theaters with the exception of a small number in Moscow and Petrograd.

The Teo (Theatrical Department) thus has supervision over the whole theatrical life of the entire country, excepting only those theaters which, in view of their artistic services, are preserved by the academic center in their original form. In the opinion of Lunacharsky, "It would be quite natural if the academic theaters should aim most of all at artistic production, and the theaters of the other category should seek revolutionary tendencies and should pay the greatest attention to the emphasis of this particular side of



SCENE FROM THE LATEST PLAY, "KING BARBER,"  
BY LUNACHARSKY, COMMISSAR OF EDUCATION

plays." The academic theaters, "in view of their intrinsic value, need not first of all adapt themselves to existing conditions. The other theaters, which have to a greater extent an educational rather than purely artistic significance, on the contrary, must imperatively be made to serve the cultural-educational (as well as the political) needs of the population."

In reality [continues the writer] even the provincial theater has preserved its former non-political physiognomy, for there are not enough "revolutionary" plays to have any effect upon the repertory; nor are there many theatrical workers of the "revolutionary" type, such as Meyerhold. On the contrary, the old plays, to attract larger audiences, are hidden under new names in the obscure provinces.

Notwithstanding the hard conditions of life in present-day Russia, the intellectual interest in the theater on the part of the actors has not abated. The stage directors and actors in Moscow are working with even greater gusto, with more temperament, than before the war. Mr. Kachaloff, the leading spirit of the Moscow Art Theater and most famous actor in Russia, who is now in Prague, Czechoslovakia, has this to say about the status of the theater in Russia:

In justice to the Bolshevik workers who are engaged in the field of public education, it must be said that they have done much to awaken the interest in the theater among the large masses of the people. They have closed up a number of cabarets and music halls and have organized in their stead workmen's clubs with a well-equipped stage and gave performances and concerts there with first-class actors and singers.

Then, in the suburbs, in the factory districts, they arranged for performances by the members of the Art Theater, Little Theater, and others. The laboring people for the first time saw on their outskirts Mme. Yermoloff and Mme. Sadovsky and the actors of the Art Theater and the best musicians and singers. Hence, from these performances and concerts, there began to form

a new theater-going public, which left the outskirts for the center, invaded Moscow, and filled all the best theaters. I must say that I have never seen anywhere an audience more sensitive, more responsive to the dramatic, the humorous, the lyrical, more susceptible to ideas. To perform for such a public, to observe it in the theater hall, was a great consolation to all of us.

## THE CROATS AND JUGOSLAVIA

IN the *Correspondant* (Paris) for November 25, M. Guy de Valous writes tersely and calmly, though in the most serious earnest, of the imminent danger threatening the inner unity of the new Jugoslavic nationality. The logical result of this racial movement is to bring all the southern Slavs into a secure confederated union, which shall still permit, and even encourage, the intellectual and social life of each well-defined section or state. The problem, though difficult, is by no means so remote a possibility as the eventual union of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the many lesser units to the northward of Austria.

The heroism and the catastrophe of Serbia are unforgettable. (The *v*, with its suggestions of the Latin *servus*, *servilis*, etc., is used by English-speaking folk only, and is felt as a grievous insult.) By her sufferings, her completer unity, and her superior size, she deserved, and naturally took, the leadership in the general Southern Slav movement. The creation of an hereditary monarchy, however, under the Serbian dynasty, was a disappointment to the numerous Social Democrats, moderate Republicans, and anti-monarchists generally within the Serbian Kingdom itself, and also a cause of anxiety, naturally, to all the lesser units in the aggregation.

The prompt effacement of Montenegro, the most valiant of them all in her long defiance of Turkish tyranny, gave a rude shock to far-sighted patriots everywhere. Whatever the Montenegrins felt as to their King's valor and good faith in the Great War, their national unity and name were their most precious possessions—save freedom.

The South Slavic lands and peoples won by Serbia in war from Austria-Hungary, have two chief centers of racial consciousness. The Croats—most hateful to Italians as the direct and often eager tools of Austrian atrocity in war and cruelty in peace through "*Italia Irredenta*"—made up a so-called kingdom, ruled by an Hungarian

viceroy under the Hapsburg Emperors, but with certain constitutional rights, including considerable encouragement of their native speech. They boast of an historic culture dating back to a time when the Serbs had no literature save their rude shepherd-chants. Somewhat the same is true of the Slovenians, more particularly of the Austrian duchy Carniola, within which the city of Laibach is the chief political and cultural center.

Both these lands were accepted, all too greedily, by Serbia as a scant recompense for wrongs, and as booty fairly won by final success in the long and all but destructive fight against mighty Austria. And yet, even if they could be successfully and ruthlessly assimilated, the crux of the racial problem would still remain. Bulgaria, whose treachery linked up Mittel-Europa, permitted the rescue of the Turks on the Hellespont, and so doubled the length of the war, is not only Jugoslavic also, but "Orthodox"; that is, like the great mass of the Serbs, closely attached to the Eastern, or "Greek" church of traditional Christianity, which so long looked to Russia as its resistless champion. On the other hand, north of the Danube, Slovenes and Croato-Slavs alike are in the mass no less heartily Roman Catholic; for the Danube is here the true boundary between West and East.

The writer of the *Correspondant* article takes largely for granted his readers' familiarity with these essential details. He does not condemn the inevitable enthusiasm of the Serbs proper for the upbuilding of a centralized Greater Serbia, nor their confidence that the uplift of commercial prosperity and wealth would quickly reconcile all men to the imperious Serbian overlordship and the effacement of all other dialects, associations, and memories. But what Croat and Slovene have preserved for a thousand years of Teutonic and Magyar despotism they will hardly surrender in one generation, after being declared free men! Hence an imminent clash for which none may be wholly

blamed, but in which all that has been won may easily be lost. To-day the peril from Austria-Hungary is lifted; but Russia is no longer a protector of any, and Germany is—a sealed book! A moderate central rule, general contentment, pride and prosperity, can alone give to Yugoslavia a lasting place among the nations of the world. One large reason for Serbian moderation is, that their own kingdom was a purely inland one, like the unfortunate Austria and Czechoslovakia to-day, and acquired its Adriatic ports only by the creation of the larger state.

The Declaration of Corfù in 1917 merely acclaimed the political unity of all Croats, Slovenes and Serbs, but set up no constitution. The two former races, and the lesser minorities of Magyars, Germans and Mussulmans, caught within the lines, naturally desired a free confederation.

"As for the Montenegrins" (perhaps a quarter-million strong), "the Serbs, who had confiscated their autonomy, have left them neither spare time nor opportunity to utter any opinion. . . . Nicholas Pachitch, Premier of the cabinet and leader of the Serbians in Yugoslavia, has proclaimed that all Southern Slavs are Serbs!" Croatia is the chief center of opposition within, as Bulgaria is the closest peril from without. The Croat clericals are monarchists; the other leading party, the Peasants, are republicans. Socialists and other radicals play no such prominent part as in Serbia proper. The Catholic clergy of Croatia, appealing to Belgrade and Rome, obtained a concordat that secured their own privileges; and they have since shown apathetic indifference to the fate of the language, culture, or autonomy of Croatia. The chief peasant party leaders have held aloof altogether. But Croats are really a unit against actual absorption as Serbs!

The improvised parliament of 1918 required two years to pass any laws for holding elections to the Constitutional Convention. The lack of a working majority was not due, as is often alleged, to plots in Italy, Hungary or Bulgaria, nor to socialist schemes at home, but to the really profound chasm between Serbian aspirations and the resistance to subjugation on the part of Croats and Slovenes.

The former Serbian Premier, M. Protich, made the first draft for the Constitution on Belgian lines, retaining the existing administrative divisions, and granting them a certain autonomy.

But the cabinets of Vesnitch and Pachitch, successively, modified this ministerial measure, until it called for a division of the entire kingdom into forty-eight "regions," forbid-



CROATIAN MOTHER AND DAUGHTER

ding any fusion to create a larger unit than 7-800,000 people. The old lines are obliterated. Serbia legislates effectively for all. Her language, even her Greek ritual, is to dominate or supplant the others.

The general and growing opposition to this policy compelled the cabinet to take prompt measures to secure for it a working majority. This was secured only by buying the support of the Mussulmans of Bosnia, promising them generous recompense for the loss of their feudal control, recently thrown off by their former Christian serfs.

When the Western powers heard that the new constitution had been adopted by a vote of 223 to 35, on June 28, 1921, there was, naturally, general rejoicing. But the peasant party of the Croats had refused to attend at all, and even the clericals had withdrawn in a body.

The writer, while anticipating disaster unless there is prompt reaction and compromise, insists that France is more cordially inclined to Yugoslavia than to any other of the new states. But this is his closing warning: "Surrounded by seven states inclined to be hostile, inhabited by oppressed peoples, will Greater Serbia with its four and a half millions of Serbs succeed in retaining permanently under its yoke seven or eight millions of people, exasperated at their own subjugation, who are already dreaming of the day of revenge, justice, and liberation?"

# WIDESPREAD USE OF THE RADIO TELEPHONE



SINGING INTO THE RECEIVER OF THE WESTINGHOUSE COMPANY'S RADIO-PHONE BROADCASTING STATION AT NEWARK, N. J.

(Signor Fausto Cavallini, tenor of the Scotti Opera Company)

THOSE of the public who have not yet discovered what Mr. Pierre Boucheron, writing in the *Scientific American*, calls "the most fascinating hobby of modern times" will be prompted, on reading his article, to hasten to the nearest place where they can test for themselves the joys of radiotelephony. Few of them will have far to go. Already there are 300,000 amateur users of wireless in this country. In a few years the use of wireless telephony will be well-nigh universal.

Wireless telegraphy has had its non-professional devotees for more than a decade, but its appeal was limited by the fact that the mastery of the telegraph codes entailed a great deal of hard work. There is little pleasure or profit in listening to unintelligible dots and dashes. No such limitation applies to the wireless telephone. Mr. Boucheron says:

The radio telephone soon appeals to the average citizen after a brief acquaintance with its possibilities; indeed, that is why, where formerly none but schoolboys played with radio telegraphy, to-day all manner of professional men and even women have joined the ranks of radio telephone operators as an indoor pastime. This is not strange when one considers the fact that with an

inexpensive receiving set erected in a few hours' time, one is soon "listening-in" on the doings of the world, so to speak. Not listening in as an eavesdropper, mind you, for wireless conversations are of the informal, good-fellowship kind—harmless, instructive, and as interesting as an open forum.

The vacuum tube, often referred to as the modern Aladdin's lamp of radio, is largely responsible for the present-day efficiency of the radio telephone as contrasted with the pioneer experiments of early investigators back in 1906, who employed the singing arc lamp as a generator of the required high-frequency undamped oscillations. To-day all that is required to produce wireless speech is a simple enough electrical circuit employing one or more vacuum tubes and several necessary accessories. A 100-foot antenna and a suitable grounding connection are easily installed, and these simple devices are sufficient for transmission and reception purposes. The matter of distance is entirely dependent upon the number of tubes and the power used, as well as the proper adjustment of the apparatus.

Briefly, to erect a small receiving set capable of intercepting wireless telephone conversations, concerts, Government reports, etc., the cost need not exceed \$25 as an initial expense. The cost of erecting a combination sending and receiving station, however, will be considerably more, since transmission entails the use of greater power. Several hundred dollars should be sufficient for a sending and receiving station. If one is going in for wireless telephone transmission as well as reception it will be necessary to secure a station license as well as an operating license from the Radio Inspection Bureau of the Department of Commerce, whose representatives are located at all important cities.

The radio telephone provides both useful information and a varied program of entertainment. At present the latter function is more prominent, so far as amateur use is concerned, but great possibilities in the direction of utility as well as increased pleasure are looming on the horizon. Consider the following:

As an illustration of the importance which the United States Government attaches to the amateur radio telephone, the Agricultural Department is considering its use to replace the present radio telegraph broadcast system which covers about half the country. This existing system, by the way, was started April 15 of this year from air mail radio stations at Washington, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Omaha, North Platte, Neb., Rock Springs, Wyo., and Elko and Reno, Nev., each one of these stations having a radius of 300 miles.

At eight o'clock each morning, market reports covering grain and livestock, fruits and vegetables, are transmitted by regular wire to the above-named air stations. From these points, together with local market reports, they are sent broadcast by radio telegraph. Anyone equipped



with simple receiving instruments may pick up these reports with little difficulty; and, consequently, their value to farms, in banks and in commercial clubs has been fully appreciated, more and more receiving sets being installed throughout the country.

The difficulty with the Government's broadcasting is that it is done by radio telegraph, so that the signals can only be read by persons proficient in copying the Morse code. While the messages are copied by eager enough local amateurs, there are not enough of them to permit broad application of the service. The radio telephone, on the other hand, will enable any farmer equipped with a moderate-priced receiver to take advantage of the service.

To this end, when the Government Departments are reorganized all communication matters, such as these radio agricultural reports, which now are handled jointly by the Agricultural and Post Office Departments, will probably be brought under the jurisdiction of the Post Office Department. In fact, a post office official recently sailed for Europe to seek ideas bearing on the establishing of an extensive radio telephone stock market and weather report service to be operated by the Government. This contemplated service will shortly be available to every farmer in the country who cares to make the small investment required to purchase the necessary receiving apparatus.

While it is true that the American amateur was probably the first to put the radio telephone to practical use, foreign countries are also planning popular broadcasting features. An instance is to be found in Germany, where the Govern-



A SIMPLE RECEIVER USED WITHIN A RADIUS OF TWENTY MILES OF THE BROADCASTING STATION

cast music from the Berlin Opera House through one of its powerful radio stations. In this country it is unlikely that such undertakings will be launched under official auspices, but private concerns are already in the field.

Two large companies have already established powerful radio telephone stations at certain centers, from which they send out news at stated intervals in addition to frequent concerts. Perhaps the greatest and most striking demonstration of this news-reporting method was the one staged at the recent Dempsey-Carpentier boxing match, when more than 300,000 "ear witnesses" listened to the reports of the fight round by round. The station was located at Hoboken, N. J., and the power of the radio telephone set employed was sufficient to reach amateurs within a circle of several hundred miles. The large radio company, which reported the big fight now proposes to report future national events in much the same manner.

Judging from present-day development, there is little doubt that a few brief years hence will see a wide and popular use of the radio telephone. A practical application will be the radio victrola, so to speak—a service available to anyone possessing the necessary receiving apparatus. The broadcasting service is now and will continue, no doubt, to be gratis, the service being maintained by manufacturers of apparatus as a publicity and service feature. The average home will be equipped with a portable receiving unit suitable for any room. A small loop of wire will serve as the receiving antenna, picking up the news of the day. Concerts will be heard, and possibly sermons will be preached on Sundays. Of course, all this transmission will take place at certain central stations. Your average citizen will simply turn on a switch at scheduled hours and the radio telephone will operate in somewhat the same fashion as the usual cabinet talking machine.

### WEEKLY PROGRAM RADIO-PHONE SERVICE

WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC & MFG. CO.  
STATION W J Z, NEWARK, N. J.

MON., DEC. 12th, TO SUN., DEC. 16th, 1921.

This program can be heard by any one with suitable radio receiving apparatus within a radius of 100 miles of Newark.

The service is absolutely free.

Tune instruments for 350-meter waves.

#### REGULAR CONCERT

DAILY, 8:30 to 9:25 P. M.

MONDAY . . . Mme. May Peterson, Prima Donna Soprano, Opera Comique, Paris

TUESDAY . . . Or-Ke-Non-Ton, Indian Baritone; Messrs. Bertram Haigh and Ralph Brown, French horns; Miss Anita Wolf, Pianist

WEDNESDAY . . . Mme. Gretchen Hood, Prima Donna Soprano, Theatre de la Monnaie, Brussels

THURSDAY . . . Miss Helen Davis, Soprano; M. Cliff Young, Pianist

FRIDAY . . . Westminster Orchestra

SATURDAY . . . Dance music

SUNDAY . . . Miss Ethel Mackey, Soprano and Miss Mary Emerson, Pianist. Sacred Music

#### MUSIC BY RADIO-PHONE

(Other features are a children's hour twice a week, hourly news service from 11 A. M. to 7 P. M., weather forecasts three times a day, marine news and official time)

ment has taken a hand by broadcasting stock exchange news, weather reports, etc. In fact, the German Government is now building 1500 standardized receiving sets, which the Government itself will place in various banks and business houses throughout Germany for the reception of this broadcast service.

It is reported that the German Government also intends to broad-

## THE CASE AGAINST "RAIN-MAKING"

THE severe drought of last summer brought the question of artificial rain-production once more to the front. As has happened on previous occasions, interest in this subject was manifested not only in newspaper comment and in the lucrative operations of the *soi-disant* rain-maker, but also in serious proposals laid before the powers that be in behalf of correcting the shortcomings of Nature with respect to the water supply. The irrepressible fallacy that rainfall can be induced on an extensive scale by explosions bobbed up in the British Parliament, where it is as much at home as in the corresponding deliberative bodies of the United States and Canada.

In July Major Morrison-Bell asked in the House of Commons whether the government was prepared to undertake experiments in this line. The answer, as quoted in *Nature* (London), and which was presumably inspired by the Meteorological Office, was to the effect that from past experiments meteorologists were of the opinion that explosions would not induce a fall of rain, and rightly so; for experiments were conducted on a vast scale, not, it is true, with that particular end in view, on the Western Front during the Great War. The collation of statistics of rainfall with the gunfire failed to show any certain connection. The only way in which water-vapor in the atmosphere can be condensed into rainclouds is by cooling. Unless an explosion can produce a cold current, or cause to any appreciable extent such a disturbance in the atmosphere as will bring about the mixture of a stratum bearing a cold current with that carrying a warmer current, it cannot produce rain.

It was also pointed out that the atmospheric disturbance, in the shape of a sound-wave, produced by the bursting of a shell, for example, diminishes in intensity at a rapid rate as it travels away from its source. At a distance of a quarter of a mile the amplitude of such a wave would be not more than one ten-thousandth of an inch. Even if violent jostling could shake water out of the clouds (and there is no reason to suppose that it could), obviously no such effect could be ascribed to these microscopic movements.

In a lecture on "The Artificial Control of Weather" before the Cambridge University Aeronautical Society, published in *Aeronautics* (London) last April, Sir Napier

Shaw, England's foremost meteorologist, disposed most convincingly of a whole series of delusions on the subject of rain-making. In the course of this lecture (which ought to be reprinted in a large edition by some such agency as Science Service) he said:

As to the rain that was associated with operations on the Western Front the student of the weather maps of the time found the sequence of events always according to rule; he had no reason at all to suspect a local influence different from that of ordinary meteorological contingencies. The effect of extensive gunfire may be regarded either as physical, arising from the detonation and thermal expansion, or chemical, due to the vast amount of material burned. The direct effect of the detonation is probably nothing at all; the thermal effect is insignificant compared with that of sunshine, and the chemical effect inconsiderable compared with the daily combustion of fuel in, say, the Manchester district.

The adverse opinion of scientific authorities did not, however, prevent various unofficial rain-making enterprises from being carried out during the drought. The plan, often suggested, of cooling the atmosphere to the point of condensation by spraying liquid air from aircraft, was tried in England, with negative results, under the auspices of the London *Daily Express*, and a similar undertaking has been under consideration in Canada. A commercial "rain-maker," Charles M. Hatfield, who formerly operated in California, has been busy in Canada. His methods are reminiscent of those practiced twenty-five years ago by Frank Melbourne, the "Australian rain wizard," who used to shut himself in a freight car and burn mysterious chemicals, or of the Indian medicine men, who were wont to burn sweet-smelling herbs in their lodges in time of drought.

A current number of *Nature* contains an article on "Artificial Production of Rain," in which Dr. Harold Jeffreys, a well-known English physicist, pays his respects to Hatfield and others of the same ilk. Of Hatfield's process he says:

A tank filled with certain unspecified "chemicals" was exposed at a height of 25 feet above the ground, and it was claimed that this had the effect of producing 8 inches of rain in three months at Medicine Hat, 22 miles away. The theory of the method is that the apparatus draws clouds from other parts to the Medicine Hat district and causes them to precipitate their moisture there. No direct observations of the motions of clouds are mentioned in confirmation of this

theory, though they should not have been difficult to obtain.

The official rain gauge at Medicine Hat during May, June, and July, the period of the contract, recorded 4.8 inches, which was 1.3 inches below normal for the station for those months. Further comment on the success of the experiments is unnecessary.

The financial side of Mr. Hatfield's contract with the United States Agricultural Association of Medicine Hat is interesting, for the association was apparently prepared to pay Mr. Hatfield as if 8 inches of rain had fallen. Still more interesting is the fact that he was promised \$4000 for 4 inches, and \$6000 for 6 inches. Since the normal rainfall is 6.1 inches, Mr. Hatfield would have been much more likely than not to make a substantial profit even if he had done nothing at all.

It may be mentioned that at Calgary, Alberta, the rainfall was 3.0 inches below normal; at Edmonton it was 3.1 inches above; and at Qu'Appelle (Sask.), 300 miles to the east, it was 3.85 inches above normal.

As to more plausible proposed methods of rain-making Dr. Jeffreys says:

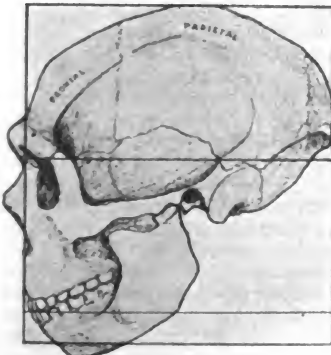
Attempts have on many previous occasions been made to produce rain by artificial means, but the results have been uniformly unsuccessful. The reason is not difficult to see. To make the water vapor in the air condense it is necessary to cool the air in some way to a temperature below the dew point. This may be done in two ways. One may cool the air directly, for instance, by the evaporation of liquid carbon dioxide or liquid air. This certainly would produce a little condensation; the fatal objection to it is that it would be thousands of times cheaper to distill sea water. The other method is to raise the air. The pressure decreases with height, and to reduce the pressure on a particular mass of air is known to cool it. The difficulty is to raise it enough. To produce an inch of rain over an area of 100 square miles requires the condensation of 6,000,000 tons of vapor, and to achieve this some hundreds of millions of tons of air must be lifted up. The distance it must be raised depends on how nearly saturated it was originally, but it could not be less than a kilometre in ordinary fine weather conditions. We have no source of energy at our command great enough to achieve this.

## THE LATEST "FIND" IN ANTHROPOLOGY

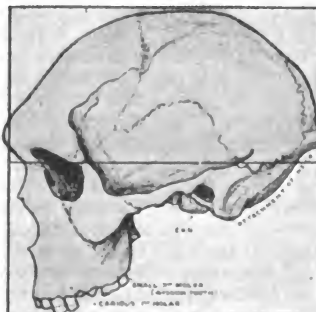
A DISTINCTLY modern branch of knowledge, to which the Prince of Monaco recently reared a noble monument in the shape of the Institute of Human Paleontology, opened in Paris in December, 1920, has just received an interesting accession which forms the subject of three articles and numerous pictures in the *Illustrated London News*. Most of the fossil remains from which this science has drawn its knowledge concerning the various extinct races of humanity were found in Europe, though in one case, that of *Pithecanthropus erectus*, the discovery was made in faraway Java.

The scene of the latest "find" is some 4000 miles away from Southern Europe, and, in the words of Professor Sir Arthur Keith, "gives us a glimpse of the distant past, when Europe and Africa were inhabited by a type of man radically different from the African and European races of to-day."

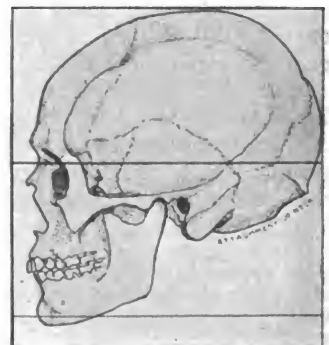
Mr. W. E. Harris tells the story of the discovery. Native laborers working in a mine of the Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Company, at Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia, unearthed a human skull and other bones. Apparently a more or less perfect skeleton might have been recovered if the



THE NEANDERTHAL TYPE SKULL  
(Found at La Chapelle, France, in 1908)



THE BROKEN HILL SKULL  
(A reconstruction drawing made from photographs)



A MODERN ENGLISH SKULL  
(For comparison with the other skulls)

workmen had realized the importance of their discovery. The remains were presented by the proprietors of the mine to the British Museum and have excited the keenest interest in scientific circles. Mr. Harris says:

The mine, which is at present an open quarry, has been famous for its "Bone Cave" amongst geologists and travelers for some years, and is situated some 650 miles north of Bulawayo. It was at the foot of this "Bone Cave" that the skull and other human bones mentioned were found, constituting the only human remains out of the many hundreds of tons of bones that have been removed during mining operations. Fossilized and partly fossilized remains of elephant, lion, leopard, rhino, and hippo, also of antelope and other cattle, together with tons upon tons of bones of small animals and birds, have been found.

The discovery of this skull is made doubly interesting when the mine, and particularly the "Bone Cave" itself, are considered. Before mining operations commenced, there stood at this spot a kopje, or hill, fifty to sixty feet high, with a slight depression in the center. Mining operations have demolished this hill, and have excavated to the depth of over ninety feet below ground level where the hill stood, and it was at this depth that the skull was discovered. The entrance to the "Bone Cave" was at ground level. One of the early prospectors who visited it before mining operations had commenced, has described the cave as having been practically filled with debris. After one had crawled over this obstruction and stood upon the floor of the cave proper, it could be seen that bones of various animals were scattered all around. The floor was made of loose debris and fairly dry. The walls and roof were studded with crystalline deposits, which, when lighted up with the rays of a candle or lamp, reflected back the light, making a veritable fairy cavern, whilst bats and owls, disturbed by the unaccustomed lights, flew round, much to the visitors' discomfort.

How did these bones get into this cave, and how long have they been accumulating? How did the skull and other bones of the skeleton, the only human remains found there, come to be at the toe of this cave, with tons upon tons of bones above them?

Mr. Harris mentions several hypotheses on the subject, none of which he finds adequate to explain the mystery.

The anthropological questions raised by the discovery are discussed at length by Dr. A. Smith Woodward and Professor Sir Arthur Keith. The former, after describing the skull and other bones in detail, says:

The only known skulls which make a really close approach to the Rhodesian fossil are those of the Neanderthal type from caves in Gibraltar, France, and Belgium. That from La Chapelle-aux-Saints, as restored by Professor Marcellin Boule, is especially comparable. There is only one difficulty in admitting this relationship. With the Rhodesian skull were found a complete shin bone (*tibia*) and the two ends of a thigh bone

(*femur*), which are in all respects those of an ordinary modern man—totally different from the corresponding bones of the Neanderthal race found in France and Belgium. If these limb bones really belong to the associated skull, the Rhodesian cave man stood perfectly erect, like ourselves, without the inelegant shoulders and the shuffling gait which must have been habitual in Neanderthal man.

My own first impression is that the new Rhodesian man is a later development than Neanderthal man, of more recent geological date. He is one of the multitude of extinct races yet to be unearthed, who completed their mental equipment before undergoing the change which we regard as refinement of the face.

Sir Arthur Keith also emphasizes the affinity between the newly found skull and the remains of the Neanderthal race. He says:

The Rhodesian fossil skull does not represent a type of man which is new to anthropologists; every feature of this skull proclaims the ancient African of whom it formed part to have been first cousin to Neanderthal man, that peculiar species of humanity which lived in Europe throughout a certain phase of the Ice Age. The latest, as well as the earliest, discovery of Neanderthal man was made in the Mediterranean area. The Gibraltar skull, now preserved in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, was found in 1848, when operations were being carried out in Forbes Quarry on the north front of the Rock. It represents the first discovery of the Neanderthal type of man. The latest discovery was made in Malta in 1917, by Mr. Despott, who found two teeth of this peculiar race while excavating the floor of a large cave. Thus the earliest and latest discoveries of Neanderthal man carried his distribution right up to the threshold of Africa. The revelation now made in Northern Rhodesia extends the habitat of this ancient and extinct type of humanity far into Africa. We now seem to be tracing Neanderthal man toward his cradle-land, for in many of its features the Rhodesian skull is more primitive than European specimens of the same type.

It cannot be said that this discovery of fossil man has taken the anthropological world by surprise. From time to time during the last fifty years numerous travelers and local archaeologists have reported the find of Palæolithic stone implements in South Africa, in workmanship not unlike the implements found in the gravel and terrace deposits of Europe. The presence of such flint implements is a sure indication that man is an ancient inhabitant of South Africa. Then, again, an ancient skull, far beyond the modern average in the size of its brain cavity, was unearthed at Boshop, in the Transvaal, just before the war. Although this skull is modern in its chief features, and certainly Negroid in its affinities, yet it differs in important details from all known skulls. Then, again, in South Africa, we find the most aberrant of all living human types—the Hottentot, and the pygmy or dwarf race, related to the Hottentot—the Bushman. No one who had noted all these circumstances can have been surprised by the discovery now made. We may hope that Africa will yield many ancient documents relating to the prehistory of human races.

# THE NEW BOOKS

## MEMOIRS, LETTERS AND BIOGRAPHIES

**Woodrow Wilson as I Know Him.** By Joseph P. Tumulty. Doubleday, Page & Company. 553 pp.

Mr. Tumulty held the confidential post of Secretary to the President throughout the eight years of the Wilson Administration. Before coming to Washington, he had been for three years Mr. Wilson's private secretary in New Jersey. In this book Mr. Tumulty states many facts never before published (or at least not authoritatively published) relating to Mr. Wilson's attitude toward men and events during the momentous years of his Presidency. The reader learns from this record something of what was in Mr. Wilson's thought immediately after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, how secret preparations for war were made by the President's order in 1916, and what lay uppermost in the President's mind when he delivered his great war message to Congress. Much that the public had merely glimpsed in passing is now disclosed by the man who stood in most intimate relation to the President.

**Fifty Years a Journalist.** By Melville E. Stone. Doubleday, Page & Co. 371 pp. Ill.

Reminiscences of Mr. Melville E. Stone, under the title "Fifty Years a Journalist," might well convey the mistaken impression that the author of this charmingly anecdotal autobiography is now an old man living solely in the memories of the past. It is true that Melville Stone was born in Illinois in 1848. His younger contemporaries in the newspaper world thought of him as a veteran when he was forty years old, at which time he had achieved great success as the editor of a daily paper in Chicago. Perhaps due to some temporary ill health, he had given up his active editorship at that time (1888), and had gone abroad for two or three years of travel and recreation. But instead of ending his journalistic activities after that Chicago phase, he was in due time to become the most widely known personage in American journalism, and to shape a new career as the most authoritative director and exponent of news-gathering, as a business and as a profession, that the world has ever known. After his three years abroad, and a few years in business, he became the manager of the Associated Press. For a period covering almost thirty years, the work of that great coöperative organization has developed under his firm and tactful guidance. He has always understood the forces that sway public opinion, and has realized that the foundations of modern democracy rest upon intelligence as disseminated by the press. He has not only held the confidence of editors and newspaper owners everywhere, but he has enjoyed intimate relations with all American public men of any prominence through several decades, besides knowing well a great number of the leaders in politics, finance, and literature of



MR. MELVILLE E. STONE

foreign countries. Although Mr. Stone has now retired from the active directorship of the Associated Press, his habit of mind is so modern, and his touch with affairs is so constant, that he continues to be identified with the things of the present and the immediate future, rather than with those that belong to the closed pages of history. Nevertheless, his reminiscences, covering half a century, bring back many forgotten things, and are withal exceedingly entertaining.

**Hugo Stinnes.** By Dr. Hermann Brinckmeyer. Translated from the German by A. B. Kuttner. B. W. Huebsch.

The one personality in Germany who emerged from the war into instantaneous world fame, and who seems likely to remain long a commanding figure, is Hugo Stinnes. This biography of the leader of modern German industrialism shows how his great power has been developed. For nearly a century his family has been dominant in the Rhine-Westphalian mining region. To-day Hugo Stinnes operates his own mines and ore concentration works, controls shipping on inland waterways as well as on the ocean, and is a coal dealer with international markets. He is the trust magnate of the German coal industry, and he is also heavily interested in the production of iron and steel, as well as in electric power developments. It will be news to many Ameri-

can readers that even during the war Stinnes acquired a firmer hold on German industry by giving special attention to the development of trade and transportation facilities. He acquired an interest in various steamship lines, and formed the Hugo Stinnes Ocean Navigating and Trading Company. His biographer devotes special chapters to these various interests, and also shows how Stinnes has acquired many important newspapers. Altogether he gives the first complete account of the activities of this extraordinary figure in German industrial life which has appeared in English.

**Queen Alexandra.** By W. R. H. Trowbridge. D. Appleton & Company. 304 pp. Ill.

Mr. Trowbridge disclaims the responsibilities of an authorized biographer. Queen Alexandra, mother of the present King of England, is the central figure of his book, the material of which is grouped about her personality. But the author has used this material to illustrate the history of an epoch which, as he says, "has passed, leaving, like a brilliant setting sun, a long, gorgeous trail behind it." Naturally there is a great deal in the book about Queen Victoria, the Prince Regent, and the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII. It is really a contribution to the record of British royalty during the 19th century.

**Modern English Statesmen.** By G. R. Stirling Taylor. Robert M. McBride & Company. 267 pp.

A series of brilliantly written estimates of leading figures in English history, on whom it would generally be assumed that the verdict of history had already been pronounced. Oliver Cromwell is included among these "modern" statesmen, not altogether without reason. The chapter on the Pitts is a startling reversal of the commonly accepted judgment of the historians, and in dealing with Walpole, Burke, and Disraeli, the author has been equally independent. His writings have a literary charm that is hard to resist.

**Memories and Notes of Persons and Places: 1852-1912.** By Sidney Colvin. Charles Scribner's Sons. 327 pp.

We have in this volume the recollections of an Englishman of scholarly and literary tastes who for the greater part of a long life was personally associated with authors and painters of world-wide reputation. There are chapters on John Ruskin, Edward Burne-Jones, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Robert Browning, George Eliot, G. F. Watts, Robert Louis Stevenson, George Meredith, William E. Gladstone, Victor Hugo, and Leon Gambetta.

**Letters to Isabel.** By Lord Shaw of Dunfermline. With a foreword by A. Burnett Smith. George H. Doran Company. 328 pp. Ill.

Illuminating correspondence of one of the great Scotchmen of his time who was closely associated with Gladstone, John Morley, Balfour, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and Andrew Carnegie. The letters collected in this volume were all written by Lord Shaw to his daughter, and in quite an unusual sense are autobiographical.

**The Days Before Yesterday.** By Lord Frederick Hamilton. George H. Doran Company. 342 pp.

A British diplomat's recollections of several famous men and women of the last generation—Queen Victoria, the Princess of Wales (later Queen Alexandra), Disraeli, Gladstone, Mrs. Langtry, and the Duchess of Devonshire.

**Moltke.** By Lt.-Col. F. E. Whitton. Henry Holt & Company. 319 pp. With map.

In the "Leaders of the Nineteenth Century" series the volume on Moltke, the first great German general of that name, was written by the British officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Whitton. Moltke's career reached its culmination at the age of seventy, when he saw the triumph of his armies in the Franco-Prussian War. Since his appointment as Chief of Staff, thirteen years before, Moltke had devoted himself wholeheartedly to the task of building up a Prussian military machine that should prove invincible. This book, written from the strictly military standpoint, tells how his task was accomplished.

**Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche.** Edited by Oscar Levy. Doubleday, Page & Company. 364 pp.

**The Nietzsche-Wagner Correspondence.** Edited by Elizabeth-Foerster Nietzsche. Translated by Caroline V. Kerr. Introduction by H. L. Mencken. Boni & Liveright. 312 pp.

The editor of the selection of Nietzsche's correspondence, now published in English for the first time, is convinced that a serious injustice was done by those who sought to assign some measure of responsibility for the World War to Nietzsche's philosophy and writings. He points to passages in Nietzsche's letters from 1870 to 1887 which complain bitterly against German materialism and indicate its peril to true culture. Apart from this, the letters give an intimate picture of Nietzsche on his human side, from his schooldays to his mental breakdown in 1888. A volume of Nietzsche-Wagner correspondence, edited by Nietzsche's sister, has been translated by Caroline V. Kerr, and is published with an introduction by H. L. Mencken.

**Forty-odd Years in the Literary Shop.** By James L. Ford. E. P. Dutton & Company. 362 pp. Ill.

This volume might quite as well have been entitled "Forty-odd Years of the New York Stage," and perhaps Mr. Ford's recollections of the theatrical notables of that period are rather more vital and important than his scattered reminiscences of writers for the press. Mr. Ford himself has been reporter, dramatic critic, literary critic, editor, and press agent. There is little in those callings, as they have been pursued in New York for the past four decades, with which Mr. Ford does not have a first-hand acquaintance. Made up, as it is, of anecdotes and pen-pictures of famous personalities, his book is of absorbing interest to anyone who has lived in New York during the years that his memoirs cover, and much that he has written has to do with characters of far more than local significance and reputation.

**Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson.** By Bliss Perry. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press. 557 pp. Ill.

For all Americans, and not for Bostonians alone, the life of Major Higginson has an unusual interest. He was a veteran of the Civil War, a public-spirited citizen and business man, a generous patron of education, and he founded and for nearly forty years maintained the Boston Symphony Orchestra, which has been pronounced the equal of any similar organization in Europe. During his long life (Major Higginson died in 1919 at the age of eighty-five) he formed many intimate friendships and was identified with many public causes. Professor Bliss Perry has made skilful use of the abundance of material for this volume that was placed in his hands.

**Memorial Volume of the American Field Service in France.** Edited by James W. D. Seymour. With an Introduction by Lt.-Col. A. Piatt Andrew. Boston: American Field Service. 261 pp. Ill.

All of the members of the American Field Service went to France to serve in the war before an American army had landed on French soil—most of them, in fact, before the United States had entered the war. This volume contains brief biographical sketches of those members of the service who either were killed in action, or died as a result of their service. There is no attempt at eulogy, but each sketch is the simple statement of fact, with a reference to the ideals and beliefs that the men held.

## HISTORY, ANCIENT AND MODERN

**The Story of Mankind.** By Hendrik Willem Van Loon. Boni & Liveright. 479 pp. Ill.

**Modern Times and the Living Past.** By Henry W. Elson. American Book Company. 727 pp. Ill.

Those who have been reading H. G. Wells' "Outline of History" have found its continuous narrative amazingly stimulating. They find the book meeting a "long felt want." They may hereafter study particular periods more thoroughly, because they have a new idea of the relation that the parts bear to the whole. While Mr. Wells has undoubtedly given us the most readable and valuable conspectus of history that has ever been written for the average man, there are other books which have undertaken to survey in a connected fashion the life of mankind on this planet, and some of them are well worthy of praise. Duruy's "General History of the World" was in this class, and its excellence has long been recognized. It is, however, a more formal arrangement of facts, and not so much an interpretation of the evolution of the human race as Mr. Wells gives us.

In the spirit of Wells' "Outline" is a much briefer narrative called "The History of Mankind," by Professor Hendrik Van Loon. This volume is written for the instruction of young people, but it can be read with keen pleasure by all the members of the family. It is indeed an excellent book for reading aloud in the family circle. Professor Van Loon is a careful student of history, who has a gift of stating and explaining things in an entertaining fashion, and who has an original way of illustrating his book with pen drawings that are somewhat crude and partake of the nature of cartoons, but that are undoubtedly very effective. This is a book to be heartily commended.

While commenting upon books that survey the course of history, it is worth while to refer to a new text-book, which the general reader is not likely to discover at once, although the teachers of history in high schools are sure to make its acquaintance very promptly. Professor Henry W. Elson some years ago wrote a notable history of the United States. His new volume, entitled

"Modern Times and the Living Past," begins with prehistoric man and comes down through chapters on Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, Rome, and the Middle Ages to the French Revolution, the history of the Nineteenth Century, and finally to the story of the World War. The work has the formal arrangement of a text-book; but is written with the intelligence of a man who is not only a scholar, but a broad-minded citizen. Text-books of this kind in the hands of good teachers will make history not only a more popular subject in schools, but a far more fruitful one.

**While I Remember.** By Stephen McKenna. George H. Doran Company. 328 pp.

In our minds to-day all that took place before the Great War already belongs to a remote past, although the span of years is short. This is the psychology of a book of memoirs written by a man under thirty-five. Like millions of his contemporaries, within the space of a single generation he has watched the passing out of an old world. He writes out his memories of that world while they are still vivid, and before age has dimmed his recollection. Mr. McKenna knows English life well, and has treated it brilliantly in his novels. This book is not so much a volume of personal reminiscence as it is a retrospect of a bygone age.

**New Masters of the Baltic.** By Arthur Ruhl. E. P. Dutton & Company. 239 pp. Ill.

This book describes the four new republics on the Eastern Baltic—Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. But for the World War and the overturn in Russia, it is not likely that either of these republics would be in existence to-day. They have all known the bitterness of social revolution, but are now trying to develop as orderly governments. Mr. Ruhl has followed the history of these republics, and has mingled with their peoples. In this volume he describes their picturesque features and the distinguishing marks of the new states. He gives entertaining sketches of places and personalities that heretofore have been virtually unknown to the American reader and to all but a few American travelers.



# WORLD PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY

**The Real Japanese Question.** By K. K. Kawakami. Macmillan. 269 pp.

This book by a well-known Japanese publicist, who has spent seven years in California, has to do chiefly with Japanese-American relations and the current efforts to improve their status. Most readers will be chiefly interested in Mr. Kawakami's statement of the facts regarding Japanese settlement in California and the various issues resulting therefrom. Mr. Kawakami's version of the California school situation is similar to that given by Dr. Iyenaga ("Japan and the California Problem"). As to the larger question of Japan's future in the world, Mr. Kawakami believes that if we are to have permanent world peace, there must be either a more equable distribution of territory among the weaker nations, or an abandonment of the exclusion policy adopted by western nations against Asiatic peoples. A fuller statement of this writer's views will be found in his earlier books, "What Japan Thinks," "Japan in World Peace," and "Japan in World Politics." Mr. Kawakami contributed to the December number of this REVIEW a succinct article on "Japan and Her Vital Necessities."

**The Foreign Relations of China.** By Ming-chien Joshua Bau. Fleming H. Revell Company. 508 pp.

In view of the important place held by China in the discussions of world interests at Washington, American readers are fortunate in having presented to them at this time an authentic account of China's foreign relations from the Seventeenth Century to the present day, including a section devoted to Japanese policy in China. The author of this work is a young Chinese who has pursued graduate studies at Yale, Columbia, and Johns Hopkins Universities, and has held the Carnegie Endowment International Law Fellowship. He discusses the policies of Russia, France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, and outlines the application of the "Open Door" Policy. One section of the book deals chiefly with questions relating to China that have arisen since the World War—the new international banking consortium, the League of Nations, and the Shantung Question. In his concluding chapters the author makes constructive suggestions, looking to economic recovery, recognition of world welfare as a principle, and friendly relations with Japan. The treatment throughout is orderly and scientific in a high degree. The case of modern China at the judgment bar of the world could not be more clearly stated.

**Trading with Asia.** By Frank R. Eldridge, Jr. D. Appleton & Company. 474 pp. Map.

With the Washington Conference reminding us that the problems of the Far East are fundamentally economic problems, this volume makes a peculiar appeal to all American business men who are in any way concerned with export trade. The volume is divided into geographic parts. It has chapters on Japan and China, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies, British India and Ceylon, and Siam, Malaysia, and French Indo-China. The history, government, tariffs, and

commercial treaties of each country are sketched in outline, and each country's agriculture, mines, and industries are described in detail. The author analyzes the commercial methods followed in the Far East and the market for American exports. The volume is supplied with a good commercial map of the Far East, and with transportation and treaty port maps of China.

**Turkey: a World Problem of To-day.** By Talcott Williams. Doubleday, Page & Co. 336 pp.



DR. TALCOTT WILLIAMS

Few Americans, perhaps, are ready to agree with Dr. Williams that the United States could accept a Turkish mandate, but it is probably true that no American is better equipped to state the arguments for such a policy than Dr. Williams, who was himself born in Turkey, the son of missionary parents, and lived there until he reached the age of sixteen. Whatever may finally be done about Turkey, there can be no solution of this age-long world problem that is not based on the body of historic fact which Dr. Williams sets

forth in this volume. Much of this information is here presented for the first time in readable and concise form.

**Mexico on the Verge.** By Dr. E. J. Dillon. George H. Doran Company. 296 pp.

Dr. E. J. Dillon, a man who has studied the international problems of the Old World all his life, has recently found in the Mexican situation what seems to him a critical experiment in the political development of the Western Hemisphere. Dr. Dillon has found very much to admire in the Obregon Administration. He warmly defends Obregon against aspersions that have been cast by American interests, and charges our Government with inconsistency in demanding that Mexico pay her debts, but at the same time refusing to permit her to raise the money by taxation or foreign loans.

**Trading with Mexico.** By Wallace Thompson. Dodd, Mead & Company, 271 pp.

This book represents the viewpoint of the American business man. Mr. Thompson believes that the present deplorable conditions in Mexico are largely the result of the attempts to apply political remedies for economic ills. He believes that the business men of America and Mexico may yet cooperate to find a way out of the ruin that now seems to engulf the land.

# TRAVEL, ADVENTURE AND DESCRIPTION

**Seeing the Sunny South.** By John T. Faris. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 320 pp. Ill.

Dr. Faris has made an interesting addition to his series, which began with "Seeing Pennsylvania," and was continued with "Seeing the Far West." In the present volume he gives similar pictures of some of the most important portions of the South. His introductory chapters have to do with the famous Shenandoah Valley and the "Eastern Shore" of Maryland. Thence by easy stages the reader is conducted through the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, and the concluding section of the itinerary includes the mountains of Kentucky and West Virginia. Altogether it is a profitable journey, not only for its scenic values, but for its historic associations as well.

**Working North from Patagonia.** By Harry A. Franck. The Century Company. 650 pp. Ill.

A traveler who, like Mr. Franck, "works his passage" through whatever part of the world he wishes to explore, has certain advantages over the ordinary tourist in the forming of human contacts with the peoples whom he visits. Mr. Franck has already told us his adventures on the western coast of South America, and this new volume narrates his journeyings through the southern and eastern portions of that great continent. These travels occupied four whole years, covering Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, British Guiana and Venezuela. In the course of his wanderings Mr. Franck walked about 5000 miles. In Brazil he spent some time as a traveling showman. Numerous photographs, taken by the author, illustrate his text.

**A Painter in Palestine.** By Donald Maxwell. John Lane Company. 164 pp. Ill.

This is an artist's book on the Holy Land, but it is more than a mere description of the country. Mr. Maxwell is a reverent-minded student of the Scriptures, and in his book he offers such explanations of some of the Bible stories as would naturally occur to an artist visiting the region in which those stories had their origin.

**Down the Columbia.** By Lewis R. Freeman. Dodd, Mead & Company. 383 pp. Ill.

One of the world's most picturesque rivers is the Columbia. The upper reaches of that stream have been famous for the swiftness of current, volume of water, and the grandeur of their rocks, from the days of the early Hudson Bay fur traders. For more than one hundred miles of the river's course a boat voyage is perilous in the extreme. Only one other American river, the Colorado, can be called a rival of the Columbia in this respect. Mr. Lewis R. Freeman, having adventured in many parts of the world on land and sea, determined to voyage down the Columbia from its sources in the Canadian glaciers to the Pacific. He accomplished the feat in safety, and gives in this volume the only existing first-hand account of such a journey. His vivid de-

scriptions of the river scenery, together with many excellent photographs, serve to introduce the reader to a new and fascinating chapter in American geography.

**Westward Hoboes.** By Winifred Hawkrigge Dixon. Charles Scribner's Sons. 377 pp. Ill.

This book relates the experiences of two Boston girls who shipped their automobile to Galveston, and from that point motored through the Rio Grande country, then north through the Rockies, and home by way of the northern States. They took many photographs along the way, and these have helped them in making known to their Eastern friends the scenic wonders that they encountered on their journey. In New Mexico and Arizona they wandered far from the beaten track of tourist travel.

**The Pacific Triangle.** By Sydney Greenbie. The Century Company. 402 pp. Ill.

The author's purpose in writing this book was to make American readers acquainted with the native races of the Pacific. In his assembling of material dealing with the several peoples a certain amount of duplication was unavoidable. The author is sympathetic in his treatment of the tangle of factors that enter into what we designate as the problems of the Pacific, but he tries, above all, to make us see these different peoples as they are at home, and as they reveal themselves in customs and ways of living. At a time when our interest is centered as never before on the countries of the Far East the publication of this work is a real service.

**Peking: a Social Survey.** By Sidney D. Gamble, assisted by John Stewart Burgess. George H. Doran Company. 538 pp. Ill.

Social surveys of American cities no longer have the charm of novelty. In the Far East, on the other hand, it may well be doubted whether an enterprise of this sort has, until very recently, appealed to students of sociology as a practical plan. The present volume is supposed to embody the results of the first social survey of an Oriental city. The Princeton University Center in China and the Peking Young Men's Christian Association has cooperated in this praiseworthy effort to obtain the essential facts which should form the basis of any intelligent work of philanthropy or social reform. Adopting a somewhat unusual but a distinctly useful method, the authors have summed up their conclusions in their opening chapter.

**Faery Lands of the South Seas.** By James Norman Hall and Charles Bernard Nordhoff. Harper & Brothers. 354 pp. Ill.

After the World War Messrs. Hall and Nordhoff, having adventured much as aviators in the service of the A. E. F., were minded to seek a wholly different kind of adventure. This they found in the islands of the South Seas, where for two years they came as near as Americans could

to living the life of the natives. They strayed far from the usual route of the present-day white visitors to the South Seas, going to certain islands that seemed never to have been visited by white men before and in one instance discovering a native tribe practically shut off from the world. A few of the tribes that they found were cannibalistic in practice. The verity of the descriptions that they give in this volume has been attested by no less an authority than Frederick O'Brien.

**Where the Strange Trails Go Down.** By E. Alexander Powell. Charles Scribner's Sons. 279 pp. Ill.

In this book Mr. Powell tells of his travels in lands that we have always known by name, but of which most of us have only the most superficial knowledge—Sulu, Borneo, Celebes, Java, Sumatra, the Straits Settlements, the Malay States, Siam, Cambodia, Annam and Cochin-China. Mr. Powell is experienced both as a globe trotter and as a narrator. Always he is seeking the essential characteristics of the lands and peoples that he visits. His journalistic sense leads him to look for and find the strange and the unusual, but this does not cause him to lose his perspective, or to fail in discrimination. Few tourists have roamed through these Far Eastern lands to better purpose.

**Mysterious India.** By Robert Chauvelot. The Century Company. 277 pp. Ill.

An English translation of the impressions of a French traveler in India who went to that country for the purpose of piercing the mystery that has always kept from most European and American travelers any intimate knowledge of the native life. M. Chauvelot is a skilled observer who had unusual opportunities through his contact with Indians of high station for studying the institutions of the country as they are to-day.

**The Romance of Russia.** By Elizabeth W. Champney and Frère Champney. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 352 pp. Ill.

Those who expect to find in this volume anything like a formal history of Russia or of the Russian people will be disappointed. The book does, however, give a distinct impression of the struggle through which Russia has passed during the centuries, and in order to infuse their narrative with the true Slav spirit, the authors have drawn upon the epic songs and fairy tales of the people.

**Adventures in Swaziland.** By Owen Rowe O'Neil. The Century Company. 381 pp. Ill.

The author of this work is a member of a well-known Boer family of South Africa. Dr. O'Neil grew up on the frontier of the Orange Free State, in close proximity to the savage Swazis, a nation of 300,000 people. After he had come to manhood and had been educated at Edinburgh and Harvard, Dr. O'Neil went back to practice medicine among his own people in Africa. Each year, however, he visited the natives in the wilderness. In 1918 he, with a companion, became the only white man ever initiated into the Swazi tribe. The latter part of this volume tells the exciting story of civil war among the Swazis.

**Mysterious Japan.** By Julian Street. Doubleday, Page & Company. 349 pp. Ill.

In these days, when everything printed about Japan is taken seriously, the reader should perhaps be warned that Mr. Street's book does not offer any grave discussions of international relations. He traveled over Japan in the same spirit with which a few years ago he passed from East to West and from North to South of the United States. Because he finds so much that interests him in the people of every land that he visits Mr. Street's observations are sure to find an interested audience, wherever they are published.

## THE DOMAIN OF TRADE

**The Essentials of Advertising.** By Frank Leroy Blanchard. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 322 pp.

Advertising is a broad and continually expanding topic. Mr. Blanchard, who has long been in close contact with the business, would be the last to maintain that he has embodied in this single volume all that is known as the result of modern experience in this great field. He has, however, touched upon those divisions of the subject which it is essential for anyone to understand who attempts to enter the "advertising game" either as an amateur or professional. The book is an eminently practical treatise. While it suggests much to the learner, it is definite and concise in its directions for advertising practice. The reader is instructed in the preparation of copy, in the special advantages of the several mediums employed, and in the duties of the more important advertising positions. The chapter on

correcting proofs, which perhaps would hardly be looked for in a book of this scope, is admirable for clearness of statement and as a common-sense presentation of a somewhat forbidding theme.

**The Romance of Business.** By W. Cameron Forbes. Houghton Mifflin Company. 258 pp. Ill.

Mr. Forbes has long been a successful business man in Boston, and was formerly Governor of the Philippine Islands. Several years ago, impressed by the part which business plays in the lives of all, and feeling that many persons were unduly prejudiced against business, Mr. Forbes contributed a series of articles to the *Open Road*. In the preparation of these he had the coöperation of several experts in various fields. The articles have been collected and now appear in book form, with appropriate illustrations. They should prove stimulating and helpful to young persons just beginning a business career.

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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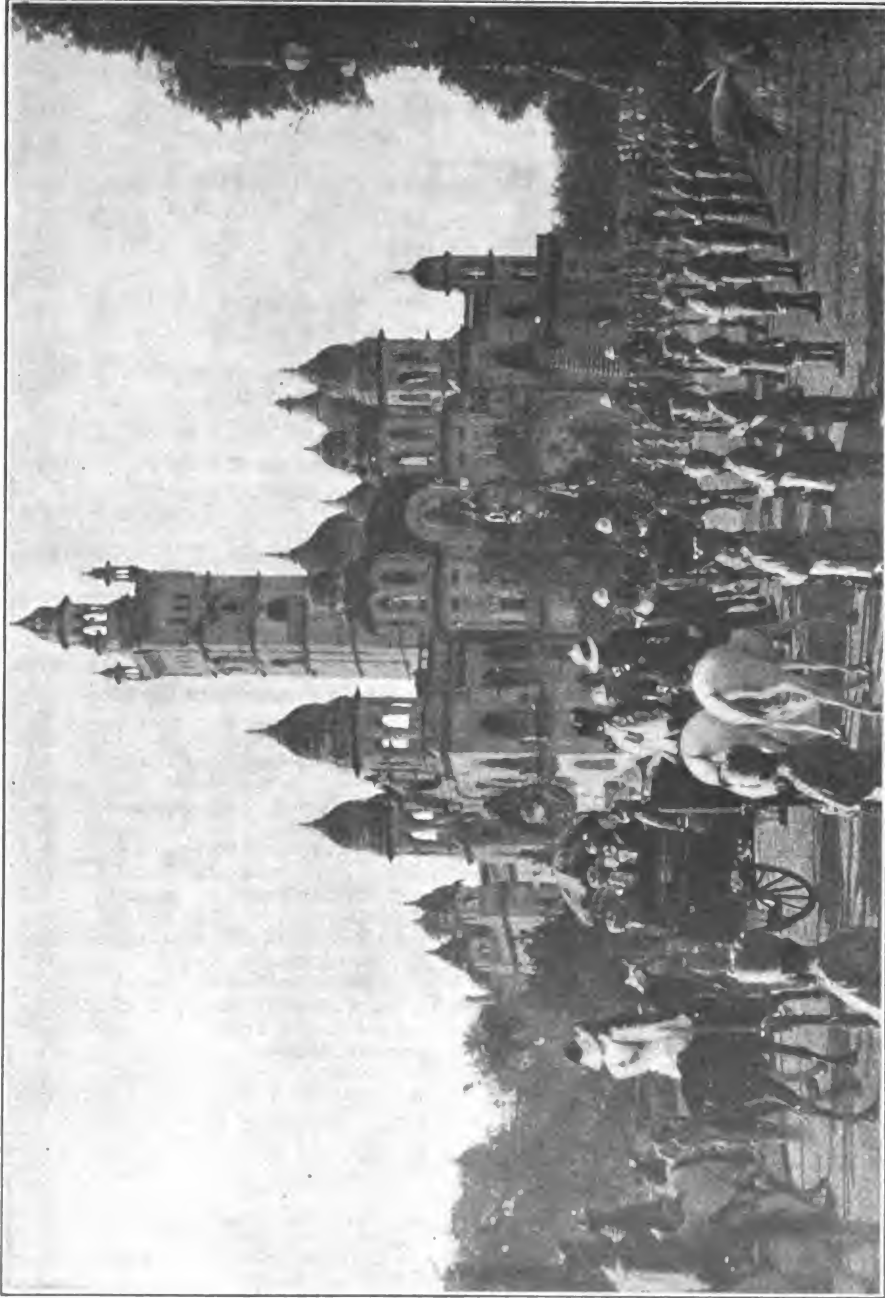
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#### A SCENE SHOWING ONE OF THE VARIED EXPERIENCES OF THE PRINCE OF WALES, NOW VISITING INDIA

[It has tested the qualities of the young man who is heir to the British throne to make a prolonged sojourn in India during a period of unrest and discontent that somewhat resembles the recent disaffection of Ireland and that of Egypt. Prince Edward, in case of his father's death, would become Emperor of India. Meanwhile there are millions of people in India who are seeking independence for their country, and demanding the withdrawal of the British. There are other millions who might be willing to remain a part of the British Empire if India should have as complete home-rule as that of Australia or Canada. The success of Egypt in gaining at least nominal independence, and the more recent triumph of Sinn Féin Ireland in securing the Free State, have encouraged the native anti-British leaders in India. The picture above represents the Prince of Wales (on horseback at the left) entering the handsome city of Baroda, which is about 250 miles north of Bombay. The Prince is approaching the Laxmi Vilas Palace, in which vast and ornate establishment he resided during his stay in Baroda]

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 2

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Post-War  
Disasters*

The hardships due to a period of economic turmoil are not so conspicuous and terrifying as the losses and devastations of a period of international warfare. But everyone to-day will admit that the amount of human suffering and disaster in the world during the three years that have followed the meeting of the Peace Conference at Paris has been quite as great as that which existed during any three years of the war period. It is true that the specific areas where suffering was most intense in the war period are not identical with those that have been most severely stricken by reason of the post-war collapse of normal conditions of industry and commerce. Taking the world at large, however, there has been greater loss of life and greater suffering in these three years following the end of the war—due to abnormal conditions—than in the entire four years of the world struggle.

*How War  
Unifies  
Effort*

To meet the exigencies of the war itself, the nations engaged on both sides rose to the height of supreme, concerted effort. The doctrine was not held anywhere that the war would somehow wear itself out and settle itself if people in general would but devote themselves to their private affairs and act on the dictum "business as usual." In the opening months of the war this idea had a certain vogue in England and, to some extent, on the Continent; but it was quickly abandoned. It was perceived that the war must be the all-absorbing thing, and that private interests could only be saved by surrendering everything for the sake of common, public interests. Furthermore, as the conflict progressed, it became more evident that the public interests which required attention were not limited by national boundaries. The issues of war and peace had become a world affair,

and nations were obliged to coöperate. Before the climax in 1918 the fundamental principles upon which to wage a successful world war had been learned by experience.

*Prosperity as  
a By-Product  
of War*

Unfortunately the nations had not learned how to apply the methods which had brought success in war to the organizing of a corresponding success in peace. The principle of broad coöperation among the nations was wholly sacrificed in the work of the Peace Conference as embodied in the Versailles Treaty. In view of the abandonment for all practical purposes of war-time coöperation, the formation of the League of Nations was rather a mockery than a substantial achievement. It should have been clear enough that the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world must continue somehow to live, and that the foremost business of the Peace Conference was to provide for emergencies that were already beginning to threaten. War is deplorable and it is calamitous; but it is possible for wealthy and resourceful nations, over a limited period of time, so to unify and concentrate their activities as to produce a certain kind of pervasive war-time prosperity. Governments assume full control, in the exercise of war powers. They stimulate food production, operate railroads under high pressure, build ships, afford employment to everybody at high wages, inflate prices and currencies, quicken effort of every sort, and create all the appearances, however illusory, of great and general prosperity.

*The Chaos  
of  
"Peace"*

But all the feverish energies that are awakened in a war period are essentially under the control and direction of public authority. It is a new kind of world altogether that comes into being in a war period. When, therefore, war is on a colossal scale, involving

many nations, it ought to be clear enough that this phenomenon of expansion and inflation must have had its transforming effects not merely upon particular nations, but upon many peoples in all the continents. For, not only had the Great War itself been an international affair, but the industrial and economic support of the war had reconstructed the economic life of all nations, not excluding those that had remained neutral. It did not require any exceptional understanding of economic affairs, nor any exhaustive study of past experience, to have foreseen what might happen if a world that had been thus changed in its production and commerce, to meet the imperative demands of a war, should find itself suddenly demobilized in the economic sense. Something like chaos, offered as a substitute for what had been wrought into the most closely organized scheme of business interrelationships that the world has ever known, was certain to produce universal misery. And this is what has happened.

*Evils of  
the Versailles  
Settlement*

Herein will lie the principal verdict against the men who made the Versailles settlement, when things stand out in a clearer perspective. It is not true that the war had exhausted the energies and capacities of any nation, even of those that had suffered most. What is true is that the war was an organized affair that had given employment to the energies and resources of mankind, while the peace that followed it was an unorganized affair that acted as a blight upon human activity. At the moment of the armistice there was optimism almost everywhere. People were saying that the same kind of concentrated and coöperative effort that the war emergency had developed could readily be diverted to the happier programs of peace time and could multiply blessings everywhere for a world that had been made "safe for democracy." But this could have been done only by substituting peace-time coöperation for the united efforts of war time. Back of the fighting had been an industrial effort of corresponding magnitude. A wholly new structure of world trade had been erected; and it was the duty of the assembled nations not to scrap that vast edifice, but to rearrange it for new purposes. Those who dominated the Paris Conference should have safeguarded the economic life of Europe, which was far more essential to the happiness of peoples than the dismemberment of empires and the distribution of "mandates."

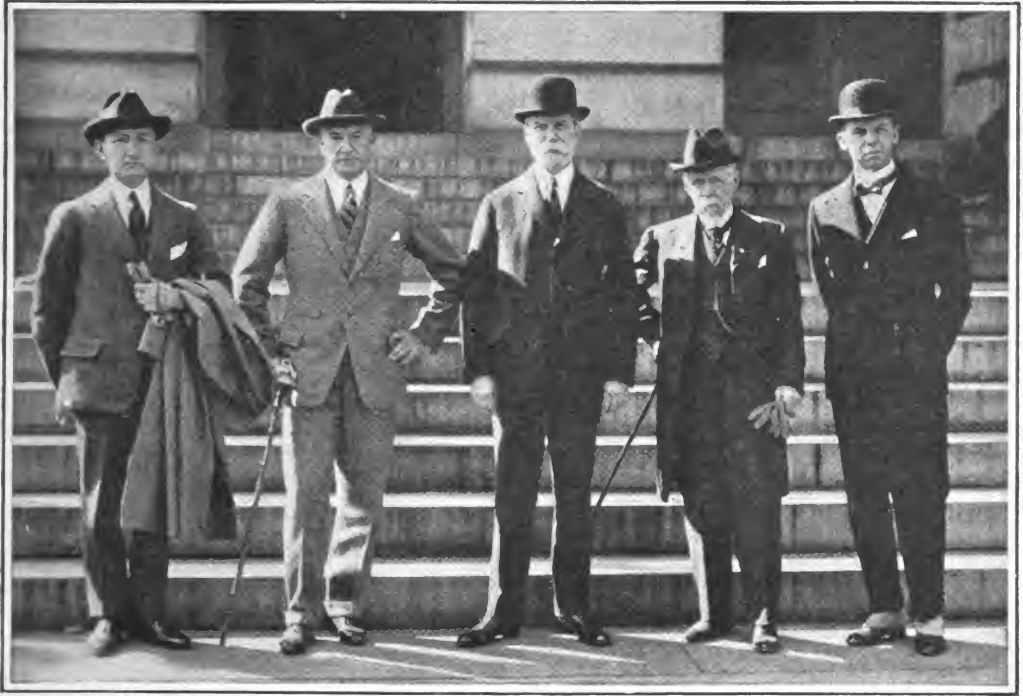
*Economic  
Consequences*

The foreign trade of the United States had grown to a volume many times greater than that of 1913. This had been supported largely by credits granted to European governments. The shutting off of this volume of foreign trade was bound to react sharply upon the prosperity of the American people. To support the edifice of international commerce for the purposes of a reconstruction period following war was only less needful than to supply credit so profusely during the war years 1917 and 1918. Already the people of the United States have lost several billion dollars through the shattering of the structure of world trade that had been rapidly shaped in the war years. Several European nations have also lost billions, and Europe as a whole has lost more since the war, measured in economic resources, than it expended in carrying on the war. The neutral countries have been well-nigh bankrupted by loss of export trade and collapse of prices. The public debts of European countries have increased more during three years of peace than during four years of war. The drift has been toward a permanent breakdown of European civilization.

*Private  
Effort  
Insufficient*

The fundamental mistake lay in supposing that if the heads of governments who controlled the work of the Paris Peace Conference should reach a compromise agreement among themselves as to their own political claims, and as to the future political pattern of the conquered countries, the economic life of the world could be left, in the main, to private effort and direction. But the task was far beyond the power or resource of any group of bankers and industrialists. There should, of course, have been strong agreements for maintaining peace, so that disarmament might have proceeded safely. A reparation policy should have been quickly adopted, immediately applied, and supported by the credit of all solvent countries, including the United States and the principal neutrals. The Bolshevik menace should have been met promptly and decisively. The United States should have continued its policy of granting credits, on condition that Europe's domestic war debts should be rapidly canceled and on further condition that commerce should be maintained upon a stable basis of exchange, with currency inflation checked, and sound monetary standards resumed.





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#### SECRETARY OF STATE CHARLES EVANS HUGHES WITH HIS FOUR ASSISTANTS

(While Mr. Hughes has been absorbed in all phases of the enormous work of the Washington Conference, in which he has kept the place of leadership, the Department of State has had a busier season than ever before in its history. America's relative isolation is at an end because American interests of all kinds are now world-wide. State Department officials are dealing every day with questions relating to Mexico and South America, with matters of business that require discussion with every European government, including Germany, with Japan and China, and, in fact, with all countries. The Department works through well-organized bureaus supervised by the Assistant Secretaries. In the picture above, reading from left to right, are: Assistant Secretary Fred Morris Dearing, Under-Secretary of State Henry P. Fletcher, Secretary Hughes, Second Assistant Secretary Alvey A. Adee, and Third Assistant Secretary Robert Woods Bliss. Mr. Fletcher is to leave the Department, having been appointed Minister to Belgium. Mr. Adee has been in the Government service more than fifty years, and on the 18th of next July he will have been an Assistant Secretary of State for a continuous period of forty years)

*The  
Genoa  
Conference*

After more than three years of intensifying economic disaster, there is now to be a European economic conference, which is to assemble in March at Genoa in northern Italy. Germany has been invited to this gathering, and so have Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. An invitation has been extended to the Soviet Government of Russia, conditioned upon the making of certain agreements. It has not hitherto been the opinion of the Government of the United States that the Moscow Soviet system constitutes a government entitled to outside recognition. It is obvious that Russia's readmission to economic association with Europe and the world is greatly needed. How this can be brought about must be one of the problems for consideration at the Genoa Conference, although it is doubtful whether a proper treatment of the question will be aided by the presence of Soviet delegates as accepted members of the conferring body. There would seem no good reason

why the United States should not be fully represented at Genoa. The American people are profoundly concerned with the larger aspects of the problems that will be discussed, although some matters to be dealt with may not seem to have an extra-European bearing.

*Accepting  
Lessons of  
Experience*

It required much painful experience to teach the Allies how to work together all along the line for victory; and the plight of Russia to-day is a monument to the failure of the French and British Governments to comprehend early enough the necessity of full coöperation. A sound and sane Russia would have been present with great honor at the peace table in Paris, if Russia's allies had recognized facts and had given her support at the critical moment. The consequences of the withdrawal of Russia from the war had the practical effect of bringing the military and also the economic efforts of the

British Empire, France, Italy, and the United States into such a condition of solidarity as to have no precedent in all the range of modern history. It ought to have been plain enough that this association of nations could not be safely broken up, whether for purposes of protection against war or for the equally important purposes of economic restoration. The thing that is happening under our eyes in 1922 is simply a renewed endeavor to secure good understandings and efficient coöperation among the governments and peoples that had coöperated to end the war. A more complicated and difficult series of negotiations has never before been undertaken; and those who are tackling the job deserve our best aid and support.

*American  
Leadership*

So far as the United States was concerned, the best approach to Europe was by way of the Pacific and the Far East. There was an opportunity to bring the principal Allies together at Washington to confer about questions in the solution of which the United States could properly take a leading part. If the limitation of naval armament could be brought about by agreement, there was sure to be involved a sequence of compromises and adjustments which would have a marked tendency to bring together again in active coöperation those great European peoples who had united their efforts in the struggle to end the war and to establish justice. The war could only be ended by united effort; and, equally, the reign of justice could only be ushered in by union based upon a sense of common needs and a revival of international good-will. Whether or not there have been tactical mistakes in the launching of American plans and policies at the Washington Conference is a minor question for debate among the officials and the journalists who have been in daily touch with the proceedings, and for competent publicists elsewhere. But such things need not greatly concern the average intelligent citizen. No close student and observer of the Conference has been less blinded by hopes and enthusiasms than Mr. Simonds, and no writer has been more courageous than he in using his critical faculties. It is all the more gratifying, therefore, to find Mr. Simonds interpreting the Conference as a success, not merely in its treatment of the questions that have come before it, but also in its far-sighted relation to the whole process of world recovery.

*Success  
at  
Washington*

In our present issue, Mr. Simonds shows the relationship of the decisions that have been made, or that are approaching completion at Washington, to the problems that have yet to be met, especially in Europe. If the Conference at Washington is continuing several weeks longer than had been expected, we are entitled to believe that this is due to the unexpected wealth of its opportunities for achievement, rather than to tedious deadlocks or to prolonged and futile discussions. Never has a great conference been so open, so honest, so high-minded, and so responsive to the best public opinion of the world. As it has gradually reached agreements of one kind or another, the press and the platform, in every country where those institutions exist, have served freely to secure the verdict of the people at home. As regards the relations of the United States and Japan in the Pacific, the foundation has been laid, not merely for an avoidance of hostilities, but for substantial friendship. The security of Australia and New Zealand rests no longer upon the predominance of the British navy, nor upon the terms of a precarious alliance with Japan, but upon broad agreements to which they themselves are parties and which include the United States and other governments.

*French Safety  
a Prime  
Need*

It has hardly yet been realized that the acceptance by Great Britain, without cavil or dispute, of the new doctrine that the Empire and the American Republic shall aim at naval equality involves permanent accord between the two leading naval powers and points the way toward security at sea for the smaller nations as well as the more important. The French Premier, Briand, was playing no merely theatrical part when he came to Washington and made his plea for the security of France as an essential preliminary to the reduction of land armaments. The French position has not only had logic in its favor, but it is sustained by the grim facts of recent history. The Government of the United States could not make explicit promises to France, but it could safely give assurances of interest that the French people were entitled to regard as morally valuable. The British Government, however, was in a very different position, and it could afford to pledge immediate military support to France, in case of any serious menace from beyond the Rhine. Briand's policies at

Washington were evidently intended to hasten an Anglo-French agreement.

*A Disarmed  
Germany  
Essential*

When the German navy was sunk at the end of the war and the German army was reduced to the dimensions of the minimum force necessary to maintain internal order, it was essential that the German people should know that these decisions made by the Allies were to stand as a permanent order. So far as Europe is concerned, there was nothing so needful as the assurance that certain results of the war would be supported for the indefinite future by the united strength of those who had secured and ordained those results. One of the principles of the armistice was that of a general abandonment of militarism. But disarmament, beyond a certain point, could not be simultaneous; and the first great step had to be the disarmament of the vanquished military powers. There could be no abandonment of militarism as a system if Germany, after the lapse of a decade or two, should be permitted to rebuild its military strength upon the foundations of a new economic prosperity. Nevertheless, if Germany was to be restrained from an almost inevitable recovery of military strength, three things were necessary: First, there must be continuing accord among the powers that had disarmed Germany; second, as a result of the sense of security afforded by such accord, there must be a program of army reduction everywhere in Europe; and third, the German people must be allowed in due time to prosper through a recovered industry and commerce, and to regain lost prestige, not by military assertion, but by the safe path of contributions to science, scholarship, and art.



DR. WALTER RATHENAU,  
GERMANY'S RECONSTRUCTION MINISTER

(Who appeared before the Reparations Commission at Cannes last month to plead for reduced and deferred payments)



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CHANCELLOR WIRTH, WHO HAS RECEIVED AN INVITATION TO SEND GERMAN DELEGATES TO THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE AT GENOA IN MARCH

*Anglo-French  
Agreement  
Is Vital*

Discord between France and Great Britain could but encourage unduly the surviving militaristic elements in Germany. On the other hand, firm and solid agreements between London and Paris, with the moral accord of the American Government, and the official or unofficial adherence of Italy, would strengthen the peaceful elements in Germany and point the way toward better times throughout Europe. Herein lies the immense importance of the meeting last month at Cannes, in the south of France, where the two Prime Ministers, Lloyd George and Briand, came to an agreement upon the principal points of a treaty of alliance. It was to be expected that there should be some criticism in England and some controversy in Paris; nevertheless, the necessity of a firm alliance, offensive and defensive, between England and France is almost as great to-day as during the war, and such a treaty is vital if the best possibilities of the victory are to be realized.

*An Alliance—  
All But  
Completed*

After growing discord between the governments and the newspapers of France and England—misunderstandings that were contributing something to the troubles that were afflicting every country and every region in the

world—the two Premiers had arrived at the conclusion that differences must be compromised and that the drift apart must be ended once for all. An open and complete Alliance, something far more positive and binding than the ill-understood *Entente*, which had existed for a few years prior to 1914, was the thing about to be proclaimed. High British authority years ago was responsible for the assertion that it was the overshadowing menace to Great Britain that must have followed a German victory, with annexation of Belgium and the northern coast of France, that brought England into the war, rather than any recognized obligation under the terms of the *Entente* between England and France. An open and clear Alliance would have prevented the war altogether. Even when war itself brought the two countries into action against a common enemy along a continuous fighting front, it was only during the last six months, more or less, of the war period of approximately fifty-two months, that there was coöperation in anything like the full sense of the word. Not until supreme disaster was probable after the English defeat in the spring of 1918 was it possible to secure a sufficient submerging of prejudices and of selfish aims to secure the unity of effort that was to bring speedy victory.

*Necessary,  
but  
Difficult*

If it was so hard to coöperate handsomely when immediate ruin was the alternative, it is not altogether strange that it should be hard to secure the kind of coöperation necessary, in this period after the war, for the protection of Europe against the yawning abyss of economic ruin, with the menace of further hideous wars just beyond the horizon. Mr. Lloyd George and Premier Briand were steadily moving toward an understanding of some of the steps that had to be taken in the face of conditions only less desperate than those of March and April, 1918. The simple facts regarding the decline in British trade in 1921 as compared with 1920 tell a brief but vital part of the story. England's industrial life is dependent upon foreign commerce. It is only too probable that there will be revolution, if economic conditions do not grow better rather than worse. As for France, the necessity of maintaining military expenditure on a great scale, in view of the unrest of Europe, is leading her by a different path to the disasters that would follow fiscal exhaustion and national bankruptcy. England cannot afford a race for naval supremacy, and France cannot afford to maintain great armies. For England the success of the Washington Conference is important in the most immediate and practical

sense. For France, an assurance of protection against a possible military revival of Germany, or a possible alliance of Germany and Russia, is a supreme essential. Everything constructive, everything hopeful in the whole world, seemed to be waiting for an alliance between England and France that should give security to France in a military sense, and ultimately should bring relief to England as respects the resumption of world commerce. An Alliance was necessary, but—alas—it was so difficult to arrange it!

*The  
French  
Alternatives*

Right-minded people all over the world were rejoicing to learn, about January 10, that Premier Briand and Mr. Lloyd George had at last come to an agreement at the meeting of the Supreme Council in the south of France upon the terms of an alliance. Great hopes were aroused everywhere. It was not believed possible that France would repudiate, at



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SCENE IN GENOA, SHOWING THE FAMOUS MONUMENT TO COLUMBUS

(Mr. Simonds, in closing his article this month, suggests that the United States may render a great service in the Conference at the birthplace of Columbus in return for the initiative of that hardy navigator in getting America on the world map)

the very climax of his seeming success in her behalf, the work of a statesman who was building so wisely and constructively. With American sympathy and support, France under Briand's leadership had been made a signatory of the Four-Power Treaty for the harmonizing of interests in the Pacific. In accepting a small ratio of strength in capital ships France had won moral support at Washington to such an extent that it was fairly implied that French interests would be safeguarded by the naval strength of the United States and Great Britain. It was not true that France, in the discussion of submarines, had made threats or taken an unworthy or obstructive position. She had merely held that she must reserve the right, in the face of possible emergencies, to develop naval strength for purposes of defense. She could not safely pledge herself to bind her own hands and to accept permanently the place of a naval power of the third rank, unless she was given the guaranteed support of one or both of the two naval powers of first rank. This seems to us a fair position, and one that did not make for European instability. If Europe is to be saved, it must be upon the basis of the victory won in the field of 1918. This means that the powers that won that victory must either agree to coöperate for mutual protection and the general welfare, or else must individually and separately (and this at ruinous expense) maintain their strength in armies and navies as against a possible reassertion of central and eastern Europe.

*Briand's  
Loss of  
Control*

As the Premiers were reaching their basis of agreement at Cannes, there were bitter attacks upon it at Paris. Briand felt it necessary to make a quick trip to the capital to explain



**BRIAND'S RETURN FROM WASHINGTON**  
(When the pelican wearied of his long journey, he thought he might feed them with fine words)  
From *Le Rire* (Paris)

what he was doing and to demand support in order that he might promptly return and complete the agreement with England, while also perfecting the arrangements for the economic conference at Genoa which was to meet in March. Arriving at Paris on the morning of January 12, Briand assembled the full Cabinet, excepting for one or two members who had been left behind him at Cannes, and in a short time he seems to have secured a general, although not unanimous, agreement. Proceeding to the Chamber of Deputies, Briand made a powerful address, challenging his opponents, and then abruptly announced his resignation and that of his Ministry and left the Chamber. Apparently he would have received a vote of confidence by a large majority. It was stated that his resignation as a political maneuver was intended to result in his being asked to form a new Ministry. As it happened, however, President Millerand called upon ex-President Raymond Poincaré to form a Ministry. And thus the plot of an unfolding tale, from the international standpoint, became freshly complicated and confused.



**JOHN BULL (to France):** "Look here, Marianne, if we don't get together this German fellow will be coming between us."  
From *Opinion* (London, England)

*The Politic  
Situation  
at Paris*

This former President, Poincaré, had not approved of the Versailles Treaty. He represented extreme nationalistic claims. He is a man of force and of great influence with the plain people of France. The opposition to Briand's statesmanship was due to the belief that the agreement with England was going much too far

in its yielding to the British demand for leniency toward Germany, and for the resumption of relations with Russia. It was felt that Mr. Lloyd George was driving a bargain for the benefit of British trade, and that he was scoring points at the expense of France. Briand had able and lucid reasons to give for every clause of the agreement that he was making. But his opponents were playing upon powerful national sentiments; and he felt that the work he was doing for France was being undermined behind his back, whereas he ought to have been given a chance to complete his negotiations. Briand had been Prime Minister at six different times and had held the position for just a year when he resigned on January 12. His Ministry had been in a critical position before he came to Washington to attend the Conference, but he had tested out the Chambers and had secured their strong approval of his trip to America before starting. His utterances at Washington had been carefully made with reference to political conditions at home.

*Delay,  
but Not  
Defeat*

It will be some time, perhaps, before the French political situation becomes relatively stable.

The election of a new Chamber might be desirable, in order to have a fresh national verdict upon the great issues that are under dispute. Everything else in France, as throughout Europe, is now dependent upon international adjustments, rather than upon domestic and local questions. The break-up of the meeting of the Supreme Council at Cannes would seem likely to have the effect of prolonging somewhat further the deliberations of the Washington Conference. It would also seem to throw some shadow of doubt over the important plans that had been taking form for the Economic Conference at Genoa. Nevertheless, the world is moving toward better things, and the French Ministerial crisis has meant rather a moment of delay than a real defeat for progress and coöperation. It is not rash to predict that there will be an Anglo-French Alliance, and that there will be

a great Economic Conference. The main features of Briand's program must succeed in the end.

*The Logic  
of Briand's  
Diplomacy*

Thus all recent events of an international character had been paving the way for the Genoa Conference. The Washington Naval discussion had given the French leaders, Messrs. Briand and Sarraut, an opportunity to play a part which, for the moment, was misunderstood by many people in the United States. The most widely advertised thing in the world was the Washington Conference; and the success of the Conference was expected to turn upon the final completion of the naval agreement. France must either be accorded the right to build a large fleet of submarines, against which the British were protesting with passionate earnestness, or else England must put her naval strength at the call of France in case of need. The failure of the Washington Conference would have appeared to be rather more unfortunate, if possible, for Great Britain than for the United States. The success of the Washington Conference needed only an agreement between England and France, such as Briand's attitude at Washington was intended to secure by subsequent conference with Mr. Lloyd George. Thus the expected Anglo-French Alliance would have crowned the agreements of the Washington Conference, and would have afforded hope that the economic gathering to be held at Genoa in March might take some real steps to rescue Europe from the plight that had followed the breakdown of the international commercial structure of the war period.



M. RAYMOND POINCARÉ  
EX-PRESIDENT OF FRANCE

*Reaction of  
Cannes Upon  
Washington*

The methods which were proving so successful in the Washington Conference had encouraged the principal Allied Governments to plan the European economic conference of Genoa. But, just as it was necessary through the Four-Power Treaty to deal with political conditions in the Pacific before finally settling the plan of naval reduction, even so it was

necessary to adjust political conditions as between London and Paris before entering upon the deliberations at Genoa. Mr. Simonds, in his present article, shows how the submarine question at Washington was related to larger things that were at stake in Europe. The British at Washington were greatly incensed because the French had claimed the right to build a large fleet of submarines. Obviously, it was going to be difficult to agree upon the naval program at Washington unless there should be a definite understanding between France and England of such a kind that the submarine question would have no further importance. If a complete alliance between England and France could be secured, there would be an end of all thought of rivalry or competition between the two countries in the matter of naval armament; and the Hughes program at Washington would encounter no further obstruction or delay. In like manner, if such an alliance were concluded, questions affecting Germany, both military and economic, could be dealt with in a wholly different atmosphere so far as France was concerned.



SIGNOR BONOMI, HEAD OF THE ITALIAN CABINET

(As the Italian member of the Supreme Council, Signor Bonomi was in conference at Cannes last month with Mr. Lloyd George and Premier Briand, and through him the invitations to the Economic Conference at Genoa were formally extended. While France and England were alone concerned with negotiations for an alliance, Italy was informed that her adherence would be invited.)

*The Solvency of All Nations Is at Stake*

The Genoa Conference, if it is held, will require the best thinking of which the world is capable, and it will succeed in the measure of its boldness and its magnanimity. We have ample testimony as to the seriousness of the world's business conditions. Thus it was reported on January 11 that Great Britain's foreign trade, both exports and imports, for the calendar year just ended were only a little more than half as great in total value as that of the previous year, 1920. When we stop to reflect how largely Great Britain depends upon her external commerce, we can imagine what this decline must mean in idle shipping, closed factories, unemployment, and general distress. Continental countries are for the most part in a plight much worse than that of the British islands. The conditions that exist throughout Europe are quite beyond the control of non-governmental agencies. Where the evils that destroy the prosperity and happiness of individuals are of a public rather than a private nature, the chief remedies to be sought must be through public action. It is a great mistake to suppose that so-called economic forces operating blindly and impersonally will of themselves bring order out of chaos, when the disastrous conditions

are the result of such public policies as the unlimited issue of irredeemable paper money, the maintenance of artificial trade barriers, and the lack of sound fiscal policies. What is now the seemingly hopeless insolvency of various countries and regions will rapidly engulf those nations that are still apparently solvent, if the situation is merely left to work itself out.

*Sad Plight of American Agriculture*

In some later paragraphs (see page 132), we are presenting in more detail the trade figures which show the swift decline of our foreign trade, and the fall in the total value of American crops, year by year since the end of the war. All these facts must be taken together and studied in their relations to one another if we are to find remedies. These conditions, as expressed in statistics, lose their significance, unless the reader understands something of the manner in which countless millions of people are affected in their daily lives. Mr. Judson





THE BEST PART OF A QUARREL  
From *News of the World* (London, England)

Welliver, at our request, has written for this number of the REVIEW an article upon pending legislation at Washington that is intended to alleviate agricultural distress. His article contains some striking facts upon the reaction in the West and South, due to low prices. Agriculture is not a special interest in this country, but is the fundamental business; and, if its normal prosperity is destroyed by conditions which the individual farmer is powerless to overcome, the first duty of statesmanship is to set things right, in so far as public action can remedy prevailing evils.

Questions  
Above  
Partisanship

Mr. Welliver explains the measures at Washington that are supported by the so-called "Agricultural Bloc" in the Senate. Some of the things proposed bear relation to immediate emergencies, while others have a more permanent bearing upon the stability of agriculture and the encouragement of rural life. The men who are working for these measures are not fanatical, nor are they promoting the selfish ends of a group or a class. There is no State, East or West, North or South, in which the prosperity of agriculture can be neglected with impunity. The encouragement of coöperative activities among farmers, far from being at the expense of consumers, is desirable from all standpoints, and should not be imperiled by laws which might interfere with such joint undertakings as in restraint of trade. Credit facilities for farm enterprises should be as well adapted to the objects in view as are the facilities now extended to manufacturers and merchants. The worst of the shocks that have come to American farming have been due to the sudden shut-down of European

markets, and this in turn was caused by the lack of credit facilities for export of cotton, breadstuffs, meat, and dairy products and by the adverse conditions of exchange. The subject of agricultural disaster and public remedy therefor is not of a partisan nature, and the so-called "bloc" does not seem to be acting reprehensibly from any reasonable standpoint.

A Subject  
for  
Study

It is desirable for American farmers that this country should be strongly represented in any Conference that is to deal in a large way with economic conditions. European restoration is important alike for our manufacturing industries and our rural prosperity. Our annual losses that are directly due to troubles abroad amount to a good many times the unpaid yearly interest upon the debts due from foreign governments to the United States Treasury. The broader facts can just as well be grasped by an intelligent Nebraska farmer as by a New York banker; but there are special aspects that the banker understands better because he is dealing more habitually with things that involve the principles of monetary science. The thoughtful citizen who would like to understand the economic conditions now existing in Europe, and their bearings upon our own prosperity,



THE HOUSE NEXT DOOR TO OURS  
From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)

[The cartoonist intimates that our neighbor's business sometimes has a close bearing upon our own]

could not possibly do better than to invest in a new book, "America and the Balance Sheet of Europe." The joint authors of the work are Mr. John F. Bass and Prof. H. G. Moulton. Mr. Bass a year or more ago brought out a volume that we then commended highly entitled "The Peace Tangle." Professor Moulton of the University of Chicago had previously written among other things a book on the financial organization of society.

*Two  
Timely  
Volumes*

The new volume is based upon careful inquiry into monetary and business conditions abroad, public debts, national budgets, domestic and foreign trade, the reparations controversy, the business situation in Germany, and the various remedies proposed for the dislocation of industry and commerce. It is a systematic book, and it has the advantage of being the work of men who know every corner of Europe by thorough personal experience, and who also understand as economic experts and authorities—quite as well as do our thoughtful bankers—the more technical and scientific aspects of international trade as related to public and private finance. In the immediate future, we are promised another book which will doubtless be a very desirable preparation for American readers who would like to make up their minds concerning what ought to be done at the Genoa Conference. This volume, now in the press, is by Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, known everywhere as a banker and a publicist who is capable of looking large facts in the face, and not afraid to propose commensurate remedies for pervasive evils. Mr. Vanderlip has recently spent some months studying economic conditions in Europe, and he has reported his observations in speeches that have been widely quoted.

Among remedial steps advocated by him is the immediate establishment of a great international banking institution with a character somewhat analogous to that of our Federal Reserve Bank system. Through such an institution, there might be the beginning of an escape from the hopeless welter of irredeemable paper currency that exists everywhere throughout the central and eastern countries of Europe. Messrs. Bass and Moulton, in their thoroughgoing treatise, reached the conclusion that the people of the United States would be better off in the end



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HON. PORTER JAMES MCCUMBER, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NORTH DAKOTA, WHO SUCCEEDS THE LATE MR. PENROSE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE

(Mr. McCumber is approaching the end of his fourth consecutive term as a Senator from North Dakota. Through the seniority custom of the Senate, he was in line for the chairmanship of the most important committee, and his claim has been duly recognized by his Republican colleagues. As representing a strictly agricultural State, Mr. McCumber is in strong sympathy with measures which are pending, and has been regarded as belonging to the agricultural "bloc." Although not a member of the Non-Partisan League which has had so striking a career in his State, he is not in disfavor with Dakota farmers. He is regarded as a scholarly and high-minded Senator who has the courage of his convictions.)

if the debts owed to our Treasury by the European Governments were cancelled. They do not go into much detail as to the procedure, nor as to preliminary agreements. Mr. Vanderlip in his speeches has held to the view that these debts are valid and ought not to be cancelled, while also explaining that it is practically impossible for Europe to pay, and for America to receive, the current interest. He has proposed that interest payments as made in Europe should be invested there by the United States, in ways to hasten the restoration of European industry and prosperity. When he laid these views before the Economic Club of New York, a great body of more than a thousand business men being present, there was little evidence



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THE UNITED STATES FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, WHICH CARRIES ON A SYSTEM THAT SUGGESTS THE POSSIBILITY OF A WORLD ORGANIZATION FOR STABILIZING CURRENCIES, EXTENDING CREDIT, AND PROMOTING COMMERCE

(From left to right are, Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, Mr. W. P. G. Harding [who is Governor of the Board], Edmund Platt [Vice-Governor], Charles S. Hamlin, Adolph C. Miller, D. R. Crissinger [Comptroller of the Currency], and J. R. Mitchell)

that his views were carrying conviction. And if the Economic Club was skeptical, the New York newspapers in their editorials were still more so.

*Some  
Basic  
Principles*

Of course it was impossible in the compass of a single speech to show the relationship of one thing to another. The salvation of the economic structure of an interdependent world must depend upon the placing of great amounts of capital and credit where the structure as a whole most needs capital and credit. This requires a resumption of the gold standard for all international business; and the plan of a great bank has evident merit. The utilization in some way of Europe's debts to America for the extension of credits and the employment of capital in the rebuilding of central and eastern Europe is a proposal that should not be lightly dismissed. Mr. Vanderlip's book doubtless will have a significant bearing upon the problems that will engage the Genoa Conference, and will help to educate Americans in preparation for the part our Government must needs play in the work of reconstruction.

*Our Own  
Financial  
History*

There are many chapters of economic and financial history that might be restudied with advantage by those who are trying to understand how to deal with existing problems. One of the most valuable of these chapters relates to our own experience during and after the Revolutionary War. Our States were flooded with irredeemable paper money, and business

conditions seemed almost hopeless. Recovery came only when a policy of united action was agreed upon. State currencies went out of use, the debts of the Colonies were all assumed by the central government, permanent free trade was established throughout the United States, and the foundations were laid for a half century's rapid and prosperous development. The interruption of the War of 1812 merely served to improve the situation, because that episode ended with arrangements which prevented future strife between the two halves of North America, and which cleared the way for four generations of unbroken peace between the United States, Great Britain, and France that have followed the fighting of the Napoleonic period. "Wild-cat" State banking and over-speculation brought a great panic a short time before the outbreak of our Civil War; but the National Banking act, which ended the issue of paper money by State banks, led to better conditions. After the Civil War was over, the worthless paper currency of the Confederacy was wiped out, the Southern war debts were repudiated, and the inflated Northern greenbacks were made redeemable by the resumption of specie payments.

*The Lack  
to Be  
Supplied*

The next great step in our system of banking, credit, and currency was reached when, after many years of study and discussion, we adopted the present Federal Reserve system, which has already saved us from disastrous panics and bank failures. Nevertheless, although we have now piled up in the United



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**MEN WHO LED THE FIGHT IN THE DAIL EIREANN LAST MONTH FOR THE IRISH FREE STATE AND THE RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY WITH ENGLAND**

(Left to right: Gavan Duffy, Michael Collins, and Arthur Griffith)

States the greater part of all the stock of the world's gold, and although we have our Federal Reserve system, with special new arrangements for farm loans and so on, we are unable to save the people of the United States from the decline of industry and the bankruptcy of agriculture that are to-day so prevalent. What does this signify except that national organizations for a sound currency and an appropriate credit system cannot suffice to protect the people of a given country from disasters that are due to the stoppage of those currents of trade that are international, and therefore beyond the control of any single nation? If it is good business in times of emergency to extend the financial credit of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania to the cotton belt or the corn belt, why is it not also good business in times of larger stress to extend the financial credit of the United States to the stricken regions of Europe, in order that they may help once more to swell the depleted volume of world commerce?

*The  
Irish  
Settlement*

Obviously, political adjustments everywhere will help to smooth the way for economic unity. All of the agreements of the Washington Conference are contributions to that end. The Irish question had become distinctly an

international matter, and the agreement at London, described in our issue last month, particularly in the article on the Irish Free State by Mr. P. W. Wilson, is one of the most notable of all current events that pertain to the new order of things. There was no time lost in ratifying the Irish treaty by the House of Commons at Westminster, but there was a serious and protracted strain at Dublin. The only way to secure a valuable compromise is for the weaker party in a dispute to use all its resources, and to seem unyielding. The process of bringing English opinion to the point of agreeing heartily upon the solution that has been reached required a terrific struggle on the part of Ireland to secure complete independence and set up the Irish Republic. If England had been willing several years ago to make anything like the concessions which she has now granted so cordially, all the trouble might have been averted, and Ireland would have rejoiced in obtaining far more than any of the old Home Rule leaders of the past, like Parnell and Redmond, had ever asked for. But in the strain and bitter struggle which resulted in the present compromise, there had to be certain leaders so rigid, and so devoted to ideals and theories, that they would not know how to bend when the time for settlement had arrived. This view might

explain sufficiently the refusal of De Valera and his followers in the Dail Eireann to accept the agreement that Messrs. Griffith, Collins, and others had signed after negotiations at London with Mr. Lloyd George.

*Irish Free State Begins* After a long and stormy debate in the Dail Eireann, the vote stood sixty-four for settlement and fifty-seven against it. De Valera had weakened his position by bringing in alternative proposals which would not have altered very materially the working parts of the agreement. He resigned as head of the Irish Government, and Mr. Arthur Griffith was chosen to take his place. There was not the slightest doubt about the overwhelming acceptance of the Griffith-Collins point of view by the Irish people at large. Mr. Winston Churchill, who was at Cannes, attending the meeting of the Supreme Council with Mr. Lloyd George and helping to frame the terms of alliance with France, hurried back to London to act as chairman of the Cabinet committee that was charged with the immediate evacuation of Ireland by the British Government. The release of more than 1000 political prisoners, some of whom had actually been convicted of murder and sentenced to execution, was ordered on January 12 and proceeded immediately. The proclamation granting release was fortunately phrased, the word "oblivion" being used instead of "pardon" or "amnesty" in allusion to former offenses. The movement of troops and of the extra police force out of Ireland proceeded rapidly, and the Dublin Castle

vice-regal establishment was quickly reduced. These acts of good faith on the part of the British Government were received with favor in Ireland, and the difficult task of setting up a provisional Government was thus made easier for Mr. Griffith and his associates. That there were troubles ahead was plain enough; but hope prevailed throughout Great Britain and Ireland that the worst days were past.

*The "Dominion Status" and Its Meaning*

It is probable that the Irish settlement would not have been made when and as it was but for the circumstances of the Imperial Council at London last summer, and the spirit of the Washington Conference. The Imperial Conference fully recognized a changed status on the part of the self-governing Dominions. Thus, as constituting what is now called the "British Commonwealth," Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand are associated with England and with one another only by voluntary ties. They are represented in the Washington Conference, and they are henceforth to control their own destinies without interference. Ireland has become a "Free State" on the "Dominion plan," because this "plan" has recently made rapid progress in the direction of independence and sovereignty. Great Britain is not weakened by the new theory, while coöperation with the United States is strengthened. With skilful guidance of the new Irish ship of state, there will be better understanding all around. This improved outlook will be recognized throughout

North America and will help to strengthen the tendencies that are bringing together all the peoples of the English-speaking world. It is an auspicious time for closer economic relations between Canada and the United States.

*The Senate and Its Pending Questions*

That the United States Senate will accept and ratify the results of the Washington Conference is to be expected, though there will be some Republican opposition, and much Democratic. These results, in the shape of a series of treaties and agreements, will not be laid before the Senate by President Harding until the Conference has completed its work. It cannot be said that the Senate is proceeding with its own



THE PRODIGAL'S RETURN

JOHN BULL: "The fatted calf won't have a dog's chance my boy."  
From *News of the World* (London)

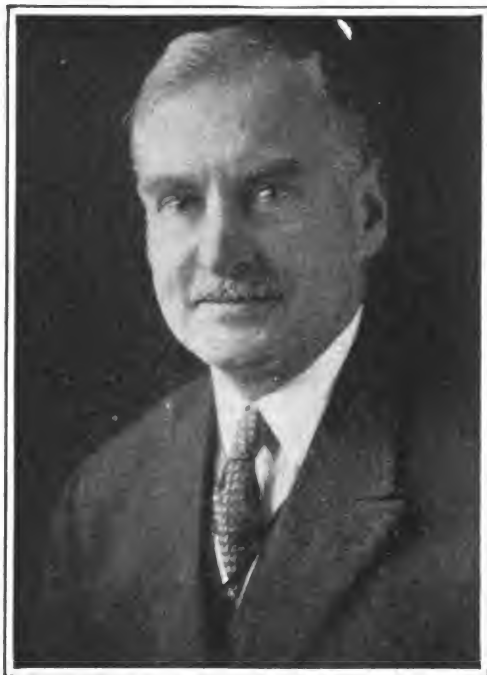
business in a very clear-cut way. The tariff question is a baffling one, and we shall soon be near the period of political conventions and primary elections. Although the dates are sometimes forgotten in other parts of the country, the approach of election time is never for a moment out of mind among the law-makers at Washington. But for the fact that all the seats of one branch of Congress and a full third of the seats of the Senate are to be contended for in November, the question of the bonus for soldiers would not be so imminent. Large appropriations for the benefit of the service men would be justifiable if a statesmanlike and constructive plan had been agreed upon. A mere distribution of money would mean a surrender through political cowardice to a supposed demand that has not been well formulated.

*Some  
Senate  
Changes*

After a long discussion last month, Senator Newberry, of Michigan, was confirmed in his seat, which had been contested by Mr. Henry Ford. The vote in favor of Newberry was close, all of the Democrats and a handful of Republicans voting against him. Mr. Newberry's plea was that the election came when he was still engaged in war service and absent from Michigan, and that the enormous expenditures on his behalf were made without his personal knowledge. The Senate, while refusing to declare the seat vacant, strongly condemned the lavish expenditure of money that had been made to win his election. The incident will undoubtedly have a salutary influence, and the use of money in politics will henceforth be more strictly guarded. The death of Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania followed very soon after that of his colleague, Senator Knox. As chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. Penrose occupied a position of great power, and his long experience in national and State politics and in the United States Senate had resulted in his acquiring an influence that had been strengthened of late by various circumstances.

*Pennsylvania  
in the  
Senate*

Many of the friends of Governor Sproul hoped that he would resign in order that the Lieutenant-Governor, assuming the office, might name him as Penrose's successor at Washington. This, however, did not accord with the Governor's view of the dignity of his office. One of the important duties of a Governor is



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HON. GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER, WHO HAS SUCCEEDED MR. PENROSE AS UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA

(Having been appointed by Governor Sproul to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Penrose, Mr. Pepper entered at once upon his duties and took part in the vote on the case of Senator Newberry. Like his predecessor, Mr. Pepper was born in Philadelphia. As a graduate and later as a professor of law and a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, he has been identified with the educational and civic affairs of his city and State. He is one of the most scholarly of American lawyers, an orator of repute, and an exponent of all that is best in American political life. He will be fifty-five years of age on March 16)

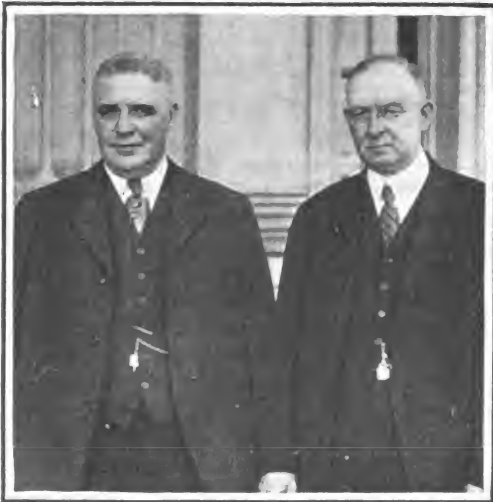
to appoint a temporary Senator in case of a vacancy by death. Mr. Sproul fulfilled this duty most admirably by naming Mr. George Wharton Pepper, an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia, whose fitness for the place could not well be overstated. The new Senator who had been appointed to succeed Mr. Knox is Hon. William E. Crow, of Uniontown, in the western part of the State. Both seats will be filled by popular election in the near future. It is the tradition of Pennsylvania to choose one Senator from the eastern part of the State and one from the western. Governor Sproul, like Mr. Pepper, belongs to the Philadelphia end of the State. There are times when it is well not to follow political traditions too slavishly; and the Republicans of Pennsylvania would have the hearty approval of the country if they should at the next election choose Mr. Pepper and Governor Sproul to represent Pennsylvania in the

Senate. Mr. Knox, though in his earlier career a Pittsburgh lawyer, had for many years made his Pennsylvania home on his famous farm at Valley Forge, near Philadelphia. Mr. Sproul might qualify as a western Pennsylvanian by acquiring a farm for summer residence in one of the pleasant and desirable counties west of the Alleghenies. The Senate needs strong and capable men; and Pennsylvania as a banner Republican State would do herself and the party credit by endorsing Pepper and promoting Sproul.

*Will Hays Takes Up a New Service* Early in January the newspapers gave publicity to a proposal that had been made to the Postmaster General, Mr. Will Hays, to leave his present office and take a position to be created for him by an association of all the important interests engaged in the gigantic motion-picture business. On January 14, Mr. Hays made announcement that he would accept the offer. It was understood that he would retire from the Cabinet early in March, after completing his full year of service as Postmaster General. Mr. Hays has been not merely a harmonizing leader in Republican politics, but everywhere and always his influence has been exerted for progress in right directions. Already he has impressed

himself upon the American postal service—which he has characterized as the greatest business enterprise in the world—as few men have done in the entire history of the Government. In our issue for December he described the postal service and his plans for its improvement in an extended article which sets standards that no successor in the office can disregard.

*Influence of the "Movies"* Mr. Hays has had an ever-growing vision of the possibilities of the postal service as a foremost agency for the further advancement of the American people. Undoubtedly he perceives, in similar fashion, that motion pictures are becoming a pervasive influence, and that their production and display are not to be regarded merely as a private money-making enterprise, but also as a feature in the life of every community, having its marked bearing upon the development of local and national character. Already, motion pictures are employed to advance every good cause. On the strictly amusement side of the industry, the tendencies upon the whole are creditable; but, on the other hand, the industry has been hurt by too many screen-plays that offend sound morals and good taste. Mr. Hays knows the American people well; and his influence will always be exerted against whatever is detrimental. If he has his way, the "movies" will work with, rather than against, the public schools, the churches, and all other agencies for social welfare and progress; and, in thus coöperating for the general welfare, they will give permanence and strength to what is already one of the greatest of our American industries. Mr. Hays will, of course, retain an unabated interest in politics and affairs. There have been many rumors as to the appointment of his successor in the Cabinet; but President Harding will take his own time before announcing his choice.



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GOVERNOR SPROUL AND SENATOR CROW,  
OF PENNSYLVANIA

(The death of Senator Knox in October was followed in due course by the appointment of a lawyer of western Pennsylvania, Hon. William E. Crow, to fill the vacancy. Mr. Crow's career hitherto has been local rather than national. Protracted illness has prevented his entering actively upon his new duties at Washington. Primary elections in May will select candidates for two Senate seats to be voted upon in the November elections)

*Our Place in the Philippines* When the Washington Conference is ended, it will be easier than now to estimate the bearings of its work upon our future in the Philippines and elsewhere "in the regions of the Pacific." Meanwhile, there has been time to digest the careful and thorough report made by General Leonard Wood and Mr. Forbes as to their extended inquiry last year. As final conclusion, the report declares that its authors "are convinced that



it would be a betrayal of the Philippine people, a misfortune to the American people, a distinct step backward in the path of progress, and a discreditable neglect of our national duty, were we to withdraw from the Islands and terminate our relationship there without giving the Filipinos the best chance possible to have an orderly and permanently stable government." The whole trend of the report, while very friendly and complimentary in its findings about the Filipino people, is to the effect that the United States must continue to exercise authority for an indefinite period. The report is so reasonable in tone and so convincing in its conclusions that it would seem wholly probable that the Administration and a Republican Congress will sustain its recommendations. It is not likely that the Four Power Treaty will make it appear less desirable that the American flag should remain in the Philippines.

*Latin  
America  
Advancing*

It is expected that in the near future there will be a Pan-American Congress; and Chile's invitation will be accepted for a meeting at Santiago. The prospect of improved relations throughout the Western Hemisphere is upon the whole satisfactory. Colombia has ratified the treaty with the United States which purports to settle all differences concerning Panama. Mexico seems to be settling down steadily, and it is to be hoped that this long-distracted country may once more assume the place of a sane and responsible member of the family of American nations. The position of Mexico in the Western Hemisphere is not as important as that of Russia in the European system; but an ill-behaved neighbor can always make disturbance, and the return of Mexico to a sense of international duty and responsibility is almost as much to be desired as a similar return on the part of Russia. Out of pending discussions, there seems to be some prospect that long-standing disputes involving Chile, Peru and Bolivia may reach final set-



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HON. WILL H. HAYS, WHOSE EARLY RETIREMENT AS POSTMASTER GENERAL WAS ANNOUNCED ON JANUARY 14

(Mr. Hays, as a young Indiana lawyer who had graduated from Wabash College in the year 1900, became active in Indiana Republican politics and made his way by sheer merit to the chairmanship of the National Republican Committee. As Postmaster General, he has already impressed his policies upon this great Government service. He is only forty-two years old and carries a great reputation and a universal good will to a new position)

tlement. It would seem obvious that Canada ought to enter the Pan-American Union and that the forthcoming Congress of the Western-Hemisphere governments ought to be the most harmonious and successful that has ever been held. Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW, we are publishing an article written for us by Hon. John Bassett Moore on the plans that have been made for creating a great school of tropical medicine on the Isthmus of Panama in memory of Surgeon-General Gorgas. The improved sanitary conditions, not merely at Panama, but throughout the West Indies and many regions of North, Central, and South America, are due to efforts which typify the kind of progress that good-will and harmonious relations may accomplish in the Western Hemisphere during the remainder of this century.



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HON. HENRY C. WALLACE, SECRETARY OF  
AGRICULTURE

*The Farmer's Lean Year.* The shock that has come to the business of farming is strikingly shown in facts recently published by the Department of Agriculture, giving the total value of the crops of 1921 and comparing it with the values of 1920 and 1919. In the year just passed, although the farmers nearly reached the previous year's production, the crops were worth in the aggregate \$5,600,000,000; whereas in 1920 the value was \$9,000,000,000, and in 1919 actually \$13,600,000,000. These figures are based on prices paid on December 1, 1921, and the crops valued are about 90 per cent. of all the products of the soil. In 1921, only two crops—corn and hay—brought \$1,000,000,000 each or more, while in 1920 there were four. This remarkable scaling down of the farmers' earnings, quite the most sudden and considerable in the history of the country, when unaccompanied, as it is, by anything like a corresponding decrease in the prices of manufactured goods, transportation, and other things that a farmer must buy, makes clear at a glance the enormous subtraction of purchasing power from this one group alone, and the displacement of industry at large which must result from such a cutting off of consumption.

*Improved  
Prices  
Probable*

The best authorities feel that these prices for farm products are as disastrously low as they can sink for a considerable time to come. We have had three great corn crops in succession—3,152,000,000 bushels from the last harvest. It is only in very recent years that the American corn crop has passed the 3,000,000,000-bushel mark. It forms about three-fourths of the entire world's production, and, indeed, the world production of 4,000,000,000 bushels is itself a new thing. The use of corn has only gradually spread through southern Europe. As against the United States' 3,000,000,000 bushels, Europe as a whole produces 500,000,000, Argentine 300,000,000, Asia 100,000,000, and Africa about 75,000,000. Our corn is not only the first cereal in bulk, but is worth more than any other in dollars, hay ranking second. After three bumper crops in succession, with the temptation, in face of low prices, to plant less acreage this year, it is more than likely that there will be smaller production. The carry-over of wheat, too, is not large, while the growing crop has started out in poor condition. These factors point to some recovery in prices.

*Plenty of Bread  
and Meat  
for the World*

Although there has been this extraordinary falling-off in the value of the products of the farm, and despite the shortage in the wheat fields of Russia, the statisticians say that the world's supply of food will be near normal through the next twelve months. Favorable reports have come from wheat and rice crops abroad. The three big American corn crops in succession mean a large supply of meat, a great part of the American corn being fed to hogs and their meat going to all parts of the world. Our exports of pork and pork products go to more than ninety different countries; in the last decade, these exports amounted to \$3,000,000,000 and were unusually large in the last year. It is, of course, because of its supremacy as a corn producer that the United States has about one-half of the swine in the world.

*Exports and  
Imports Still  
Dwindling*

But these large current exports of corn and pork products to foreign countries are the exceptional features in the year's foreign trade. In spite of them, the first eleven months of the year 1921 showed a falling-off of \$2,500,000,000 in imports and \$3,000,000,000 in exports, as compared with the previous year.

This drastic cut in the overseas movement of manufactured and miscellaneous goods, amounting to 50 per cent., is brought about by unusual decreases in the volume of business as well as by the startling diminution in prices. The falling-off continues from month to month. Exports and imports together were in last November smaller by \$120,000,000 than in October. In spite of the difficulties in trading caused by Europe's depreciated currencies, her abnormally reduced purchasing power and the chaos in international exchange, she still receives the bulk of America's foreign shipments, amounting to \$2,200,000,000 out of \$4,100,000,000 of merchandise exported in the first eleven months of last year. Our exports to South America have fallen off 40 per cent. and to Asia about as much. Only the comparatively insignificant trade with Africa is increasing, with exports to Oceania holding up fairly well.

#### Help for Ship Operators

This violent decrease in the volume and value of our foreign trade, coming just at the time when we have completed a great merchant marine, second only to England's, easily explains the present plight of our shipping companies. It is understood that President Harding will soon make recommendations for some form of national help to American ship owners. A number of committees and experts have been engaged in drawing up plans and recommendations to be submitted to the President. It has become known that among the suggestions that will be made by these committees of expert economists, ship

owners, ship builders, and labor leaders, there will be provision for a diversion of a certain percentage of import customs as bonuses to American ship operators, and the establishment of a revolving loan fund of \$100,000,000. It will be recommended that the Shipping Board sell its remaining vessels as soon as opportunity offers at prices not to exceed the prevailing market prices for similar ships, which, it is said, means something like \$30 to \$35 a ton. It is also proposed to ease up on the income-taxes of ship owners whose vessels fly the American flag and to create a government marine insurance institution operating without profit, to furnish insurance on hulls at cost to private American ship owners. Another suggestion was a direct cash subsidy to American ship operators to an extent enabling them to compete with British vessels, sufficient to cover the differences in the cost of wages and subsistence. Further subsidies may be arranged for fast ships carrying the mails.

#### The World's Oversupply of Ships

Such measures are made necessary by the orgy of shipbuilding throughout the world brought by the war demands. In 1919, instead of the present going rates of \$30 or \$35 per ton, and even much smaller prices on occasions, tonnage was scarce at \$200 or \$250, while carrying rates were two to four times what can be obtained now. Something like the same conditions, except in smaller degree, were seen in the Spanish-American and Boer wars. Even in 1921, there was a large increase in the world's tonnage at the very time that 10,000,000 tons of ships were being laid up idle. Excluding our merchant vessels on the Great Lakes, the merchant marine of the world amounted in 1914 to 43,000,000 tons; on June 30, 1920, to 51,800,000 tons; and a year later to 56,700,000 tons, while as late as October 1, 1921, 5,500,000 tons of vessels were under construction throughout the world. At the beginning of the war, Great Britain's merchant fleet amounted to 18,900,000 tons, as against America's 2,000,000. To-day Great Britain has increased to 19,300,000 tons, but the United States has multiplied her fleet more than six and a half times, to 13,600,000 tons. How these two countries dwarf all others is shown by the figure of the third next fleet, Japan's, which has only 3,350,000 tons. Out of the entire world tonnage of 56,700,000, the United Kingdom and the United States together have 33,000,000.



A VERY IMPORTANT HAND  
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



HE'S NOT DOING SO BAD, AFTER ALL  
From the *News* (Rome, Georgia)

**The Sudden  
Let-up in  
Building**

But the effect of the depression in the ocean-carrying trade on current and future shipbuilding is very marked, and especially so on the shipyards of the United States. According to Lloyd's Register, we are now actually doing a smaller percentage of the world's ship construction than before the war and are rapidly approaching the point where less tonnage, absolutely speaking, will come from American shipyards than in 1914. The total shipping under construction in the United States on January 1, 1922, was only 216,000 tons,—less than half as much as three months before. On the same date, Great Britain was building 2,640,000 tons and other countries 1,600,000. Even France, Holland and Italy are now building more merchant ships than we—and while the figures for Germany are not published, she is certainly leading us by a large margin. The new year found us building only 4.9 per cent. of the world's ships under construction, with Great Britain's percentage 59.2. These figures suggest that our suddenly acquired importance in the ocean-carrying trade may not, even with the maximum of government help, be permanent,—at least, in the dimensions we have recently come to expect.

**The  
Automobile  
Industry**

Reports continue to appear of the lowering of prices on 1922 models of automobiles of standard makes, and call attention to the be-

havior of this giant among infant industries in facing its first major depression. As might have been expected, the great majority of the automobile makers are experiencing hard times with a vengeance, with the falling-off in demand coming faster than reduction in costs, and profits small or absent, while a few leading makers producing cars of exceptional merit and popularity are still making sales and profits that would have been incredible ten years ago. It would not have been so easy to predict the remarkable changes that have come in the relation of Ford production to the entire output. In 1919, Mr. Ford was making 40 per cent. of all the cars produced in the United States and it was the common opinion that energetic competition would see to it that this was the zenith, or near it, of his dominance in the industry. But in 1920 the Ford share of the production was 47 per cent. and in 1921 it was nearly 60 per cent. In other words, Mr. Ford produced last year 938,000 cars and all the other 160 manufacturers of the United States put out only about 625,000.

**What  
of  
1922?**

Since 1916 Mr. Ford has about doubled his sale of cars, while the total of all other makers have scarcely increased at all—a remarkable indication of the trend away from high-priced cars and toward the cheapest ones. This does not mean at all, however, that the demand for higher-priced automobiles will continue to dwindle indefinitely. The average life of a car is about six years, and the industry reached its quantity production stage about six years ago. Therefore the replacement demand which will permanently give manufacturers a certain and large business is now coming in full force and will render them to a certain extent independent of expansion into new fields of buyers. As to the probable output in 1922, such good authorities as Mr. L. P. Ayres, of the Cleveland Trust Company, estimate that about 1,800,000 cars (Mr. Ford accounting for 1,100,000) should be made and distributed. The actual figure will naturally depend on the continuance of business depression, but Mr. Ayres points out that unless his estimate is reached, it will mean that the total number of cars in use in the country is decreasing—an unlikely event in view of the essential part the motor car has come to play in American life.



**"SUBBOTNIC" ON THE STREETS OF SOVIET RUSSIA**

(Where, on the Sabbath days of Saturday and Sunday, the men, women, and youth of the country do voluntary work without pay for the common benefit. The work is laid out for the citizens by the director of Subbotnic, who attempts to keep the streets cleared, find wood to be cut into fuel, and other jobs at which the proletariat may be employed for the common benefit)

# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(December 15, 1921, to January 15, 1922)

## THE CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON

December 16.—France asks for a capital ship ratio larger than Japan's; she requests ten ships of 35,000 tons each, to be built within ten years, the period during which the other great powers have agreed to stop building.

December 17.—Secretary Hughes offers France a capital ship ratio of 1.75 and the same figure for Italy, making the naval ratio of the five great powers 5—5—3—1.75—1.75.

Japan refuses the Chinese proposal of a three-year payment period for the Shantung railroad and insists on instalments scaled over twenty years with interim financial and operating control to Japan.

December 20.—France accepts the capital ship ratio of 1.75, contingent upon special consideration regarding submarines and other auxiliary craft.

December 22.—Lord Lee presents the British argument for total abolition of submarine warfare; existing submarine tonnage is, American 83,500, British 80,500, Japanese 32,200, French 28,360, Italian 18,250.

December 23.—Admiral de Bon presents the French demand for 90,000 tons of submarines for purposes of defense.

Chinese tariff discussion is put over until after Christmas; the United States favors 12½ per cent. ad valorem, Britain 7½ per cent., Japan 6½ per cent.; China's present rate is a nominal 5 per cent., said to yield little more than 3 per cent., because of low valuations.

December 24.—The United States proposes a compromise submarine plan, cutting British and American tonnage to 60,000 tons apiece and

allotting 36,000 tons to Japan and 35,000 tons each to France and Italy.

December 28.—Elihu Root proposes rules for restriction of submarines in war, restoring the requirement of visit and search of merchant ships before attack, giving ample safety for passengers and crew, and providing for punishment of violations of these rules under the laws applying to piracy.

Auxiliary ships are prohibited from carrying larger than 8-inch guns. M. Sarraut and Lord Balfour debate submarine tonnage, each refusing to back down, France holding out for 90,000 tons.

December 31.—Secretary Hughes announces an agreement with Japan on cables; the United States gets the cable from Yap to Guam, Japan the line from Yap to Shanghai (now to Naha, a Japanese island); Holland receives the cable from Yap to Menado, Dutch East Indies.

January 5.—The five great powers unanimously agree to prohibit the use of submarines in destruction of commercial shipping, and other nations are asked to adhere to this rule of international law; this endorses the first and second Root resolutions against submarine warfare.

The Chinese tariff is raised to an effective 5 per cent. from a nominal 5 per cent.; estimated annual revenues are increased \$46,000,000; further changes in tariff may be made after inquiry. . . . Investigation is to be made at Peking on the date for withdrawal of foreign troops.

China offers to pay cash to Japan for the Shantung railroad.

January 6.—Secretary Hughes proposes the abolition of poison gas in war; Senator Schanzer, of Italy, seconds the proposal.

China asks Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour



HON. CHARLES W. PUGSLEY, ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

(Who is reorganizing the information and publicity work of the department. Prior to October, when he assumed his new responsibilities, Mr. Pugsley was editor of the *Nebraska Farmer*. He was born at Woodbine, Iowa, in 1878, and he still farms his own piece of land there. Besides being a practical farmer, he was the first president of the American Association of Agricultural Editors, served on the American commission for investigating agricultural credits and marketing systems a few years ago, and has knowledge that will be exceedingly useful at the agricultural conference starting January 23 at Washington.)

to mediate the Shantung controversy, deadlocked over the railway purchase terms.

January 7.—The five great powers adopt the Root resolution prohibiting the use of "asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases, and all other analogous liquids, materials, or devices"; they invite all other civilized nations to adhere to this new law of war.

January 13.—Japan agrees to return to China the Kiaochau district taken from Germany; China will open Taingtao "with equal opportunities to the trade of all nations."

#### PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 16.—In the Senate, Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) attacks the Four-Power Treaty in a four-hour address.

The Senate passes the China trade bill, permitting federal incorporation of American concerns doing business in China.

December 17.—The House appropriates \$20,000,000 for Russian relief, requiring purchases to be made in the United States and shipped in American vessels.

December 20.—The Senate committee investigating charges of army cruelty made by Mr. Watson (Dem., Ga.), hears sworn testimony that twelve men were hanged at Is-sur-Tille, some without court martial, under revolting circumstances.

In the House, Mr. Volk (Rep., N. Y.) introduces a soldier bonus bill for adjusted compen-

sation from revenue to be obtained through a sales tax.

The Senate passes the Russian Relief bill of \$20,000,000.

December 21.—In the House, Mr. Ansorge (Rep., N. Y.) introduces a bill to abolish "blocs" founded on special interests or geographical location.

December 25.—The Senate Committee investigating conditions in Haiti reports advising retention of marines on the Island, appointment of a High Commissioner in full control, and development of good roads.

January 12.—The Senate, voting 46—41, refuses to unseat Mr. Newberry (Rep., Mich.), in the contest by Mr. Ford, at the same time criticizing the expenditure of \$195,000 for the Newberry campaign as excessive, contrary to sound public policy, and dangerous to the perpetuation of free government.

In the Senate, Mr. Smoot (Rep., Utah) proposes to amend the Fordney tariff bill to grant President Harding's request for a flexible tariff.

January 13.—The House passes the annual Post Office appropriation bill for \$554,000,000, leaving out the air mail provision of \$1,935,000 cut by the Appropriations Committee.

#### AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 17.—President Harding orders payment at cost by Panama Canal employees for fuel, rent, light, and water, formerly supplied free; it is estimated the change will save a half million dollars a year.

Guy Potter Benton is inaugurated president of the University of the Philippines.

December 19.—The Supreme Court, through Chief Justice Taft, declares the Arizona anti-labor-injunction law unconstitutional; the Southern Hardwood Manufacturers' "open competition plan" is held illegal and in restraint of trade.

December 23.—President Harding frees Eugene V. Debs and twenty-three other prisoners convicted of war law violations.

December 28.—The Department of Agriculture estimates the total important farm crops of the year for the United States as worth \$5,675,877,000; corn and hay crops each were valued at over \$1,000,000,000.

December 30.—Secretary Wallace, at the request of the President, calls a national farm conference late in January to adopt definite plans for relief of the agricultural crisis.

January 3.—The Supreme Court upholds an order of the Federal Trade Commission enjoining the Beech-Nut Packing Company from continuing its resale price maintenance policy.

January 4.—At New York City, former Prohibition Enforcement Director Hart is indicted with a number of other officials in a \$10,000,000 whiskey conspiracy through four wholesale drug concerns.

January 6.—The War Finance Corporation reports loans of \$200,000,000 approved in 1921; \$145,082,039 was for farmers and livestock raisers and \$50,946,375 for financing exports.

The New York State Council of the Federation of Labor ratifies an agreement with Samuel Untermyer, who, as counsel of the housing investigating committee of the Legislature, recom-

mended drastic changes in building labor union by-laws and practices and in the statutes.

January 9.—George Wharton Pepper, a distinguished Philadelphia lawyer, is appointed United States Senator by Governor Sproul to succeed the late Mr. Penrose. . . . Mr. William E. Crow, who succeeded Mr. Knox, is too ill to take his seat.

January 10.—Acting Director of the Budget Reop raises the Emergency Fleet Corporation estimate to \$100,000,000 from \$50,000,000, asking that \$30,000,000 be made immediately available for settlement of claims.

Governor Edwards, of New Jersey, following the lead of Governor Miller of New York, requests the legislature to approve the plans for improving the Port of New York under the "Port Authority," which is to exercise control.

January 11.—The Supreme Court of New York grants a permanent injunction to a garment workers' union against their employers, prohibiting the latter from breaking their contract or restoring the piecework system.

January 12.—Governor Neff of Texas declares martial law in the oil fields and town of Mexia because of its Wild West aspects.

January 14.—Postmaster General Will Hays accepts an offer to head a motion picture syndicate at \$150,000 a year at an early date.

#### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 16.—The British Parliament approves Premier Lloyd George's agreement with Sinn Fein negotiators providing for an Irish Free State; the House of Lords votes down a "die-hard" amendment to the address, 156 to 47, and the Commons defeats the amendment by 401 to 58.

December 19.—The British Parliament is prorogued until January 31.

In Rumania, Take Jonescu succeeds General Averesco as Premier, holding also the Ministry of Finance.

December 20.—Liang Shih-yi becomes Premier of the North China Government at Peking, succeeding Chin Yun-peng, resigned.

December 21.—Dr. Traugott von Jagow is sentenced by a German court to five years in prison for his part, as former Berlin police commissioner, in the Kapp revolt of March, 1920.

December 23.—British troops restore order after rioting at Cairo, Egypt, following deportation of the Nationalist native leader, Said Zaghlul Pasha, to Suez.

General Chang Tsao-lin, reorganizing the Peking Government, names new Cabinet members; Yeh Kung-cho takes the ministry of Communications, Shang Hu, Finance, and Yen Hui-ching Foreign Affairs (General Chang is Governor of Manchuria, and is a noted Chinese war-lord).

December 24.—The Ninth All-Russian Soviet Congress approves Premier Lenin's new economic policy.

December 27.—The French Foreign Minister, Mr. Phillipe Berthelot, resigns after criticism of certain acts connected with the Banque de Chine.

December 28.—The Soviet delegate from Samara reports starving people of Ramikovsky are resorting to cannibalism.



© Harris & Ewing

KARL LANG, NEW GERMAN CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES  
AT WASHINGTON

(Mr. Lang, who has been in the diplomatic service for twenty-four years, took his place very quietly at the end of last year and is shown in the above photograph sitting at his desk in the embassy building at Washington)

The Indian Nationalist Congress votes to adhere to Mahatma Gandhi's non-coöperative revolution without violence.

December 29.—The Banca Italiana di Sconto, one of the largest Italian banks, suspends payments.

December 30.—Said Zaghlul Pasha, Egyptian Nationalist leader, and five adherents, are deported to Ceylon from Suez; rioting ceases.

January 4.—Eamon de Valera proclaims himself irreconcilable to the treaty creating an Irish Free State in association with the British Empire, holding out for an absolute republic.

January 7.—The Dail Eireann ratifies the treaty with Great Britain, 64 to 57, putting Ireland on a dominion basis after 700 years of intermittent bloodshed and warfare.

January 9.—De Valera resigns as president of the Irish "Republic."

January 10.—Arthur Griffith is elected President of the Dail Eireann, which adjourns until February 14 to permit establishment of the Irish Free State; de Valera's followers withdraw.

January 11.—The Southern Parliament is summoned by Arthur Griffith, and British authorities begin moving their effects from Dublin Castle.

Premier Briand returns to Paris to face critics of a defensive alliance arranged with British Premier Lloyd George at Cannes.

January 12.—With the French Chamber apparently in sympathy with his policy—but smart-



ing under criticism of President Millerand and others—Premier Briand dramatically resigns; Raymond Poincaré is requested to form a ministry.

January 14.—The Parliament of Southern-Ireland (established under the Home Rule act) ratifies the treaty with Great Britain; de Valera and his Republicans are absent; Michael Collins is named to head the Provisional Government; Edmond Duggan notifies Dublin Castle of ratification, presenting the signed treaty.

Premier Poincaré completes formation of the new French Cabinet.

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

December 17.—Peru rejects the Chilean proposal of a plebiscite to settle the Tacna-Arica dispute, and suggests arbitration.

December 18.—The Austrian-Czechoslovakian conference closes in agreement to submit future disputes to arbitration and, if that fails, to the League.

December 24.—Colombia ratifies the treaty with the United States which settles the Panama controversy.

December 27.—Chile agrees to send delegates to Washington to discuss Tacna-Arica with a Peruvian delegation, and will submit unsettled questions to arbitration.

December 30.—At Paris, the British, French,

Belgian, and Italian diplomats and industrialists approve the British plan for European rehabilitation on the essentials of good communications, respect for and enforcement of law, and establishment of stable currencies.

Soviet Russia agrees to buy grain worth \$10,000,000 (gold) from the United States through the American Relief Administration in addition to the \$20,000,000 appropriated by Congress, the first shipment of which starts from New York.

The new Premier of Canada, Mr. King, appoints his Cabinet, himself heading foreign affairs, with W. S. Fielding in charge of Finance.

French troops evacuate Aintab, Asiatic Turkey, under the Treaty of Angora.

December 31.—The United States resumes relations with Germany, Secretary Hughes officially receiving Karl Lang, as chargé d'affaires.

January 3.—Count Laszlo Széchenyi is appointed Hungarian Minister to the United States (he is at the embassy in Washington).

Henry P. Fletcher, Under Secretary of State, is named as Ambassador to Belgium to succeed Brand Whitlock.

January 5.—French troops escort 50,000 Christians from Cilicia to Syria under the Turkish agreement; 4000 Christians remain.

Turkish Nationalists and the Ukraine government sign a treaty at Angora in alliance against Rumanian aid to Greece in Thrace.

January 6.—The Supreme Council, meeting at Cannes, calls a general conference in March at Genoa of all European powers (including Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria) to effect the economic rehabilitation of Europe; stability of law, property, and government is recommended, with cessation of aggression and subversive propaganda against other nations, and the establishment of stable currencies.

January 7.—The Allied Supreme Council requests Germany to send delegates to Cannes to discuss reparation payments.

The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence ocean ship canal project is approved by the International Joint Commission in a report to the State Department at Washington and to Canada.

January 10.—The Council of the League of Nations meets at Geneva to discuss the Vilna dispute, the agricultural eight-hour day in France and a number of other international details.

January 12.—The Conference at Cannes ends abruptly because of Premier Briand's resignation.

January 13.—The Reparations Commission extends the time for payment by Germany, but requires her to pay 31,000,000 gold marks every ten days, a sum equal to one-fourth of her exports.

Lloyd George and Italian Premier Bonomi send formal invitations to all the European powers to meet at Genoa on March 8 to end international suspicion and non-coöperation in Europe.

### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

December 16.—A Wall Street bomb suspect is arrested in Poland and alleged to have confessed.

December 21.—The 400-foot army dirigible *Roma*, purchased from Italy, is put in commission in a flight over Washington.



LORD AND LADY LEE OF FAREHAM

(Lord Lee took an active and prominent part in the Conference at Washington, particularly in vigorous debate urging for Great Britain complete abolition of submarines in warfare. Lady Lee was active in social circles at the Capital)

December 24.—The Ohio River overflows and floods the Hocking Valley worse than at any time since 1907. . . . Eastern Arkansas, northern Mississippi, and Louisiana are swept by a storm which kills forty-four persons, injures more than 100, and destroys \$1,000,000 in property.

December 30.—Edward Stinson and Lloyd Bertaud break all airplane endurance records; during zero weather, snow, and gales, they fly 26 hours 19 minutes and 35 seconds in a Larsen metal monoplane at Mineola, N. Y.

January 7.—Eight church elders of Grand Rapids, Mich., are poisoned at communion by drinking varnish stain used by mistake for sacramental wine.

January 13.—At Scranton (Pa.) a coal mine collapses; an area of nearly five city blocks drops below.

### OBITUARY

December 15.—John Arthur Elston, Representative in Congress from California, 47. . . . General Sir John Eccles Nixon, commander of the British forces in Mesopotamia in 1915-'16, 64.

December 16.—Camille Saint-Saëns, famous French pianist and composer, 86. . . . Edward Watts Saunders, judge of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals and former member of Congress, 61.

December 17.—Rev. David Stuart Dodge, D.D., widely known Presbyterian clergyman, 85.

December 19.—Bennett Van Syckel, former justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court and Princeton's oldest alumnus, 91.

December 21.—Cardinal Francis Mary Poverie de Cabrieres, Bishop of Montpelier, France, 91. . . . Mgr. William Kiernan, a distinguished Philadelphia prelate. . . . Bishop Henry Clay Morrison, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, 77.

December 22.—Col. Henry Watterson, distinguished Kentucky journalist, for half a century editor and publisher of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, 81. . . . General Hans von Beseler, capturer of Antwerp and later German Governor of Poland, 71.

December 23.—Rear Admiral John Kennedy Barton, U. S. N., retired, 69. . . . Edward Horner Coates, for many years president of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 75.

December 24.—Archibald J. Sampson, of Arizona, former minister to Ecuador, 82.

December 25.—Vladimir Korolenko, the Ukrainian novelist.

December 27.—Dr. Howard B. Cross, of the Rockefeller Institute, bacteriologist and student of yellow-fever transmission, 32. . . . Rear-Admiral Charles Henry Davis, U. S. N., retired, 76. . . . William Alexander Ketcham, former commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, 75. . . . Thomas Grace, Bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Sacramento, 81.

December 28.—Sir John Hare, noted English actor and manager, 77. . . . Thomas Walter Bickett, former Governor of North Carolina, 52.

December 29.—Jeremiah Dunham Botkin, at one time Representative-at-large from Kansas and later candidate for Governor, 72.

December 31.—Boies Penrose, senior United



THE BOLLING MEMORIAL STATUE AT GREENWICH, CONN.

(Col. Raynal Cawthorne Bolling, U. S. A., was the first officer of the higher command to be killed in the Great War. He was born September 1, 1877, and left a brilliant career as a lawyer to prepare for the Aviation Service of the A. E. F. He fell at Amiens, on March 26, 1918, after having laid the foundation for our air service in France. The statue is the work of E. C. Potter, of Greenwich)

States Senator from Pennsylvania, for many years a Republican leader, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, 61. . . . Baron Roman Romanovitch Rosen, former Russian Ambassador to the United States, 74.

January 4.—Col. Clinton A. Snowden, well-known Western journalist and Mason, 74.

January 5.—Baron Takayasu Mitsui, prominent Japanese financier, 73.

January 7.—Dr. William Frear, widely known Pennsylvania farm expert, 61. . . . Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, for eighteen years Hawaiian delegate in the House of Representatives, 50.

January 8.—Mrs. George Foster Peabody (Katrina Trask), philanthropist, poet, and playwright, 68. . . . Joseph Oliver, of Toronto, grand sire of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, 70.

January 9.—Charles S. Mitchell, editor-in-chief of the Washington *Herald*. . . . Abram Adler, a pioneer Rochester clothing manufacturer, 75.

January 10.—Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, noted Japanese statesman and former premier, 84. . . . Clarence B. Miller, of Minnesota, secretary of the Republican National Committee, 49.

January 12.—Hans Kronold, widely known cellist and composer, 51.

January 13.—Joseph Hopkins Millard, former United States Senator from Nebraska, 85.

January 14.—Christopher Miner Spencer, inventor of repeating rifle and the first automatic screw machine, 88.

# SOLVING WORLD PROBLEMS

AS PRESENTED IN CARTOONS



THE FOUR GUARDSMEN OF PEACE  
From the *News-Tribune* (Tacoma, Wash.)



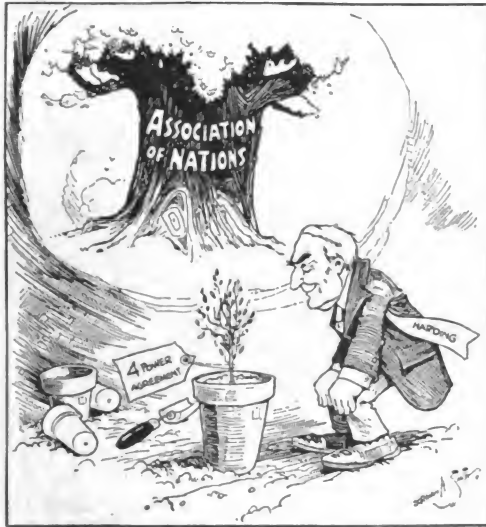
THE QUADRUPLÉ ENTENTE  
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)



THE NEW FORCE  
From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)



MORE UP-TO-DATE  
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



GREAT OAKS FROM LITTLE ACORNS GROW  
From *Newspaper Enterprise Assn.* (Cleveland, Ohio)



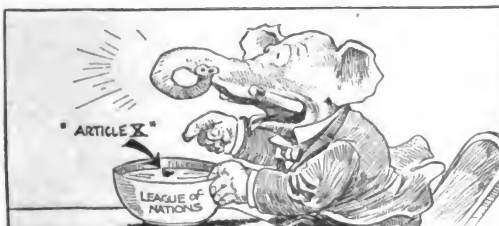
LOOKS LIKE THE SAME CHILD, OR A TWIN SISTER  
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



IS THERE ANY LIKENESS?  
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)



HOW LONG BEFORE WE REALIZE WE'RE ALL IN  
THE SAME BOAT?  
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)



FUNNY HOW WE SOMETIMES STRAIN AT A GNAT  
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)

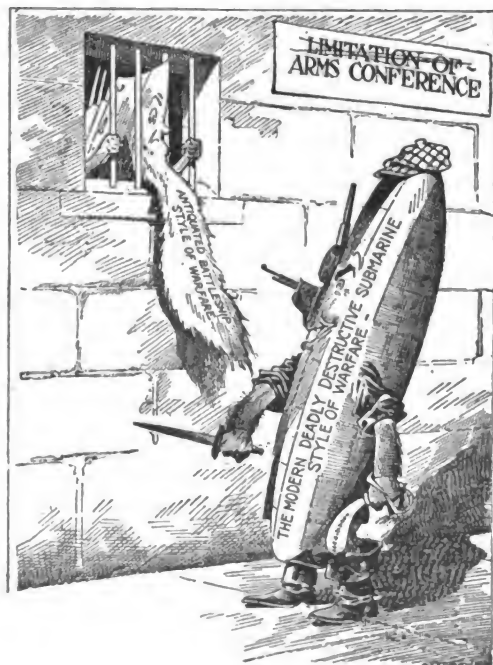


—AND SWALLOW A CAMEL!



"BEWARE OF THE WILES OF FOREIGN DIPLOMACY"  
From the *American* © (New York)

The Hearst newspapers—as might, perhaps, have been expected—have not accepted the undertakings of America's representatives at the Washington Conference. Otherwise the limitation of naval armaments has met with general approval in the newspaper press.



THE WORST CRIMINAL IS STILL AT LARGE  
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)



IF THE CONFERENCE HAD DONE NOTHING MORE IT  
WOULD HAVE BEEN WORTH WHILE  
From the *Tribune* © (New York)



"WHEN THE DEVIL WAS SICK—"  
From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)



THE TASK OF HERCULES  
"If I don't destroy this dragon it will devour me!"  
From *Reynolds's Newspaper* (London, England)





**THE QUESTION OF THE PACIFIC**  
UNCLE SAM: "And then, between you and me, in a little while it will lose its name."  
From the *Hommes du Jour* (Paris, France)



**SHANTUNG**  
JAP: "This beats me hollow! It was I who cleared the Prussians out of your house, and now you want to have it all to yourself."  
From *De Telegraaf* (Amsterdam, Holland)



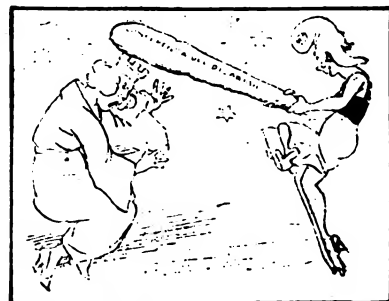
**LORD ROBERT CECIL, AS SIR ISUMBRAS, MEANS TO CARRY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS THROUGH**  
From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)



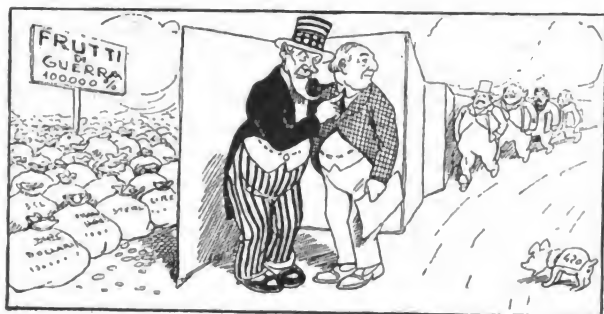
**1915—ITALY: "I AM HERE TO DEFEND MY SISTER!"**



**A COAT OF WHITELASH FOR MARS**  
From *Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



**1921—FRANCE: "THANKS, SISTER"**  
From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



AN ITALIAN VIEW OF AMERICA

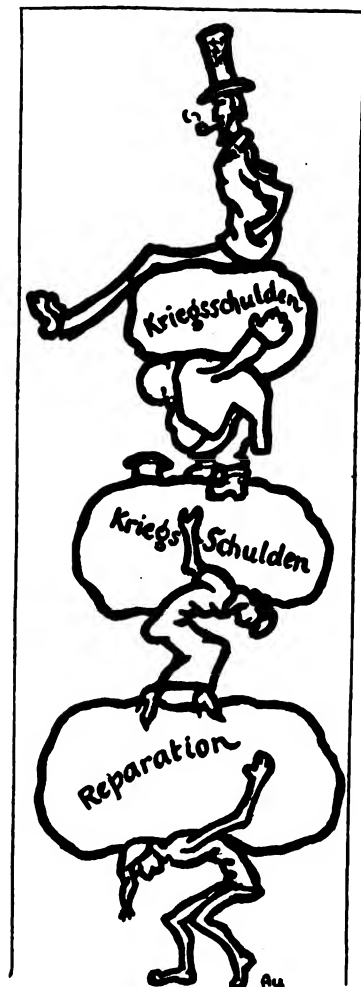
UNCLE SAM (to President Harding): "Let's disarm them [England, France, Italy, and Japan], so that they can't fight. If they have another war who will repay the loans I made in the last war?"

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



M. BRIAND: "Parbleu! You dare to suggest how we should run our business? How can I trust a partner so treacherous?"

From the *Star* (London, England)



DISTRIBUTION OF THE WAR DEBT BURDEN

From *Wahre Jakob* (Stuttgart, Germany)

[The German Michel carries France, who in turn carries England. Uncle Sam is serene on top]



BRIAND AT WASHINGTON—THE BOGY-MAN

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE QUADRUPLE ACCORD

SPIRIT OF THE PACIFIC: "One should not insist on a perfect accord. That would not be in keeping with the music of to-day."

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

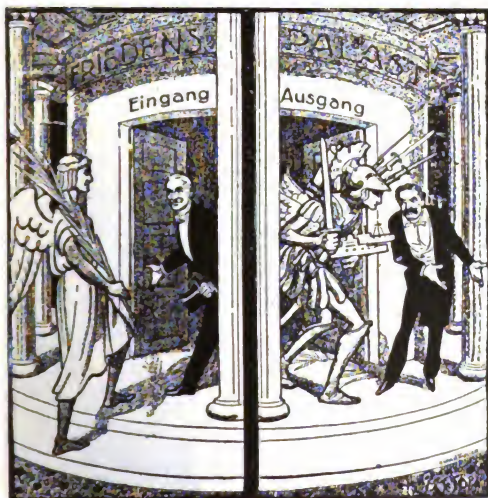




SANTA CLAUS AT WASHINGTON—"LET ME TAKE THOSE DANGEROUS TOYS AWAY"

From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

Premier Briand was too lenient to satisfy critics at home, so he resigned; but as spokesman for France at the Washington Conference he had seemed to the rest of the world a foremost champion of militarism.



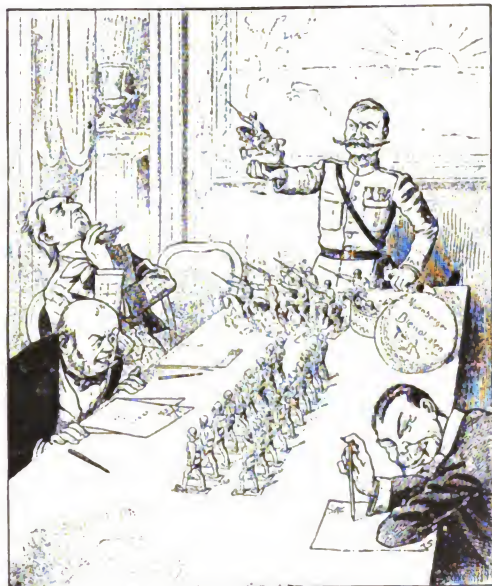
THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

HARDING: "Welcome, Peace, make yourself at home in this palace."

BRIAND: "Go into the world! But go as Peace, as I understand it!"

From *Ulk* (Berlin, Germany)

Feb.—3



FOCH IN WASHINGTON

"As long as Germany has a million such fresh troops under cover, it is impossible for France to disarm."

From *Kikeriki* (Vienna, Austria)

[The box cover carries the label "Nürnberg Tin-soldiers," Nürnberg being the seat of Germany's toy industry]



THE IRREPRESSIBLE DE VALERA  
From the *People* (London, England)

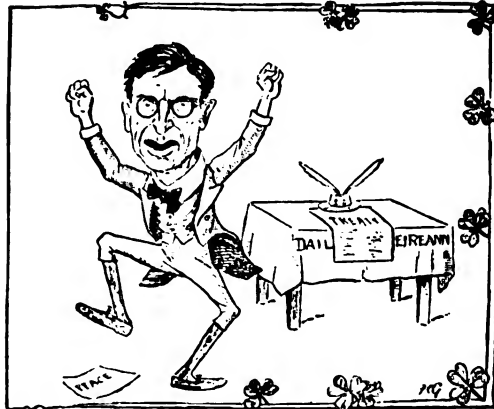
With the acceptance by the Dail Eireann of Lloyd George's offer of an Irish Free State in association with the British Empire (without the counties of the north), Ireland enters upon a period of peace and contentment. The leadership of De Valera, who insisted upon more complete independence, has been succeeded by that of Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins.



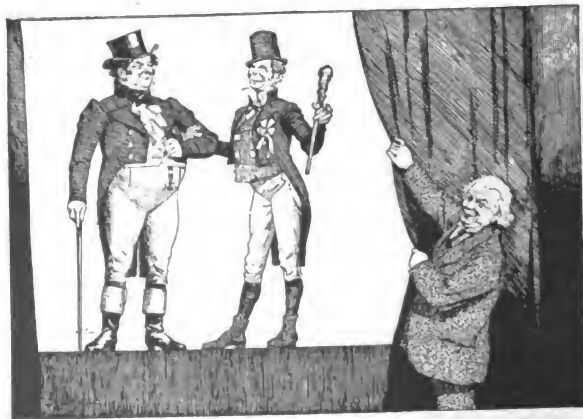
"An' now, begorra, I'm goin' to turn this shillelagh into a plowshare"  
From the *Express* (London, England)



LYDD GEORGE AND THE IRISH SPOTLIGHT; OR, WHO SETTLED THE IRISH QUESTION  
From the *Star* (London, England)



THE PRESIDENT WHO WOULDN'T  
"I do not care, let come what may,  
What Arthur Griffith likes to say;  
O take the horrid thing away,  
No Treaty will I have to-day!"  
From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)



A HAPPY ENDING  
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

# FROM WASHINGTON TO GENOA

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. TOWARD THE END

A MONTH ago I closed my article with the discussion of the text of the Four Power Treaty and the examination of the political facts which led up to it. In the weeks which have followed, the attention of the Washington Conference has mainly been occupied with three things: First, with the Four Power Treaty, as it took on a new meaning under rather unusual circumstances; second, with the question of the limitation of naval armament, which had one incident verging on the sensational; and finally, with Far Eastern matters, of which China's situation is the most important.

In the present article I shall confine myself to a review of the discussion of the Four Power Treaty and of the naval limitation, leaving to another month any detailed survey of the Chinese questions which remain for the most part in the condition in which they stood when I last wrote, with no solution that warrants any extended remarks.

But before passing to the Washington Conference it is necessary to note that events outside of our own country have tended to give a new significance to this gathering. Mr. Hoover once described it as "a red carpet leading to a party," and from Cannes, where the Prime Ministers of many countries had gathered, there comes the announcement that—despite the amazing circumstances attending the resignation of M. Briand—there is soon to be a "party" which will take the form of an economic conference to be held at Genoa on March 8. Thus the new watchword will be "back to Columbus."

In the larger sense, Washington, at best, will prove the preliminary to a new world conference, dealing with far greater issues, concerning many more countries, and if this in turn proves successful, it will mark the first concerted effort since the armistice to bring Allied nations and what were only recently enemy nations into cooperation for the common task of starting the world's economic watch to ticking again. And in looking backward over the recent events at

Washington, one must keep the European facts in mind.

We had a Washington Conference primarily because there were conditions in the Pacific Ocean, political conditions, which seemed to our own statesmen dangerous. To the questions of the Pacific were added those of armament. Logically it was perceived that if political conditions could be satisfactorily dealt with, then there was every reason in the world why the race for naval supremacy should be called off and the costs of construction and the incidental dangers of competition abolished.

We disposed of the political questions in the Four Power Treaty, which at once provided for the elimination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and supplied the basis for peace in the regions of the Pacific Ocean by committing all four great powers to a declaration recognizing as inviolable the rights and possessions of one another. This done, we passed to the negotiation of a Five Power Treaty, which fixed naval strengths.

Unfortunately, while it was possible to arrive at a political settlement in the Pacific, preceding a naval arrangement, it was not possible, for obvious reasons, to reach any political settlement in the case of European conditions. Since it was not possible, European political conditions had properly been left off the agenda of the Washington Conference. This fact, however, imposed a necessary limitation upon the military and naval settlements which could be arranged and explained in totality the momentary disappointment over the submarine dispute.

Yet Americans should perceive, with respect to the submarine, that the attitude of France, which was in reality the attitude of Italy and is the attitude of most, if not all, of the weaker naval powers in Europe and in South America both, was, so far as France was concerned, based upon the fact that no political settlement had been made in advance or could be made in advance. And Americans must also remember that we should naturally and necessarily have refused a naval limitations program had we failed to get our political settlement first.



In all I have to say this month I desire to keep this point clear, for it is the key to what has happened and will happen in the European field. The Conference of Cannes, proceeding concomitantly with that of Washington, was in reality seeking to reach political solutions. If those agreements reached prior to M. Briand's departure can be confirmed in private discussions between Lloyd George and M. Poincaré, then the way will be cleared for economic discussions at Genoa. In any case, economic reconstruction, like limitation of naval armament, must follow, not precede, political settlements.

As it stands, the Washington Conference is plainly drawing to its close. In broad lines we know most of what it will accomplish. It has destroyed an old situation in the Pacific which was full of danger. It has opened a new phase. It has brought an association of four nations, which takes the place of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and will, in due course, replace that other private pact, the Franco-Japanese Alliance. It has interrupted the conscious pitting of Japanese strength against American, and the consideration of the Pacific as the scene of a new war.

Quietly, but no less significantly, Britain has accepted the equal strength of another nation upon the seas. In less than ten years British supremacy on the blue water will have ceased, but even during that time all building against her by America, all Anglo-American competition in battleships and bankruptcy, will have been prevented. But nothing was possible until the political circumstances had been faced.

British statesmanship, which is very far-seeing, perceived last summer that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance must go. It determined that it should be replaced by some sort of a three-power arrangement between Japan, Britain, and ourselves. The Four Power Treaty is the realization of British purpose. The presence of France as a signatory is the result of an American wish.

## II. THE FOUR POWER PACT

When on December 10, in the Plenary Session, Senator Lodge presented the Four Power Treaty, there was general recognition in this country that this treaty represented the operation of clearing the way for the naval limitation. All the negotiations up to that moment had been developed toward this removal of the obstacles,

chief of which was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. What the country did not perceive and unfortunately Senator Lodge neglected to make clear was that the treaty covered, not merely the colonial possessions of the signatory nations, but the homeland of Japan.

We had then a moment of bewilderment when, after Mr. Hughes had on three successive days announced that the mainland of Japan was included within the meaning of the language of the treaty, President Harding flatly asserted on the fourth day that the opposite was the case. A few hours later the President issued a formal statement acknowledging that his commissioners had signed the treaty believing it applied to the mainland.

Now we have here to consider, not the reasons for the accidental lack of complete liaison between President and Secretary of State, but the bearing of the two translations of the document upon the situation. In the first place: How did the American commissioners come to consent to the inclusion of the mainland of Japan? The reason is simple: They did it, as they have now explained privately, because they did not regard the point as important.

What happened was that when the language of the treaty had been agreed upon Mr. Balfour raised the question as to whether islands and dominions in the region of the Pacific included the main islands of Japan. There was discussion and Mr. Balfour insisted that he and his associates held this view because Australia and New Zealand were included and, being sovereignties like Japan, would feel their dignity affronted if they should be protected like the Philippines while Japan was not. Mr. Shidehara, representing Japan, demurred, insisting that Japanese pride would be hurt if the mainland of Japan received even the color of a guarantee which was not extended to the mainland of the United States, and that Japanese prestige would suffer.

In the end, as so often happened, Mr. Balfour had his way. Japan was included. Our delegates, Mr. Hughes in particular, expressed no opinion, for they regarded the question as outside of their field of interest. For them the Four Power Treaty was a mere self-denying ordinance. For them it meant no more than an agreement to respect the rights and integrity of other nations, and they were quite as ready to respect the integrity of the main islands of Japan as of

the outer fringe of her mandated territories.

No one quite knows why Mr. Lodge made no reference to this fact in his address, yet it would seem—and his friends say this—that he held to the American view that the point was unimportant. It would seem, too, that there was a suggestion, perhaps made by Mr. Balfour, that the point be not stressed, since, if it were, the Japanese might take umbrage and feel that there had been just such a reflection upon their honor as their Ambassador, Mr. Shidehara, had suggested. And that seems to be the whole story of the incident.

But when the President's comment provoked nation-wide discussion, then there were two odd repercussions. In Japan the opposition took just the line Mr. Shidehara had foreseen, while in the United States there was much protest against a unilateral provision, no matter how tenuous were the commitments it carried with it. Happily a solution was not difficult to find. Japan and the United States both had strong reasons in domestic politics for a restatement of the meaning of the treaty, and France had not the smallest interest in objecting. Therefore it was clear that Mr. Balfour could not long hold out in defense of that provision which he had put in in order to salve the pride of Australia.

The way out has been taken. Already agreement has been reached upon the form of a protocol, a note which will be exchanged between the signatories to the Four Power Treaty, asserting that each accept the meaning of the language therein contained as having no reference to the main islands of Japan. With this agreement dies all the agitation in the Senate in favor of a reservation to this effect, and similarly the opposition in Japan loses its argument against the treaty.

Undeniably the whole episode was unfortunate. It gave the impression, which I do not think was in the least warranted, that an attempt had been made to deceive. Simple explanations are seldom acceptable, but are more than once accurate, and I am inclined to think the real explanation lay in the failure of the American delegation to perceive that the question had any real importance, and therefore their omission to stress it was natural. They saw it simply as a question between Japan and Great Britain and accepted the decision of these countries. What they were concerned with was the extinction of the Anglo-Japanese

Treaty and the avoidance of any commitment by us which should even take the form of an alliance.

More serious, but by no means of incurable character, was the failure to extinguish the Franco-Japanese Treaty, as well as the Anglo-Japanese. The two documents are equally undesirable from the American point of view, and American ratification of the Four Power Treaty would hardly precede the extinction of this agreement between two of the signatories, which binds them to a variety of coöperations on the mainland of Asia. But doubtless this omission will be rectified in the Nine Power Treaty which will deal with questions on the mainland of Asia.

As to the Four Power Treaty, in return for the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, which we regarded as dangerous, we have agreed to respect Japanese and British rights and sovereignty in the Pacific and to confer and consult in case of differences of opinion between the signatories or between a signatory and an outside power.

### III. THE SUBMARINE

Turning now to the debate over the submarine, we have a far more complicated matter to deal with. At the outset of the Conference the United States declared for the submarine and placed at 90,000 the tonnage desired by us. This stand represented the opinion of our naval advisers and was supported by a unanimous report of the Advisory Committee appointed by President Harding to supplement the labors of the delegates themselves.

When Mr. Hughes presented this view on November 12, Mr. Balfour instantly took exception to it and opened the debate over the advisability of banning the submarine altogether. From the outset it became clear that Britain stood alone in her position against the submarine, and for obvious reasons, since for her and for her alone, the submarine was a deadly weapon in the hands of any enemy. But France, Japan, Italy and most other countries, including many not represented at the Conference, argued that it was the weapon of the future and the main arm of countries whose finances did not permit them to build capital ships.

I shall not trace here the course of the debate, but merely note that as it progressed Mr. Hughes became more and more

impressed with British arguments and his championship of the submarine grew weaker and weaker. On the other hand, the French and Italian positions did not change and they were substantially supported by many other nations not at the Conference.

But the French position had a double character. It was naval, as expressed by French naval experts; it was also political. The French said quite frankly: "You had a situation in the Pacific which troubled you, a political situation, and before you agreed to a naval limitation you got rid of your political situation by a political treaty, namely, the Four Power Pact. Now we in Europe have a situation, a political situation. Until we can get rid of it we cannot disarm; cannot accept a limitation of what we feel may prove our chief weapon in the future. Moreover, why should you ask us to do it, since you have already declared for the submarine and have insisted upon a political solution for your troubles before you made a naval agreement?"

This meant, stripped of all disguises, that France desired that her relations with Britain should be cleared up before she agreed to lay aside a weapon which alone allowed her to cope with Britain upon the high seas. If Britain gave France an alliance, then the submarine matter would have no further value, just as when Japan and Britain agreed to drop the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, we could consider naval limitation. But if Britain refused a guarantee, an alliance, France meant to retain her freedom of action.

British policy was quite clear. It aimed at depriving France of this weapon by invoking American aid, and if it succeeded, then France would have no real card to play in Europe in pressing for an alliance. What actually happened then—and it was most unfortunate—was that the American program became involved in a political affair in Europe; became a detail in that conflict which has been going on between France and Britain for nearly three years over European questions.

That France intended to build a great submarine fleet no one imagined. Since the armistice France has built five submarines, Britain forty-two, and the United States forty-four. Since 1917 Britain and the United States have doubled their naval strength; France has reduced hers below that of 1914. What the French were after was to retain freedom of action until such

time as they could make their terms in Europe, just as the British had refrained from scrapping the Anglo-Japanese Alliance until they had obtained our promise to join in a Four Power Pact. The difference was that the French were bargaining with the British, while the British were bargaining with us.

As a consequence the proposed limitation of the tonnage of submarines and the suggested banning of them went by the board, since France would not consent to accept a tonnage less than that of Britain or the United States. Both countries refused all limitation and Britain declined similarly to accept any limitation on all auxiliary ships, which are in fact the anti-submarine weapons.

This failure was accompanied by a wide, but it seems to me totally unjust, wave of anti-French sentiment in the country. Now when the Cannes conversations, although interrupted, have led to the drafting of an Anglo-French Alliance, the American people can perhaps think a little more clearly in the matter and perceive that the French stand here is the real explanation of the Anglo-French Alliance which seems now on the way.

France felt herself alone in Europe. We and the British had promised her a guarantee through the treaty Britain ratified and our Senate did not. But in return for the promise she had divested herself of much protection. She had agreed to abandon the Rhine frontier. Having abandoned her claims, having paid in advance, she did not get what had been promised her, and in the new situation she felt entitled to hold on to her cards until she obtained her guarantee.

If, before this article reaches my readers, that Anglo-French Alliance framed at the Cannes conference is accepted, then the submarine issue may be dismissed. There will be no more talk about the coming conflict between France and Britain. And it is worth noting that while British condemnation of the French course in Washington was almost violent, Mr. Lloyd George and M. Briand resumed their friendly relations at Cannes precisely as if nothing had occurred.

The truth as to the submarine was and is the one item in our program which, for quite obvious reasons, had a significance in European politics. It was a basis of maneuver between Britain and France, both playing for our support and approval. It was

always a political, not a naval, question, and therefore it had to be settled by political, not naval, adjustments.

Turning now for a moment to the question of the regulation of submarines under Root resolutions, I warn my readers against too broad assumptions. What has happened is no more than that the powers represented in Washington have agreed to reaffirm that state of law which existed before the World War and to promise among themselves not to imitate German violations of international law. Before the war treatment of merchant vessels was strictly regulated. But the Germans refused to observe any of the laws.

At Washington it is agreed that submarines must be operated as were warships before 1914. Merchantmen must be visited and searched, not sunk on sight, and passengers and crews must be taken off. But this was the law before the German foray. As to the prime point, "What is a merchantman?" it has not been settled. The British arm all their merchantmen in war. The French law authorizes the sinking of all armed ships. Therefore the way is still open for a vast amount of trouble, and in failing to define merchantmen the Washington Conference has really begged the question, although reports of its decisions give the impression that it has done something of great importance.

As a result of the Franco-British situation the submarine and auxiliary ships, cruisers and the like, remain unregulated as to numbers or size, so far as the submarine is concerned, although the cruiser is limited both as to size and calibre of cannon. This may mean that in the future we shall have intensive competition in these fields, as in aircraft, which also escape without restrictions, or it may mean that new conferences, following new political agreements, will lead to an application to the more modern weapons of those limitations now applied to the obsolescent battleship by the Conference.

#### IV. THE FIVE POWER TREATY

I have discussed the submarine in advance of the question of naval ratio because, at least in the contemporary press, it had a place of greater importance. It remains now to discuss the question of the limitation of capital ships, which, in the minds of most Americans, substituted the main business of the Washington Conference. Everyone recalls

that on November 12, in his opening speech, Mr. Hughes proposed that the United States, Japan, and Great Britain should undertake to reduce their naval strength, which was to be represented by the ratio 5-5-3, the smallest figure representing the Japanese strength. He proposed also that there should be a ten-year holiday in naval construction and that at the end of that period the United States, Great Britain, and Japan should possess approximately 500,000 tons of capital ships for the first two and 300,000 tons for Japan.

Substantially this result has been arrived at and will be embodied in the Five Power Treaty which, as I write, is being drafted. In the course of the negotiations the Japanese insisted that they should be permitted to keep their great new ship, the *Mutsu*, which was to them an object of patriotic pride. This Japanese claim, quite reasonable in the premises, led to a modification of the program as proposed by Mr. Hughes, and as a consequence of the modification the United States will scrap two old ships and complete two post-Jutlands now nearly finished—the *Colorado* and the *Washington*, giving us three post-Jutlands—the *Colorado*, the *Maryland*, and the *Washington*. Great Britain will be free to construct two super-Hoods, but the ratio of strength as between the three Great Powers will remain unchanged, as will all the other conditions proposed by Mr. Hughes.

Having completed the negotiations as between the three principal naval powers, Mr. Hughes turned to the case of France and Italy. Here he encountered momentary objections on the part of the French, who presented a program calling for ten new capital ships. It turned out, however, that the French claim was based on the statement made by Mr. Hughes in his opening speech that the ratio established for capital ships would be maintained in the case of submarine and auxiliary cruisers.

An exchange of notes between Mr. Hughes and M. Briand led to the French acceptance of a ratio of 1.75, representing substantially their present strength in capital ships, and Italy accepted the same figure. As I have said, France advanced her claim to ten battleships, not with the idea of building these battleships, but merely for obtaining the ten-battleship ratio with respect to submarine and auxiliary ships, and this was the first maneuver for the submarines which I have already explained.

As yet undisclosed and still requiring that



elucidation which the full text of the Five Power Treaty will supply is the agreement which we have entered into with respect to the fortifications which we possess or have planned in our island possessions west of Honolulu. To judge by such explanations as have yet come from official sources, we have obtained the Japanese agreement to scrap the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and to accept the 5-5-3 ratio of capital ship strength, first, by agreeing to the Four Power Treaty, and second, by promising in the Five Power Treaty that for a period of ten years we shall refrain from extending in any way our fortifications in Guam or in the Philippines. We are not to dismantle such fortifications as we have, but, on the other hand, we are not to add to them in any respect.

This means that we have made a bargain with Japan in the Pacific by which we both accept a limitation of naval strength. We both join in the mutual assurance contained in the Four Power Treaty, and we and the Japanese both pledge ourselves not to fortify our possessions outside of our homeland area, this area including for us the Hawaiian Islands, with the naval base of Pearl Harbor.

From the point of view of naval strategy, Guam is the key to the Pacific and, unless we fortified this island and created there a naval base, we should be unable to use our fleet either to attack Japan or to defend the Philippines. Japan has exacted from us an agreement not to transform Guam into a naval base, which assures her full immunity from American attack by sea and by war fleet.

We have then arrived at this situation: We have agreed with Japan to stop what had become, in a sense, naval competition. Consciously or unconsciously, each nation had begun to look upon this naval building as directed against the other. Moreover, all naval experts had agreed that we could defend the Philippines only by fortifying Guam. Now we have agreed with Japan in the Four Power Treaty that she shall respect our island possessions and we will respect hers, and, accepting this bargain as made in good faith, further reason for fortifying Guam does not exist.

It will be observed that the limitation in naval strength, restriction of naval strength, and the provision of a naval holiday apply only to capital ships, although certain modifications have been accepted on all sides with respect to tonnage for airplane carriers and in the size of cannon to be employed upon

cruisers which are themselves to be restricted to 10,000 tons. This represents, with certain exceptions as to the use of submarines and a mutual agreement not to employ poison gas, unhappily not accompanied by any penalties for infraction, the practical results of the program for the limitation of naval armaments.

This achievement limits expensive competition—politically undesirable, financially expensive and practically futile in the minds of most naval experts who regard the battleship as doomed by reason of developments in aircraft. It will mean a saving of money, although the saving will be far less considerable than the general public has expected. It will remove a rivalry in engines of destruction which, if not provocative of war, certainly would not promote international confidence. The notion that the size of armaments is a cause of war seems to me totally fallacious. To record the achievements in the limitation of naval armament as a contribution to world peace is thus thoroughly misleading. The contribution to peace must be found in the political document which is the Four Power Treaty. Faithful observance of the spirit even more than the commitment of this document will contribute greatly to preventing war between the United States and Japan and to encouraging friendly relations. There is no reason why there should be a continuance of the suspicion which has existed on both sides of the Pacific that the two great nations on opposite shores were planning attacks upon each other.

## V. THE NINE POWER TREATY

In the introductory paragraphs to this article I have indicated that I shall not discuss here and now the Chinese questions. The reason is that, although all other issues before the Conference have reached a point where results may be described, we are yet in the dark as to the settlement which may be reached in the case of China.

For several weeks China and Japan have been pursuing conversations outside of the Conference with respect to Shantung. These conversations, frequently interrupted and, so far, abortive, have been marked by a series of offers made by China to purchase from Japan the Shantung Railroad and to extinguish Japanese claims upon Shantung growing out of the Japanese conquest of the German interest and the recognition in the

Treaty of Versailles of Japanese succession to German rights.

So far Japan has successfully evaded a settlement. She has maintained at all times a readiness to withdraw her troops, to evacuate Chinese territory, to turn over to China practically all of the real estate and buildings which she herself acquired from Germany and has largely added to. But always there has been some reservation in the Japanese proposal which prevented a completion of the actual evacuation and a total restoration of Chinese control of the railroad.

It would seem that Japan has decided either permanently to avoid settlement here or else to hold the Shantung question open until all other questions are closed and to make renunciation in the matter of Shantung only when her position in Manchuria and her policy in Siberia are definitely removed from review or discussion at the present Conference.

It was the impression at the beginning of the Conference, and still is the impression in many quarters, that Japan has at all times expected to give up Shantung, that this was the one sacrifice which she was prepared to make so far as China was concerned. You heard a forecast of such a Japanese action at the beginning of the Conference, and you still hear it, but there has been, on the whole, a decline in optimism on this point and, as I write, on January 11, the whole question of Japanese policy remains obscure to occidental vision.

Much stress is being laid in many quarters upon the fact that Chinese conditions are chaotic. It is alleged that, with the best intentions in the world, the American delegation finds it excessively difficult to do anything for a China so divided and so lacking in central government and unified policy. It is clear that if there is a failure of the Conference in the Chinese field, the explanation will be supplied by pointing to Chinese conditions.

On the other hand, one is bound to recall the fact that there has been an enormous disillusionment in Chinese quarters which may well have grave consequences in the future, both in the loss of American prestige and possibly in the increase in disorder in China, if Chinese hopes and expectations are as completely dashed in Washington as they were in Paris. At the present moment two of the three Chinese delegates are reported by those who should know to be resolved not to sign the Nine Power Treaty, which was to

cover all the Far Eastern questions affecting the mainland of Asia.

I do not intend to make any forecast here of what will happen. Optimism would suggest that in the end the Shantung question will be settled favorably to China, and other questions, while not settled, will not be prejudged; that is to say, the Conference will not endorse Japanese claims embodied in the Twenty-one Demands, while they will not undertake, forcibly or otherwise, to extinguish these claims.

By contrast, the pessimistic observer cannot fail to point out that the Four Power Treaty and the Five Power Treaty may take on a different aspect if, instead of being accompanied by a Nine Power Treaty disposing of the most acute problems of the mainland, they stand alone and are examined in the light of a failure to arrive at any settlement of Sino-Japanese difficulties.

As I am writing this article we are at a crisis—at what must prove the final crisis—of the Washington Conference, when the whole Far Eastern problem is being discussed and the conversations have so far failed to lead or to point to any satisfactory solution. It is quite clear that this situation may swiftly change even before this article reaches my readers, and I shall postpone until next month any further examination of this phase of the Conference, only inviting the attention of the reader to the fact that in the original American conception Far Eastern questions divided with the problem of the limitation of naval armaments both the interest and the concern of American statesmanship.

## VI. GENOA?

It remains now to mention very briefly the decision reached in Cannes to call an international conference on economic questions to meet in Genoa in March—a conference at which both the Germans and the Russians are to be present, and the European problem of reconstruction is to be viewed as a whole and discussed by representatives of the countries which have been separated for seven years as a consequence of war and the aftermath of war.

The extent to which the United States will participate in this conference at Genoa is not yet decided. It has, however, been made clear in recent days that the official American view is that the participation of the United States in European reconstruc-

tion can hardly be useful until two great questions of political character are disposed of. These questions are, obviously, German reparations and land armaments. So far all real reconstruction in Europe has been blocked by the failure of the Great Powers to agree as to how much Germany can pay and how much her conquerors can afford to compel her to pay.

As I have indicated, the battle waged here in Washington over the question of the size of the French army and the strength of the French navy was in reality no more than the attempt of Great Britain to enlist American aid to compel France to disarm, and thus to surrender her power to maintain her reparations policy against Germany, and the effort of France to resist such pressure. The proof of this would seem to be found in the fact that the British, having failed at Washington, have undertaken at Cannes to give France an alliance which, by removing all danger of fresh German aggression, deprives France of the chief justification for the preservation of her army at its present strength.

It is far from impossible that this Cannes agreement may prove to be a general liquidation of Anglo-French differences of view, precisely like that which followed the Fashoda episode nearly two decades ago and led to the formation of the Anglo-French Entente, which became at once a dominant factor in European affairs. It would be reasonable to suppose that France, receiving a guarantee of a military sort from Great Britain and certain assurances with respect to debts owed by France to Great Britain, will consent to reduce her army, to modify her demands for reparations, and to promote an economic reconstruction of Germany, since Germany will no longer have for her the threat of later aggression.

It is easy to go too far and too fast in expecting a solution of European problems, but it is not an exaggeration to assert that no amelioration is conceivable until French and British policies march together again. So far British and French policies steadily opposing each other have paralyzed all progress and promoted European political anarchy and financial ruin. There has been and there may remain the danger that the situation will be permitted to continue too long and all remedy come too late. Yet there is some reason for believing that an

Anglo-French agreement now, followed by an international conference which brings about international coöperation, may prove the turning point in the whole economic situation of the world.

As I write these closing paragraphs a new and striking change has taken place in the European situation. Briand has gone, Poincaré has been called to form a ministry, an Anglo-French Alliance drafted at Cannes awaits the decisions of a new French Ministry. And the changes in French politics, together with the proposal to invite Bolshevik Russia to the Genoa Conference, raise a question of American participation.

As a consequence of these sensational incidents, one may forecast far-reaching changes in European affairs, including the adoption by France of a drastic policy toward Germany. Yet there is equally good ground for prophesying that, in the end, on new terms more advantageous to France, perhaps, Anglo-French coöperation will be resumed.

In any event this seems true: Until there is a general liquidation of Anglo-French differences no international conference can go far. Even the Washington gathering, chiefly concerned with Pacific problems and naval issues, suffered severely as a consequence of Anglo-French differences. If Britain and France were to go to Genoa in the same frame of mind the results could hardly be useful. Poincaré has now to strive to obtain from Lloyd George a basis of agreement which France will accept. Pending this adjustment world reconstruction must wait, as it has waited for nearly three years.

Questions before the Washington Conference were rather negative than positive. They were political, not economic, and, apart from possible saving in the matter of ship construction, promised little in the way of remedying economic depression. For us, as for the world, real relief can come only when European markets are reopened, the purchasing power of European money improved, and some little measure of confidence restored. Genoa may not achieve all these things, but at least a long step forward may be taken, and the United States, having returned the visit of Lafayette in 1917, may perhaps with equal service to the world return that of Columbus by making a pilgrimage to his native city in 1922.

# THE NEW DIPLOMACY OF GOOD-WILL

BY A. MAURICE LOW

(Chief American correspondent of the *London Morning Post*)

[Mr. Low's position at Washington has given him exceptional opportunities for a thorough understanding of the questions involved, and of the methods and points of view of the various national groups, in the Conference. Though an Englishman, and the regular correspondent of a London newspaper, he has lived a long time in the United States and has written several books about American life and affairs. In his fine tribute, herewith, to the spirit of honesty and good-will that prevailed in the Conference, Mr. Low is undoubtedly expressing the general feeling of that remarkable group of British journalists and writers who have been an essential part of the Conference in its broader aspects.—THE EDITOR]

AS I write, the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament is drawing to a close. It might be the caution of wisdom to wait until the benediction is pronounced and to note the tone no less than the words of the final speeches and the farewell compliments before attempting to say whether the Conference has accomplished much or little. No voyage is complete until the vessel has tied up at the dock and the passengers have disembarked, because even in the sight of land ships have gone on the rocks. Yet I shall risk prediction while our good ship is still buffeting the waves, for I have faith in its stanchness and the skill and courage of the captain and his officers.

What has been done in the eight weeks (this is written in the first week of January) since the Conference listened to the address of welcome from President Harding? To most persons the material achievements seem very great; great as they are, I relegate them to second place, for to me far greater and more vital is the spiritual achievement. One does not often couple things of the spirit with the work of diplomacy, yet I think the word is not misused.

Diplomats cannot always say what they think and know, for frankness is not always wise, and evasion is sometimes justified. We of the press have the advantage that we can speak frankly. That is not only our privilege, but on occasions it is our duty. I shall recognize that obligation.

When Mr. Harding issued his invitation to the Conference last summer there was a certain suspicion in the minds of statesmen of more than one nation. On its face the invitation was clear enough, but diplomacy

looks beneath the words to the motive. The United States had rejected the Versailles Treaty and given the world to understand that it proposed to plow its lonely furrow; now for it to take the initiative in a conference that should deal not only with the limitation of naval armament but also the adjustment of the political questions of the Pacific seemed not only inconsistent but dangerous. What was the American purpose? What did the United States expect to gain? What ambitions had she to satisfy? What price would she ask? And—perhaps more important than all—who would be the victim forced to pay?

## *Mr. Harding Confides in the Whole World*

I betray no confidence when I say these were the questions continually asked in the Foreign Offices of the world in the days immediately following the issuance of the President's invitation. Their repercussion was heard in the embassies at Washington. Nor was this attitude of doubt and distrust surprising. The President had somewhat defied the established canons of diplomacy; with characteristic American directness he had taken the short cut instead of going the long way around. In the practice of European diplomacy it is customary for public announcement of a proposal never to be made until it has been accepted in principle or definitely rejected. But Mr. Harding issued his invitation, and simultaneously took the whole world into his confidence. The world applauded, and the invitation was accepted. Accepted, yes; but somewhat in the same spirit that a man has been known to go to his friend's house to dinner; he goes because

he has no decent excuse to offer to stay away, but he wishes he hadn't been asked, as he fears the effect on his digestion.

The Conference easily divided itself into two main branches. There was no opposition to the reduction of navies. The world had gone mad on the sea. The three great naval powers—the United States, Japan, and Great Britain—were feverishly building; but whether against one another or for one another was a question often asked and never satisfactorily answered. Battleship-building was a symptom. The public, which seldom logically reasons but often is an intuitive logician, felt that battleships costing \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000 apiece were not toys to be played with, but weapons to be used to destroy. Who was to be destroyed? Was it the United States or Japan or England? Assurances that a strong navy was the greatest guarantee of peace carried no conviction. In all the countries the people were heavily burdened with taxation and were crying for relief; this relief could be obtained and the danger of war removed if the nations would call a halt on naval construction.

#### *Removing All Suspicion*

Desirable as that was, it seemed almost impossible of accomplishment because of the difficulties in the way and the political questions of the Pacific, which constituted the second branch of the Conference. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance few Americans liked, most of them regarding it as a menace and a threat to their safety. War between the United States and Japan was freely discussed. In that case what would England do? Would she, as the ally of Japan, make common cause with her? Would she, despite her alliance, join with the United States, or would she maintain neutrality?

More than once official British assurance had been given that the alliance was not in any way directed against the United States. But that did not relieve apprehension. Suspicion breeds fear. American suspicion of Japanese motives was matched by Japanese fear of American intentions. So long as this suspicion existed there could be no real friendship between the United States and Japan, and the resentment existing against England for her partnership with Japan put a strain upon Anglo-American relations. Yet England could not denounce her alliance with Japan without her consent; and Japan, because of the prestige it gave her,

would not willingly terminate the alliance unless it was to be superseded by a larger agreement to which the United States should be a party. That seemed impossible.

#### *Frankness of the Japanese*

In this atmosphere of suspicion Japan came to the conference table. That Japan was anxious about what was to happen in Washington, we who were closely watching affairs and using our discretion as to what we should write knew only too well. Japan feared she would be indicted at the bar of nations and that China would be her prosecutor. Japan was in no mood to be placed in the dock. She hoped that England would not desert her at this critical moment; she knew the anti-Japanese feeling existing in Australia and Canada. Repeatedly Japan had avowed that she desired to live on terms of friendship with the United States and the rest of the world; that she sought only business relations with China and not political control, but her protestations were cynically received.

In the short time that elapsed between the arrival of the Japanese delegation and the meeting of the Conference, the air cleared and the Japanese were convinced they were to be treated not as offenders but as equals. The myth of the "wily Asiatic" has long been an article of faith in America; it has been a firm conviction that when the Asiatic said yes he meant no, unless yes was to his own advantage. In Washington, certainly, the Japanese showed no wiliness. They were guilty of no guile and practised no tortuous diplomacy. They were as frank and outspoken as Mr. Hughes himself, and Mr. Hughes concealed nothing.

#### *The Bond Between England and America*

Friendship might have been blazoned on the walls of the Conference chamber. It was the motto of the Conference. It was written into every document. Nations were asked to forget their past suspicions and to put trust in each other. There was no foolish sentimentality, no belief that the morrow was to see the dawn of the millennium, no illusions to sink facts to lead to the inevitable disillusionment. The men who sat at the Conference table were hard-headed men of affairs with vast experience of human nature and political antagonisms, but who knew that statesmanship is the recognition of moral force.

England—speaking with the same frank-

ness to which I pledged myself at the beginning—came to Washington not suspicious of the intentions of America but somewhat puzzled. On both sides of the Atlantic we found it wiser to ignore inconvenient facts, yet it was only the fatuous who denied their existence. The two peoples unfortunately had been drifting apart since the war; on one side there had been irritation and on the other side recrimination; the responsibility need not be apportioned too nicely. This knowledge was disturbing, yet there seemed no way to cure a situation that if allowed to continue was bound to have dangerous consequences. Would the Conference make matters better or worse? This was the question often asked in those somewhat anxious days after the invitation was issued and before the guests assembled at the table.

That answer no one now need ask. Just as the United States and Japan have been brought closer together, so a bond has been established between England and the United States which I believe will endure. We have come to know each other better than ever before. We have come to understand and appreciate each other. It is not that Mr. Hughes is a great man or that Mr. Balfour has a great personality, great as their qualities are; it is something more than that, something more powerful than men. It is the spirit in which these men engaged in their task.

I am quite sure that no British or American delegate said that the duty was imposed upon them to set an example to the world, for the American no less than the Englishman has a horror of a display of emotion, and does not like the indecency of revealing his soul. Yet I am quite sure that that thought—that the world was looking to Washington for an inspiration—was never absent from the mind of any delegate. If British and Americans could not agree, if British and Americans could not compose their minor differences to serve a great cause, what hope was there for the world?

### *The New-Fashioned Diplomacy*

That hope has not been denied. The example set at Washington must have its influence. Honesty has prevailed where intrigue would have failed; the old-fashioned diplomacy has been succeeded by the higher morality. That, as I see it, is the spiritual gain that this Conference has yielded. It is not only that peace has been secured, that national animosities have been quieted, that

friction has been eliminated, but there is to-day a new conception of the relations between nations, and diplomacy has entered a new phase.

When Mr. Hughes rose in the Conference chamber for the first time and laid before the delegates the American naval program he did a dramatic thing. The world loves the dramatic. It is what everyone—statesman, diplomat, actor, politician—longs for. Mr. Hughes had not only kept a great secret—and no diplomatic secret had ever before been so well kept—but the boldness of his proposals, the manner in which they were to be executed, were so astounding as to be almost unbelievable. It was the manner as well as the method that appealed to the legendary man of the street, whose sense of the dramatic and the unexpected was touched, but under the surface there was something deeper to make its appeal.

We who listened to the Secretary of State on that day as he read his statement were moved. Mr. Hughes had violated all the rules of diplomacy. All thought of bargaining, of trading one point against another, was precluded. Here was an honest purpose to be accomplished; let it be accepted if other nations were animated by the same purpose; if not let it be rejected. The compromise of deceit was impossible.

On that high plane the Conference has moved. There have been differences of opinion to be reconciled, antagonistic views to be adjusted, national interests to be protected; men have honestly differed as to methods and the way to bring about results, but the discussion has been in the open and not whispered in the dark. The sleep of Talleyrand and Metternich must be disturbed; Bismarck must rub his eyes, if that is what they do there; Beaconsfield must bemoan a degenerate age, for the glamor and mystery of diplomacy have gone, and men engage in a diplomatic negotiation not as players with loaded dice but as honorable antagonists.

I do not refer to the actual achievements of the Conference, momentous as they have been, for that is the work of other writers, although in passing it may be said that no greater contribution has been made to the cause of peace than the "Four Power Treaty"; but I prefer to stress the lasting good that has come from the bringing together of nations by the removal of suspicion and the atmosphere of friendship and good-will that has been created.



Photographs © Harris & Ewing  
ARTHUR CAPPER

(United States Senator from  
Kansas)

WILLIAM S. KENYON  
(United States Senator from  
Iowa)

SYDNEY ANDERSON  
(Representative in Congress from  
Minnesota)

LEADERS OF THE SO-CALLED "AGRICULTURAL BLOC" IN CONGRESS

# THE AGRICULTURAL CRISIS AND THE "BLOC"

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

"**W**HAT is the 'agricultural bloc'?" I asked Senator Kenyon of Iowa, who is regarded as its leader.

"It isn't," he replied.

"Then how did it happen?"

"It didn't. A newspaperman invented the name for something that wasn't, and it sounded so well that the thing has been assumed to exist. An astronomer once calculated that there must be another planet, and where. They turned the telescopes there, and sure enough, found the 'new' planet and they named it Neptune. Well, the discovery of the agricultural bloc was just the reverse. First they named it; then they hunted for evidences that it must be there; finally, some people started looking for it—and it wasn't there at all. That's the difference. But the name was too good to lose, and so sticks despite the fact that there's no bloc, or anything else entitled to a name even suggesting such an organization."

Interesting and ingenious, if not quite convincing. It's hard to believe that something you see under the first-page headlines every day; something that's blamed for, or credited with, most of the commissions or omissions in

legislation; something that is described by the lady on your right as the one hope of saving the country, and by the lady on your left as the last word in political chicanery—it's a trifle difficult to be convinced, even when its presiding officer assures you, that this interesting phenomenon is entirely mirage.

## . *A Bloc That Is Not a Bloc*

Reducing to the simplest terms the varied impressions derived from the headlines, the news stories, the editorials, the ladies on right and left, the angry objurgations and ardent panegyrics, one gathers that the agricultural bloc is really no bloc at all; but that the name has been rather misapplied to a group of Senators and Congressmen, Republicans and Democrats alike, from States predominantly agricultural; acting pretty generally together in support of measures favored by, and in opposition to measures opposed by, their constituencies; rather eschewing discipline, and disposed to ignore party leadership and organization; determined to get what they want, when they want it, and not to take what they don't want, no



matter who urges it; as nearly "radical" as anything in our somber-hued Congressional politics ever gets; an "extreme left," not because it's extreme but because it's the extremest there is, whose members, tired of being steam-rollered, have gone steam-rollering. Flavor this recipe with a strong spice of the soil; recognize the fact that the bloc represents agriculture in a time when it is passing through the most acute crisis it has known, at least since the panic of 1837; concede that party affiliations everywhere are very much ropes of sand nowadays—and you will get pretty close to what the agricultural bloc is about.

"They're the only people who give any promise of saving the Republican party; they'll save it by forcing it to do the things it must do to be saved," said a Western Senator to an Eastern Senator. "If they can enlist some Democratic votes to help do that—why, so much the better."

"They're exactly the people who will wreck the party," was the short reply. "They want to be in the party only on condition of running it."

Where there is so wide divergence of view, it seems worth while to go back and survey the actual doings of this farm bloc from the beginnings. What are the evidences, for and against it? Does it want to wreck the Republican party, or to lead it, or to boss it? Does it seek to break with the Harding Administration, or sincerely wish to help it?

#### *Meetings of Senators from Farm States*

Last spring, at a time when the nationwide crisis in agriculture was not so generally realized as now, but when the Congressional representatives of the farm States already foresaw what was ahead, both economically and politically, Gray Silver, representative of the American Farm Bureau Federation in Washington, suggested a conference of a few Senators from the farm States. The meeting was at his office; Mr. Silver acted as secretary and Senator Kenyon as chairman. There were present Senators Kenyon (Iowa), Capper (Kan.), Gooding (Idaho), McNary (Ore.), LaFollette (Wis.), Ladd (N. D.), Norris (Neb.), all Republicans; Kendrick (Wyo.), Fletcher (Fla.), Shepard (Tex.), Heflin (Ala.), Democrats; and one or two others. Committees were named on transportation, rural credits, and general farm legislation; and there was a long discussion of how to help agriculture.

After that meetings were held each fort-

night or thereabouts, at the committee room of Senator Kenyon. The largest number of Senators ever present was twenty-two. Effort was directed to secure information and develop a program. Secretary of Commerce Hoover attended one meeting, and spoke at length on world conditions in agriculture, and what might be done to improve them. At another session Secretary of Agriculture Wallace discussed American agricultural conditions and needs. Again, Eugene Meyer, head of the War Finance Corporation, and some of his aides, gave their advice. Dr. Henry C. Taylor, chief of the Bureau of Markets, Department of Agriculture, was invited to tell about the alarming spread of tuberculosis in cattle, and the need of additional appropriation to combat it. The appropriation was later secured. On another occasion James R. Howard, president of the Farm Bureau Federation, described agricultural conditions in the West.

#### *Opposed Adjournment of Special Session in July*

These meetings were not secret; contrariwise, effort was directed to bring in as many legislators as possible because support was wanted. The farmers' appeal was voiced in House and Senate, but the farmers' representatives felt that they did not receive the attention to which they were entitled. The situation came to a crisis about July 1, last, when the Senate leadership undertook to pass a resolution adjourning the special session of Congress. The farm group stood together, against the adjournment, and defeated it by a handful of votes. This was the first overt defiance to party leadership; and it was rewarded with the invention of the name "farm bloc," and the active propaganda of charges that it was out to wreck the party in power.

The bloc members have not greatly minded the opposition. They have thrived on it. They point out that if they had permitted adjournment, the session would have failed to pass several important measures for agricultural relief. One of these restored the War Finance Corporation to functioning, authorizing it to advance funds from the Treasury, to banks and coöperative associations, to help the farmers market their crops. Under this provision advances of \$145,000,000 have been authorized for agriculture and \$38,000,000 for exports, and its advocates say it has saved the situation. The "dirt farmers" have complained that little of the

cash got to them; but one Mid-Western Senator estimates that it has saved 100 banks in his State alone, from failure, and declares the farmers have greatly benefited.

The refusal to adjourn also enabled passage of the "packers' bill," for regulation of the meat-packing industry in the farmers' interest; and the bill increasing the interest rate on the debenture bonds of joint-stock farm loan banks without increasing the rate the farmer must pay. This made it possible to put these banks back into active loaning on farm mortgages.

### *Bills Defeated by the Bloc*

On the other side, the bloc admits responsibility for defeating some measures. Senator Frelinghuysen (N. J.) sponsored a bill to relieve the coal situation by requiring lower freight rates on coal in summer, thus inducing people to buy coal at lower prices and avoid congestion of this traffic in fall and winter. The bill probably would have passed had not the bloc stood ready, whenever it came up for consideration, to offer amendments repealing Section 15-a of the Cummins-Esch railroad act. This is the section that authorizes railroad rates high enough to earn 6 per cent. on their investment. The bloc insists that this provision keeps rates so high that the traffic can't move, thus defeating its own purpose of helping the railroads, leaving business paralyzed and the farmer with his unsold products on his hands. The bloc objects to giving the railroads a guarantee of capital earnings, at a time when farmers are suffering and guarantees for them are not thought of. The bloc demands that freight rates come down, and protests that this is no selfish insistence, because all other business is demanding the same thing.

Again, the bloc prevented passage of the bill authorizing the funding of the railroads' debts to the Government; it stood ready, if that measure should come up, to offer the same amendment to repeal the 6 per cent. guarantee; and as the leaders were not willing thus to have the whole railroad question opened up for discussion and its Pandora's collection of political troubles loosed, that bill also was dropped.

Its attitude toward those two measures seems to constitute the chief basis for charges that the bloc acts the part of a dog in the manger. There is, indeed, an impression that it defeated the proposal to lower the high classifications of income taxes. The bloc leaders deny this, and point to the record. It

shows that when the tax bill was before the House these "brackets" were reduced from 50 to 32 per cent. The Senate restored them to 50. There was a conference at Senator Capper's home on the subject, but only two of the bloc were present. Senator Lodge, Republican leader and hardly to be suspected of sympathy with the bloc, was present. The House, when the bill was returned with the Senate amendments, was confronted with a letter from the President urging a compromise on 40 per cent.; but it refused this counsel and accepted the Senate's 50 per cent. On that vote about ninety Republicans bolted party leadership, even Mr. Campbell of Kansas, chairman of the Rules Committee, that arc of leadership covenant, being among them. All the bloc members voted with the insurgents, and that vote is the chief basis for the common statement that the bloc numbers about 100 members in the House. But it has no effective organization in the House; there is merely a general sympathy with the Senate movement, taking the form of insurgencies which at times leave the party leaders in insecure position.

The bloc supported the emergency tariff program, which was chiefly in the interest of agriculture; but that was a party measure. Prominent bloc members now declare the measure saved the wool industry, but was of small or no benefit to wheat and corn; and some of them add significantly—which gives shivers to Republicans from the industrial States—that the West is rapidly turning toward free trade.

### *A High-Tariff Group of Senators*

At this point comes a complication. A new bloc of Western Senators is lately come into existence, whose program is to maintain a high tariff on the farmer's products and fight the alleged tendency toward free trade. This group includes some of the farm bloc members, but in the main is independent; it claims Senators Gooding (Idaho), McNary (Ore.), Sterling (S.D.), Nicholson (Colo.), Phipps (Colo.), Bursum (N. M.), Stanfield (Ore.), Shortridge (Cal.), Johnson (Cal.); Ladd (N. D.), Capper (Kan.), all Republicans. This group has been holding lunches to discuss plans, and it enjoyed the sympathy of the late Senator Penrose, who favored its program. He believed in tariff for everybody, and wanted to give the farmers plenty in order to keep them in line for his program of high duties on industrial products.

This high-tariff farm group is aggressive,

and its activities suggest that it may be designed as a counter-irritant, perhaps a means to splitting the farm bloc. There is undeniably a good deal of tariff insurgency, which suggests conditions of 1909, when a group of determined Republicans led by Senator Dolliver bolted the Payne-Aldrich tariff act, voted against it, appealed to their constituents, and were generally sustained. The present high-tariff Western group is the potential nucleus around which to organize for a powerful fight against any such recrudescence of tariff heresy in the West. It is too early for predictions, but the possible disintegration of the bloc movement on this issue is apparent.

#### *A Fight Within the Republican Party*

One thing can be set down with much confidence. It is that, despite a good deal of third-party talk that comes from the West, there will be no support for that sort of thing from the men now in places of political leadership. They want to maintain the tradition of regularity along with the substance of independence as to particular questions. The recollection of 1912 is fresh in their minds. The tariff split of 1909 was followed by a party split and the Progressive party's rise—and fall. This time, if one is to judge by present indications, there may be a series of sharp contests in Western States for control of the Republican organization. The label "Republican" is the most valuable political trade-name in the world to-day. It will not be surrendered by any of the political leaders without a struggle; and, so far at least as concerns the responsible public men at Washington, these contests will be kept inside the party if it is possible. Continued business depression might cause some proportion of voters to follow a third-party movement; but the leaders will require to be pushed mighty hard before any considerable number of them will do so. As to the possibility of any magnetic, commanding leadership, such as Roosevelt's, to place such a movement on a nation-wide basis, it plainly is not now in sight.

Taking this view of the general political situation, it is possible to inquire further into the purpose and program of the farm bloc, without developing undue heat. Its Republican members insist that they are just as good Republicans as anybody; and there are testimonies that their constituents back home think they are rather better. The business of reading constituencies out of parties has

never been much in favor with politicians. When they break out despite the leaders, they are apt to be welcomed back without much protest, if they want to come. It used to be said that Roosevelt suppressed the Populists by adopting a large part of their program; and when he, in turn, led half his party out of the fold, he was able to come back again on terms that would have restored the unquestioned leadership to him, in 1920, had he lived.

Altogether, there is little reason to fear that the bloc leaders will leave, or be thrown out; and, as to the masses of voters behind them, these have the recollection of deep-seated disaffection with Democratic administration so fresh in mind that the danger of their bolting is apt to be overestimated. As the bloc politicians see it, the one real danger is that unless their program is adopted to the extent necessary to give the farmers a fair chance, there may be a sufficient shift of votes to the Democrats to make Republican domination insecure.

#### *Coöperative Farm Marketing*

The bloc wants three more main concessions in legislation. First is an agricultural marketing law, such as the President advocated in his last message to Congress. Already the House has passed a bill which exempts coöperative farm-marketing organizations from the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Its constitutionality is feared by the bloc lawyers who want it doctored in the Senate. They propose to provide that coöperative associations of farmers may submit their charters to the Secretary of Agriculture, who is made a bumper between them and the Sherman Act; if he decides that they are proper, that decision bars prosecution under the Sherman Act. It is believed this remedies the constitutional defect, and indications are that in this form it will be pressed.

In demanding a legalization of combinations for marketing purposes, the farmers protest that they are not asking class legislation. They say that the nature of his business makes it impossible for the farmer to effect great corporate consolidations such as exist in transportation and industry. Yet he must have the right of consolidated buying and selling, if he is to conduct his business efficiently. They say that a hundred iron and steel companies may consolidate into a great corporation which enjoys the privilege of unified buying and selling; but that there is no way for a hundred farmers to effect a

like consolidation without violating the Sherman Law. So they demand that a method of unifying their business operations be afforded to them, just as to the industrial combinations. They point out that the farmer is the only business man who is compelled both to buy and to sell in a market that he has no power to make. He sells to the wholesaler, he buys from the retailer; he sells in the cheapest, and buys in the dearest market; all the profits of turnovers and middlemen are taken out of his selling price before it is paid to him; while all the profits of turnovers, manufacturing, and middlemen are added to his buying price before it is quoted to him; both ends work against the middle, and the farmer is the middle. So he asks that a plan of consolidating his buyings and sellings shall be provided for him. He protests that this is done for other kinds of business, and unless it is done for him he cannot continue producing.

Secretary Wallace recently stated the case of the farmer in a manner that commands nation-wide attention, saying the country has come to the point where it must decide whether it will be predominantly industrial, or will give the farmer a fair chance and retain its old character as both an industrial and an agricultural community.

Far from admitting that the things asked are of the nature of class privilege, the farm bloc insists that there are quite as much in the interest of the consumer as of the producer. They say that already one-fourth of the farmers are bankrupt, and that unless there is quick relief the falling off in production in 1923 will be so great as to precipitate serious shortages of all agricultural staples. They add that to permit the farmer to consolidate his transactions would be the most effective approach to the problem of lowering the distribution costs which are everywhere regarded as excessive and largely responsible for the exaggerated cost of living.

Finally, the farmers urge with especial vehemence that no other country in the world places them at the disadvantages, in this problem of coöperative buying and selling, that are imposed in this country. They say that the farmers of Ireland, of Denmark, of France, have for many years conducted the same kind of coöperative societies that are wanted in this country, and that in those countries anyone who would propose a Sherman law to prevent such activities would be regarded as a lunatic. They point to the great agricultural coöperative societies in

Russia, and urge that these, far from being a menace or monopoly, are the most potent support for the maintenance of law and order that now exists in that troubled country.

### *Rural Credit Facilities*

The bloc demands a representative of agriculture on the Federal Reserve Board, insisting that the country's greatest single industry ought to be insured such representation at all times.

It is demanded that a proper rural credit system be set up, to furnish the farmer with financial instrumentalities suited to his especial requirements, just as the coöperative societies are intended to meet his peculiar marketing needs. It is pointed out that corporate business concerns have the privilege of raising their fixed or plant capital by selling mortgage bonds, just as the farmer places a mortgage on his land. But there the analogy ends. Through the bank, the manufacturer or merchant can borrow money for short periods, as working capital to carry him over seasonal periods of large demand. His turnover is rapid, consequently he needs to borrow only on short time. But the farmer has at best only one turnover in a year, while in livestock and some crops the turnover period may be several years. Consequently, the farmer cannot borrow on a three- or four-months note without taking a chance that when his paper matures he will be called upon to pay when he is not ready.

So it is demanded that some plan be devised for lending to farmers through coöperative or other associations formed for the purpose, on terms and for periods suited to his requirements. The plan most favored is to have these loans made through coöperative associations of farmers which may issue debenture bonds representing a considerable aggregate of individual loans. These bonds would sell to investors everywhere, and command access for the farmer to a body of capital not now available to him.

Again, the farmers declare they are asking no special consideration, but only to be given facilities as well adapted to their needs, as other business men enjoy. They say it is necessary for the entire community to give them this, else they will be unable to produce. They point out that the rapid deflation in farm products has forced reduction of livestock so fast that there is now one-third less cattle than in 1900, though the population has greatly increased; that the

sacrifice of sheep, and retirement of herdsmen from the business have brought the country's flocks down to one-third their numbers twenty years ago; that the great hog-producing States have fewer hogs than forty years ago, when the country's population was about half what it is now. These figures mean approaching shortage, excessive prices for the consumer, and a long, painful period of restoration, if indeed agriculture could ever be fully restored after such a disastrous shrink.

The commonest reply of the non-agricultural people to this presentation of the farmer's hard case, is that the farmer is suffering, along with all other people, from the war's disastrous effects, and that like the rest he must "somehow sweat through it" till better times return. The bloc's answer is that the farmer cannot live through it without provision of such special facilities as are already at the command of others. The farmer has never been on a parity with others in these regards, so he cannot stand a special strain as others can. The bloc stands for immediate measures to meet, not only the emergency precipitated by the war, but the conditions that had been developing for many years before the war, and that would ultimately have brought crisis even had there been no war. They want permanent, more than emergency, measures. They are not to be argued out of these, for they know how grave are the conditions with which their people at home are confronted.

#### *Farmers Facing Ruin*

The gravity and universality of the disaster faced by agriculture is not questioned in any informed quarter. Indeed, the more complete the information, the more distressing is the picture. When the slump in prices of farm products came, the farmer naturally turned to the banks for aid. These, already in many cases extended to the limit, could not rescue him; they have done their best, but the task has been too great. Crops and livestock produced at the highest costs have sold at the lowest prices in many years. Every agricultural State reports farmers by thousands leaving their farms. Tenant farmers, literally armies of them, have been turning over everything to their landlords and going away to seek employment. They cannot carry the burden longer. In one grain-belt county in October thirty-eight bankruptcy petitions were filed, twenty-one by farmers; a year before, one farmer

became a bankrupt. Farmers have until this crisis been almost unknown in bankruptcy proceedings; now they number thousands every month in the great farm States. Yet formal bankruptcy is not the usual procedure; commonly, they just "give up and quit."

At a foreclosure sale in North Dakota horses sold at \$2, wagons at \$5, binders at \$10, because nobody had money to pay more, and few wanted such unprofitable possessions. A thoroughly informed dealer in agricultural implements writes from one of the best farming States that fully 35 per cent. of the farmers in his county are bankrupt, and unless relieved soon many more will go under. It is calculated by Senator Capper that the slump in farm products' prices has aggregated 68 per cent., and that present selling prices are hardly better than one-half the cost of production. The country's loss on livestock is placed at \$2,250,000,000, and on other farm products at \$8,500,000,000.

#### *Findings of the Commission of Agricultural Inquiry*

Congress has recently received a section of the report which is to be made by its Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry, comprising five Senators and five Representatives. The commission declares that the farmer's profits during the war were but slightly greater than in 1913, and were swept away by the decline in prices in 1920 and 1921. The crop of 1920 was sold below its cost of production, while that of 1921 is going for much less. Unable to buy it, farmers are using too little fertilizer, thus overdrawing on soil fertility. The country is constantly using less and less meats because of high prices to the consumer, while the grower of livestock is sacrificing his herds because of the low price he receives! Calves especially are being slaughtered in excessive numbers—a situation full of menace for the future meat supply. In the last decade the number of mortgages on farms operated by their owners has more than doubled, and the amount of mortgages has increased more, proportionately, than the value of lands and buildings.

One of the chief grievances of the farmer is the instability of prices in relation to quantity produced. The Commission quotes high economic authority for the statement that "a deficiency of one-tenth will increase the price three-tenths, and a deficiency of

two-tenths will increase the price eight-tenths." That is where the consumer suffers. Conversely, excess production causes equally disproportionate sags in price, to the farmer's fearful disadvantage. In his last address to Congress President Harding stated this case most impressively when he said:

It is rather shocking to be told, and to have the statement strongly supported, that 9,000,000 bales of cotton, raised on American plantations in a given year, will actually be worth more to the producers than 13,000,000 bales would have been. Equally shocking is the statement that 700,000,000 bushels of wheat, raised by American farmers, would bring them more money than a billion bushels. Yet these are not exaggerated statements. In a world where there are tens of millions who need food and clothing which they cannot get, such a condition is sure to indict the social system which makes it possible.

The foregoing are skeletonized suggestions regarding the conditions which the Commission of Agricultural Inquiry has found. This Commission was not composed entirely of men from the agricultural States. Its members were Congressmen Sydney Anderson of Minnesota, chairman; Ogden L. Mills of New York, Frank H. Funk of Illinois, Hatton W. Summers of Texas, Peter G. Ten Eyck of New York; Senators Irvine L. Lenroot of Wisconsin, Arthur Capper of Kansas, Charles L. McNary of Oregon, Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, and Pat Harrison of Mississippi.

#### *President Harding's Views—A National Conference Called*

Shortly after the first section of the Commission's report was published, President Harding, recognizing the extreme seriousness of the situation, which he had already brought forcefully to the attention of Congress, took a further step. On December 30 he sent to Secretary of Agriculture Wallace a letter asking him to call a national conference to consider the entire agricultural problem. In part he wrote:

We are all well aware of the severe agricultural depression which exists throughout the land and the extraordinary conditions which brought about the present situation. No one will pretend that the present conditions could have been avoided, but none of us is willing to agree that there ought not be some corrective and constructive steps taken to remedy the severe hardships under which so important a portion of our productive citizenship is struggling.

Such a conference might divide itself into two parts: one part to give consideration to our present-day difficulties which, though tem-

porary, are serious and need effective attention; the other part, a survey of the future in an effort to determine upon general policies, having in view the maintenance of production, the greatest possible use and at the same time the conservation of our agricultural resources, and the more complete coordination of our agricultural, manufacturing and general business interests.

It seems reasonably certain that, as the world comes out of the present period of disorganization, this country may find itself confronting new conditions which may very directly influence both our agricultural and industrial life. We should anticipate such changes and endeavor to prepare for them. It is unthinkable that with our vast areas, our unparalleled endowment of agricultural resources, our fertility of soil, our vast home market, and the great ability and resourcefulness of our farmers we should accept the status of a distinctly industrial nation. Our destiny seems to require that we should be a well-rounded nation with a high development of both industry and agriculture, supporting one another and prospering together. It must be, and I feel sure it is the national wish and purpose to maintain our agriculture at the highest possible efficiency.

It is unquestioned that a conference will bring us to a clearer understanding of the problems before us. I would like you to bring into the conference not only the ablest representatives of agricultural production, which shall represent our great country in the broadest possible way, but I think much good would come if you will include in the conference those who are engaged in industry most intimately associated with agriculture.

Pursuant to the President's direction, Secretary Wallace called the conference, to meet on January 23. Invitations were issued to over 200 representatives of agricultural organizations, and to leaders in other industries dependent on or intimately concerned with farm production. Its deliberations are expected not only to be of great importance in giving direction to legislative and administrative efforts in behalf of agriculture, but to mark an epochal departure toward a national policy for the future in relation to this industry. Of course, this conference's attitude toward the general program of the agricultural bloc will be accepted as of the utmost significance; and it is at least interesting that the bloc people were greatly delighted when they learned of the President's purpose to call such a gathering.

#### *Replies to Criticisms of the Bloc*

There has been sharp criticism of the bloc in some industrial and financial quarters, which insist that the farmers ask to be specially favored and wet-nursed by the Government at a time when everybody is in a bad scrape and the best way out is for each interest to look after its own troubles; and

that if the farmers were given the exemptions from anti-trust laws which they demand, they would presently be organized into so-called coöperative societies, clear up to the top, where a gigantic farmers' trust would control farm products absolutely.

"We have advocated no legislation of party or controversial character," said Senator Capper. "All farmers in the West and South are for it. We have not defied the majority in Congress; we simply try, like a big steering committee, to get coöperation in support of measures of common interest, nobody breaking from his political associations. The Republicans in the group feel they are doing the party a great service, and are anxious that the party get the credit for it. I have supported nothing I didn't think agreeable to the Administration, and in most cases I think the President, actively or tacitly, has helped us; we couldn't have won if he hadn't. He is stronger in the West than when he was elected, and these things have helped him.

"Secretary Wallace's Boston speech, warning the country that it is at the parting of the ways and must decide whether it will accept the status of a predominantly industrial country, with an agricultural peasantry, and increasingly dependent on imported agricultural products; or whether we will maintain a dual industrial basis, with a strong, progressive, growing agriculture alongside our industrial establishment, made a great impression, East and West alike. What he said was everlastingly true. The West has no unfriendly feeling toward the East, and the East is fast coming to understand what the West is getting at. They are our great market, and we are theirs. But there is an emergency now in agriculture, which is basic and fundamental. Until the farmer gets where he can live, nobody else can prosper.

"True, we want to reduce railroad rates. Who doesn't? All business wants it. When the farmer can't earn interest on his mortgage, why should a special policy for the railroads entitle them to earn interest on their mortgages and 6 per cent. on their stock as well? That was bad legislation, passed because all were tired of government operation; the only alternative was more government operation, more losses, and at last government ownership. We tried the guarantee solution, and it has not worked; the bloc is all for repealing the section, and I have a bill to do it."

Senator Kenyon was more aggressive in tone. He recounted what the bloc had demanded and gained, and what it still was fighting for, and added:

If you'll point out anything in that, destructive of government, or that conservative forces can oppose, please do. Even the banks know the farmer needs provision for longer-term credits. It's charged that our purposes are purely selfish. Well, personally, I've given as much time to liquor or to labor matters; I had charge of the maternity bill. Not a man among us has been merely selfish. We could have had party solidarity by dropping our demands for what we have got and are still trying to get; not otherwise. We get telegrams daily indorsing our course in behalf of important organizations. One to-day brought resolutions demanding that after next election there be more members of the farm bloc, adding, "and we think there will be."

While the bloc is credited with twenty-two Senate members and about 100 in the House, its membership and distribution in the Senate are much easier to specify than in the House. But the movement embraces nearly one-fourth of the membership of each branch, and its Senate and House sections are from the same parts of the country. There is no pretense of solidarity in voting on particular questions; some men break away on some issues, others on other issues. The Senate end of the bloc is comprised of about equal numbers of Republicans and Democrats; in the House the Republicans considerably outnumber the Democrats.

People who are concerned especially about political methods and forms have worried much lest the bloc meant the introduction of the European "group system" of parliamentary organization into our legislative scheme. But observers who have studied Congress for many years realize that there have always been various more or less defined groups, and that these worries have been entertained by generations of political authorities without damage to the two-party system. The adamant determination of all shades and types of Republican legislators to stick fast to their party labels, no matter how they may vote on particular measures, almost pathetically suggests how deeply they feel that they would be lost without that label and its guarantee of their regularity. The two-party system was never more firmly grounded. As between the two parties—well, that's another matter. The swing of tides that carries majorities now one way, now the other, is strong enough to imply that at least the political moon is losing nothing of its attraction.





THE THOMAS-MORSE PURSUIT PLANE DEVELOPED BY THE ARMY AIR SERVICE

# SAFETY IN FLIGHT

BY BRIG.-GEN. WILLIAM MITCHELL

**T**HE accidents which happened last summer to aircraft, both lighter-than-air and heavier-than-air, have fixed the public attention more strongly than ever on the danger inherent in flying.

There is always danger in locomotion, that is, in moving from one place to another, because in doing so one encounters other objects which either must be gone over, gone through, or avoided. In moving through the air, we have a highway which is ideal as compared to the surface of the water or the surface of the land. As the air pervades everything above the surface of the earth, we encounter no rivers, deserts, mountain lines, or coasts in the air, as we do on the surface of the earth. If we can make travel as safe through the air as it is on the surface of the earth, even if it costs more, a great proportion of the traffic will be handled by this means.

There are three principal elements that govern safety in flight. The first and most important is the character of the pilot who is handling the ship. This man must first of all be selected on account of his physique and general intelligence. Very complete investigations of this subject have been made by the flight surgeons of the United States Air Service. These officers have carried on all sorts of tests, beginning at the ground level and running up as high as 30,000 feet, and taking into consideration all the actual conditions

encountered in flying as well as many simulated or theoretical conditions. These studies have been going on for several years, and the conclusions drawn from them are very definite.

The pilot must have, above all, a good heart, good lungs and good eyes; must be accustomed to physical exercise; must be a man of endurance, who can stand long hours of fatigue; and must be one whose reflexes—that is, whose physical movements—can be quickly coördinated with his mental movements. Our young college man, who has played football, baseball, hockey, and polo, makes by far the best aviator; and we know from actual experience that our American youth of this class is superior to that of any other nation. The complexity of the modern airplane, or airship, requires a very high order of intelligence and education in order to handle it. In spite of the very high standards prescribed in the various branches of our Army, scarcely 15 per cent. of the whole body of officers could pass the physical examination required for entrance into the United States Air Service. Thus, our greatest safety factor is in a careful selection of suitable physical types for our flying personnel.

After we have obtained this, the next consideration is the training of the flier. This must be most carefully conducted, particularly in the beginning. The future pilot must be taught everything that it is neces-

sary for him to know about the construction of the airplane—how its engines work, how it acts under all conditions, and how it should be handled in the event of various troubles developing. Contrary to popular supposition—that a man can be trained to fly in a very short time—it really takes years to make a good pilot; very much in the same way that a man may be taught to sit on a horse's back when it walks, trots, or canters around the park, but to teach him to handle his horse properly, to ride cross-country, to play polo, and above all to train his horse, requires long application and study.

During the course of instruction of the pilot, he must be taught all of the maneuvers which an airplane is capable of making. These are popularly known as "stunts," and are often spoken of by people unfamiliar with aviation as being extremely hazardous and not to be employed. As a matter of fact, these exercises, with proper flying equipment, are not dangerous; and are absolutely necessary in order to teach the pilot how to extricate his airplane from a position into which it may be thrown by weather conditions, or, in military aviation, on account of the attack of an adversary.

In addition, when a pilot knows that he can perform in any evolution which his machine is capable of doing, it instils confidence and coolness in him, and gives him a knowledge of exactly what the particular type of plane that he is using can do. The clearness with which the trained aviator thinks, and the rapidity with which he acts under difficult conditions, are marvelous as compared with any other calling that exists; and on his coolness and judgment depends the safety of his ship and the people in it.

#### *Experience Required for Pilots*

After the pilot has learned to fly and is able to perform any of the evolutions required in the air; knows his airplane in every part; can land and take-off at the airdrome both alone and with other airplanes, it is then necessary for him to gain actual air experience. To have accomplished what has been described above requires at least a year of constant flying; and to gain the experience of actual air work requires several more.

As I look back at what our pilots were during the war, and compare them with those who have stayed in the service since and have flown constantly during all that time, I marvel that any of us lived through to tell the tale. Members of the flying per-

sonnel of the Army Air Service who completed their flying training in 1917, and have continued it ever since, are at least 75 per cent. better than they were during the war, as it was impossible then—on account of lack of time—to train flying officers adequately.

This flying experience must be gained under all conditions of atmosphere, and under all conditions of terrain. Men must fly over the water, over the land, across the mountains—both day and night—in fog, in rain, in snow, and in clouds. They must fly when it is cold and when it is warm. Conditions of temperature greatly affect not only the weather conditions, but the motors and airplanes themselves. They must land on all sorts of fields and under all conditions; and only by actual experience of this nature may a pilot be considered to know his business. This flying must be kept up constantly, because if it is interrupted for a long period—say two or three years—a great deal of practice is then required again to become proficient.

Our experience shows that a pilot should begin his training between the ages of twenty and thirty years, very much in the same way that a man should be taught to ride horse-back, play football, tennis, or baseball, when he is young; but after this, if he actually keeps up his flying and his physical condition remains good, he constantly improves as time goes on. Certainly, to-day, the pilots who distinguished themselves in the war are far superior to what they were at that time. What the limit of this age is we do not know as yet, but we are certain of improvement up to fifty or sixty years of age, provided, of course, that the training was begun soon enough.

Therefore, in obtaining our most important factor of safety in the air, we must be careful of the intelligence, education, physique, training and experience of our aviators. This applies to commercial aviators as well as to military aviators. No one should be allowed to fly—no matter in what capacity or under what conditions—unless he complies with the general federal regulation having to do with these requirements. At the present time there is no such regulation, except in the Government's armed services.

#### *Weather Conditions*

The next condition that we must consider as governing safety in flight is the weather. More than 75 per cent. of our fatal accidents in aviation have been due to the weather.

The air is actuated in all sorts of ways that are very different from any other condition that we have experienced on the surface of the earth. An airplane sustains itself in flight on account of the action of its propeller, which is actuated by its motor; and during its various instants of flight may be compared to a ship on the surface of the ocean. The power of its motor as compared to the total weight of the airplane gives it its sustaining power, or flotation in the air, in somewhat the same way that a very buoyant ship on the water would be able to stand greater waves, and a more severe tempest, than one that is not buoyant. If, then, an underpowered airplane encounters these strong aerial "billows," it will be unable to sustain itself, will get out of control, and will eventually crash and kill its occupants.

Of course, the answer to this may be said to be, "more power"; but one soon arrives at a limit of power as compared to the weight that has to be carried; and while the power is a very important factor, a knowledge of atmospheric conditions is even more important. With a good weather system, that is, a good meteorological organization, and a prompt method of transmitting information about storms to the aviators, storms may be avoided or flying may cease until they are over with.

It has been only in the last few years that especial consideration has been given to local winds, that is, those that occur in a restricted area, that affect aviation. At first, the up-and-down currents were called "holes in the air." Of course, there is no such thing; but the air rises or falls according as its density is greater or less than that of the air around it; in the same way that a piece of wood floats on the water, while a piece of iron goes to the bottom of the water. Warm air rises when it comes in contact with the earth that has been heated by the sun, and cold air goes down when it touches points on the earth's surface that are cooler.

For instance, over mountains and thick woods one always encounters down currents. Take the area around the west of Chesapeake Bay—the atmosphere becomes very warm in the summer months at the lower altitudes; the air rises and meets the cold air coming down from the Allegheny Mountains. The result of the meeting of these air currents that are charged more or less with moisture is severe thunderstorms, which in the majority of cases move along a track from northwest to southeast; and a peculiar thing

about these storms is that they are worse during the ordinarily calm summer months. It is these storms which caused nearly all our fatalities in aviation on cross-country flights last summer.

### *Accidents in Storms*

The accident usually happens in the following manner: An airplane begins its flight from one point to another—we may say from Charleston, W. Va., to Langley Field on Chesapeake Bay. The start is made under ideal conditions; the sky is clear; the wind is constant; the temperature appears to be good; there are no indications of a storm. As the aviator proceeds on his way, and the tops of the mountains are being crossed, clouds are encountered, which gradually begin to form into thunderstorms. The wind begins to change in direction. Many of the storms in this area come up against the wind. Clouds begin to get lower and lower over the mountain tops; and the aviator looks behind him to see if there is any chance of getting back to his original airdrome. By this time, however, he has flown for two hours and is more than 200 miles away from it. He looks ahead of him, and there appears to be a continuous thunderstorm directly across his path. He knows what this thunderstorm is. It is full of currents of air that change in all sorts of directions—rise in some places, fall in others, with tremendous velocities. These "bumps," as they are called, are so severe as to throw one several hundred feet. They are wind eddies in which the air at the top and bottom of these whirls is moving in absolutely opposite directions; at the top in accordance with prevailing wind, and at the bottom in a contrary direction. The clouds are so dark that he knows they are full of rain, which will tear his propellers all to pieces; and if he gets into the clouds he will have great difficulty in getting through even in the absence of a storm.

As he is over the Allegheny Mountains, which is one of the roughest parts of North America, any landing in this area means almost a sure crash; and if he does crash he may not be found for days on account of the lack of roads and communications, and the sparsely settled character of the country. He consequently makes up his mind to turn back. By this time the storms behind him have begun to catch up to him; and although they are not as severe as the storms in front of him, they are very bad. The pilot starts



A LAND PLANE EQUIPPED TO ALIGHT ON WATER IN AN EMERGENCY

(The wheels have been cast off by the pulling of a lever, and at the same time two flotation bags under the engine and body have been filled with air)

to make his turn just as the storm hits him. As his airplane is tilted up on one side, in the "bank" as it is called, the upper wing is caught by an ascending current of air, and the lower wing by a descending current of air, which throws his airplane into a vertical side-slip straight toward the ground. Instead of this current of air being parallel to the earth, it is directly perpendicular to the earth, and going straight toward it.

The aviator has been forced down by the low-hanging clouds to within a few hundred feet of the tops of the mountains. He instinctively puts on the full power of his engines and tries to turn in the direction of his slip, that is, to get his nose down to give sufficient speed to sustain himself and bring himself out of the "stall," or loss of speed, which the side-slip has resulted in. It is the only maneuver that can bring safety to him; and if there is space enough between where he is and the surface of the earth he may get out of it. If not he will surely crash, as the air current will carry him straight into the ground.

He hopes to regain control of his machine up to the very instant that he strikes the ground, and to "pull out of it" as the saying is, just above the surface, because he thinks that the down current of air must hit the surface of the earth and bounce up again in a way. This unquestionably is the case to some extent; but it appears when the air under these conditions hits the ground, that it really rolls along it in much the same way that a cylinder does, and that before regaining sufficient control he is again precipitated in the fatal crash. Of course, the obvious thing to do in the case of storms is to avoid them; and this can be done only by perfect-

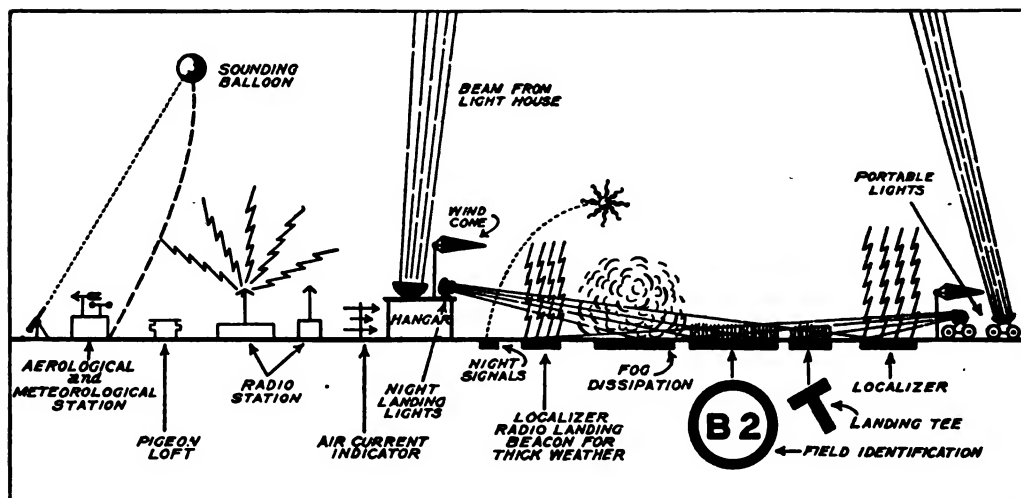
ing our systems of weather warning and transmitting the data to the airplanes both before they leave the ground and after they are in the air.

#### *An Efficient Weather Service Needed*

The Air Service should be given its own meteorological organization, because no other branch of the Government has the same duty to perform with it. It is a matter of life and death to the aviator to know what his weather conditions are; and also that his wireless instruments work, so that he will get that knowledge in sufficient time to allow him to use it before being hit by the storm. Experience in storms and in avoiding them is essential. Although a storm may have winds in it with velocities of 60 miles or more an hour it usually does not move in a straight line more than 30 or 40 miles an hour; and with the speed of our airplanes we can easily get around them if we have enough fuel and know where we are. With the present equipment, however, if any airplane is caught in the center of one of the summer thunderstorms such as occur in the Chesapeake Bay area it is almost sure to be crashed.

Next to storms fogs are our worst enemy. When an airplane enters a heavy fog all sense of horizon or of reference line on which the airplane may be leveled is lost. Consequently, the airplane may, and often does, slide off on an angle, getting into a complete stall or loss of speed which will cause it to fall or even turn upside down, with resulting stall and smash-up on coming in contact with the ground.

Flying in clouds has to be accomplished by the aid of instruments, and the most



AN AIRPLANE LANDING FIELD—NO LONGER MERELY A CLEARED PASTURE, BUT NOW AN ORGANIZED TERMINAL

important thing to do in a fog is to be able to maintain one's direction, that is, to fly straight from one place to another. The magnetic compass, on account of the fact that it points toward the magnetic pole, has a dip which requires the needle to be weighted on one end. This places it really out of physical balance, so that the instant the airplane is inclined away from the horizontal the compass begins whirling, is no longer an indicator of direction, and is valueless until a horizontal position is regained.

Recently, however, gyroscopic instruments have been put in use which give us a true indication of horizontality, and a true indication of the vertical line for a sufficient time to allow us to establish our course, refer to our compass, and continue straight flying. So that if the fog is encountered at several hundred feet from the earth we can go right into it and fly through it with these instruments. If it comes close to the earth we either must dispel the fog or go to some place that is not covered by fog in order to avoid a crash upon landing.

We can guide the airplane to the vicinity of the airdrome by wireless telegraphy; but so far we have been unable to either land satisfactorily in a heavy fog or to dispel the fog over the airdrome. Both of these problems are being attacked with a certain amount of success; and we hope, within a year or two, to have something worked out along this line. Very much the same condition is encountered in fog as is met with in night flying over the water, where there are no lights or points of reference, no moon, and the stars cannot be seen. In this case

the pilot feels as if he were on the inside of a sphere that is all painted black. He has no point of reference whatever. He must use the same instruments that he does in the fog. However, in this case, as he approaches his airdrome or comes near his landing field, he can plainly see it on account of the absence of fog, and can effect a landing.

These are only some of the conditions encountered on account of the weather; and our primary solution of them must be an efficient weather system and an efficient communicating system. We may obtain all the best weather data in the world, but if the facts are not transmitted promptly to the aviators who have to use them they are of no value. Not only have we Government agencies for that purpose in this country, but where these do not exist there are a great many amateur wireless operators and Boy Scout organizations all over the country that would be of tremendous assistance in giving us weather data whenever we need them. What is necessary is to put this matter into the hands of some one agency that will coördinate it properly.

### *The Plane and Its Engine*

The third element which enters into safety in flight is the actual flying material, that is, the airplane and its engine. In the heavier-than-air craft the plane cannot continue to fly if its engine stops. Consequently, the greatest attention must be paid to the engine—its strength, its endurance, and its protective devices. With the engines that we have to-day most of the trouble that occurs happens with some of the subsidiary or auxil-

iary parts, for instance, the ignition. If a good spark is not put into the cylinders at the proper instant of compression, of course an explosion does not occur and the engine ceases to work. We must always guarantee, therefore, to have a duplicate system of ignition, to insure the proper firing of the explosive mixture in the cylinder.

Next, we have trouble with the carburetion, that is, where the gasoline is mixed with the air to make the proper explosive compound, and put into the cylinders. The gasoline is drawn from the tank through a tube, and if this tube is clogged up with dirt, of course the gasoline cannot get to the carburetor. If the tube is composed of material such as rubber it will be dissolved by the gasoline, and chunks of this will get into the gas line and stop it. We must, consequently, insure our gas line being constructed of proper material, and next, that the gasoline is pure when put in. Also, that there are strainers to eliminate the dirt.

Water in the gasoline is a frequent cause of stopping it. This water may either be put into the gasoline tank directly, or may result from a condensation on the inside of the pipes. Water, however, is heavier than gasoline, and what are called water traps, or little recesses through which the gas has to go, are installed on the gas line. These are so arranged that the gas will pass through the top, which will allow the water to collect in the bottom, and the simple opening of a petcock will allow the water to be removed. Having insured a supply of gas, and a good ignition system we must be careful that the actual explosions in the motor itself have no way of escaping so as to cause our gasoline to ignite and catch fire. Once a gasoline fire has been started it is practically impossible to put it out in the air. Our greatest fear is always of burning in the air.

Burning is often caused by what we call "back-fire," that is, from one cause or another the explosion takes place in a cylinder when an intake valve is opened instead of an exhaust valve. This shoots the fire back into the carburetor, ignites it, possibly breaking the main gasoline lead, which in turn carries the fire to the main tank. We must always, therefore, provide a fire screen through which this back-fire cannot go, or an outside air intake to the carburetor, so that the back-fire will be thrown out into the air instead of back into the engine. Under any condition, however, all gas tanks on airplanes should be made so that they can be

dropped off like bombs, that is, by the pulling of a lever, say, the whole thing would drop clear of the airplane. As far as gasoline fire is concerned it makes no difference whether the airplane is made of wood or of metal. As long as we use gasoline, airplanes are subject to fires; and the only way of getting away from a fire in the air is either by dropping the burning member from the airplane or by jumping out with parachutes.

Parachutes are so perfected now that under ordinary atmospheric conditions they will give the person using them an impact on the ground equal to a jump off a wall about ten feet high. They can be made to weigh about eighteen or twenty pounds, and can be carried either as a pack on the back, or as a seat. The airplanes, however, must be constructed to accommodate the parachute, and the harness which has so far been devised for parachutes is not particularly comfortable. Therefore, the average pilot often would rather take a chance by not wearing the parachute than to wear it.

Constant improvement, however, can be made in the aerodynamic properties so that better flying will result, that is, greater speeds in the air when necessary, slower landings, and very quick take-offs. The landing gear is also a very important element. Many of the accidents occur when landing or taking off. The axle connecting the two wheels often catches on an obstruction on the ground, causing a turnover. If this axle is removed, and the wheels supported by a direct connection with the body, a great many of the accidents which now result from turning over and catching fire will be avoided. There are a great many small structural details that can be very greatly improved, all of which will tend to minimize loss.

An airplane takes a long time to develop; in fact, for any single type of airplane several years are necessary for its maximum development before it is up to its full efficiency.

### *Hazards to Dirigibles*

In lighter-than-air craft, particularly large dirigibles or airships, as we call them, very few accidents have occurred in time of peace which have resulted in loss of life. The Germans carried over 200,000 passengers in their airships without a mishap. However, they had been developing their airships for years; and had more experience in their construction, operation and maintenance than

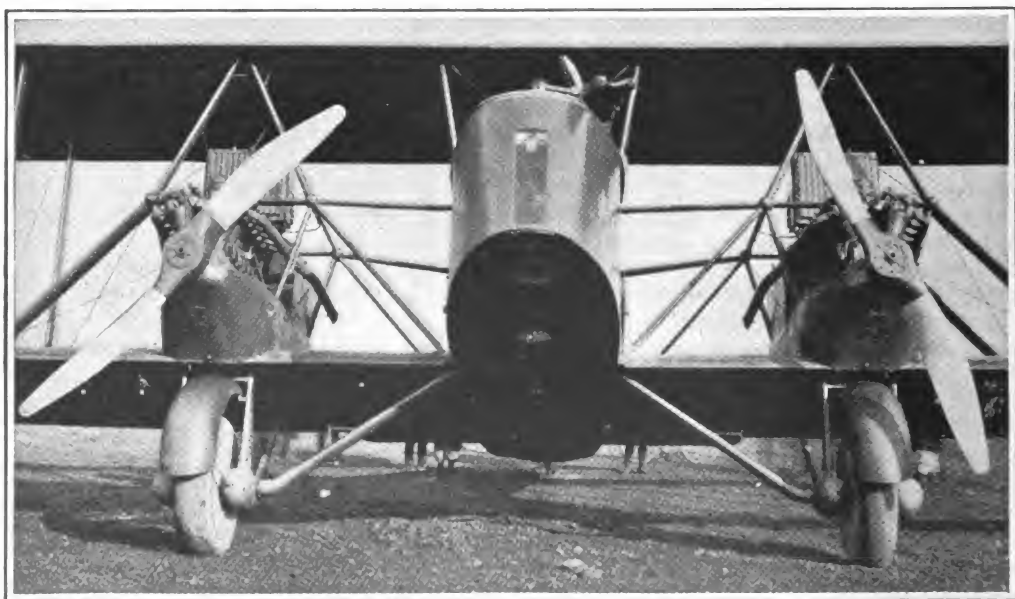
any other nation for the type of airship that they were using. Italy with its semi-rigid airships, that is, those which have a rigid keel suspended from the gas bag, has had extremely few accidents. These great airships are able to cruise, in some cases, 10,000 or 15,000 miles, and are certain to be great elements of transportation in the future. There are two dangerous things about them: First, the gasoline required for fuel in the motors is subject to fire to the same extent as the gasoline in the airplane. Next, the hydrogen gas which is used for lifting these great structures into the air is extremely inflammable. With few exceptions, however, the lifting gas has not caught fire from the engines. However, the engines have to be placed at considerable distance from the gas, and the whole arrangement of the airship has to be made to protect the hydrogen from any possible fire caused by the engines.

The use of helium and non-inflammable gas in airships will entirely do away with the fire hazard incident to the use of hydrogen. Helium is beginning to be produced in sufficient quantities for use in airships. Heretofore its cost has been prohibitive; but by the new process being developed its cost will soon be little above that of hydrogen. The use of helium will be the greatest single protective agency in airship travel. In fact,

when airships are equipped with helium gas, and if some non-inflammable fuel combination can be discovered for the airship engine, airship travel will be the safest of any means of locomotion. Airships are so large and can lift so much in comparison with airplanes, that they are able to carry very large wireless plants with which they can be guided by directional wireless and also be notified of coming storms. As they are able to stay in the air for days at a time little harm will come to them from storms. The use of parachutes will also assist in the preservation of lives on these large ships.

What is needed with all aircraft is to keep flying them under all conditions, and improve them as we go along. In other words, a consistent program of development should be carried out.

To sum up the elements that will reduce casualties in the air to the lowest limit we may place, first, well-trained personnel—both pilots and mechanics; next, a thorough meteorological system, combined with proper landing fields, airways, and communicating systems, wireless, radio, telephone and telegraph; and third, careful construction of the aircraft for the particular duty that they are engaged on. This means an excellent technical staff that is thoroughly up-to-date on all aeronautical development.



THE LATEST TYPE OF MARTIN BOMBING PLANE WITH MANY RECENT SAFETY FEATURES

(Oil and gasoline are stored in the rear of the motors, outside the fuselage, where the operators sit. The strong, wide landing gear removes another cause of trouble in the past)





A WINDING STREET IN A DANISH COÖPERATIVE VILLAGE

(City workers in Copenhagen can reach these cozy homes by tramway in a few minutes. Members of the coöperative housing society know and truly feel that they are owners of these homes. They have a perpetual lease that can be passed on to their children and grandchildren, as long as they wish to remain tenant members, although the actual title to the property is always retained by the coöperative society. Thus they are protected against sale and speculation in homes)

# COÖPERATIVE HOMES FOR EUROPE'S HOMELESS

BY AGNES DYER WARBASE

**N**EW YORK was in the midst of the Lockwood-Untermeyer investigation of the housing crisis when I sailed for Europe early last summer. I was one of the delegates from the United States to the Tenth International Coöperative Congress at Basle, Switzerland, which was held the last week in August. It was my determination before that time to see every way that the people over there were attempting to feed, clothe and house themselves—to meet the first pressing needs of life—through coöperation.

At home people were vainly searching for abiding places and were futilely waiting for the descent of the high cost of living. In the United States nothing was being done by any effective agencies, either political or private, to grapple with the fundamental problems of living. Nevertheless I had every reason to believe that conditions were much worse abroad. And so they were, infinitely worse; but the people themselves are doing things. What they were accomplishing was a constant source of amazement to me!

In Europe, while governments totter and

financiers despair, the plain people are taking things into their own hands. They are not standing idly by waiting for chance or good luck to throw them a boon. Entirely independent of politics or charity, thousands and thousands of families in each of the ten countries that I visited (Switzerland, England, Scotland, Wales, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Germany, and Czechoslovakia) are organizing to help themselves through their consumers' coöperative societies.

These people are a part of the world coöperative movement which in twenty countries has thirty million families in its membership. Through their coöperative societies they are producing and distributing for themselves most of the necessities of life free from private profit and exploitation, free from adulteration, free from benevolence, and free from politics and red tape.

As I turn the kaleidoscopic glimpses of peoples and places over in my mind certain impressions stand out clearer than others.

The only self-reliant, effective groups I saw working in France to meet the needs of the people were the coöperative societies

organized and administered by the people themselves. Their stores, restaurants, bakeries, banks and butcher-shops, as well as their agricultural societies, are flourishing. This is in distinct contrast to the decadence and inertia evident everywhere else.

Nothing was left of the little town of Ancerviller, not far from Nancy, at the time of the armistice, but some house ends and some solitary chimneys—not a home. Nevertheless the love of their village lured nearly 500 peasants back after the bombs and shells of both armies were silenced. Under the leadership of the faithful Abbé they formed themselves into a coöperative society for the rebuilding of their homes. In a crude way they provided temporary places to live while they were securing timber, brick and stone for more solid dwellings. As they worked at rebuilding, they cultivated their farms and began retrieving their fortunes. They received no financial aid except the same slight government grant to which all the communities of that section were entitled.

House by house, through their own efforts, the people have rebuilt their little village, keeping to the old peasant form of architecture, but improving the construction and equipment of their homes. They are justly proud of this, the first village along the front line. In October, 1921, the peasants celebrated the complete restoration of Ancerviller-le-Neuf. They began with a mass in their little new church and ended with dancing, merrymaking and a banquet for every man, woman and child in their own Coöperative Hall.

#### *Industrial Contrasts*

Belgium was invaded and occupied by the Germans, it is true, but Belgium was not devastated, her farms and her industries were not destroyed as they were in France. So Belgium does not appear as demoralized and disorganized. Wages were paid to all who would work during the war. The farmers waxed rich, they told me. Conditions are obviously better in every way than in France. The people are busy. They are taking a part in the affairs of government and industry. In talking with four coöperators who are members of the Cabinet, I asked them if the workers could gain a majority in the next election. M. Anselle, the Minister of Public Works, answered, "Yes, but we are not going to; we know we have the power, but we still lack the

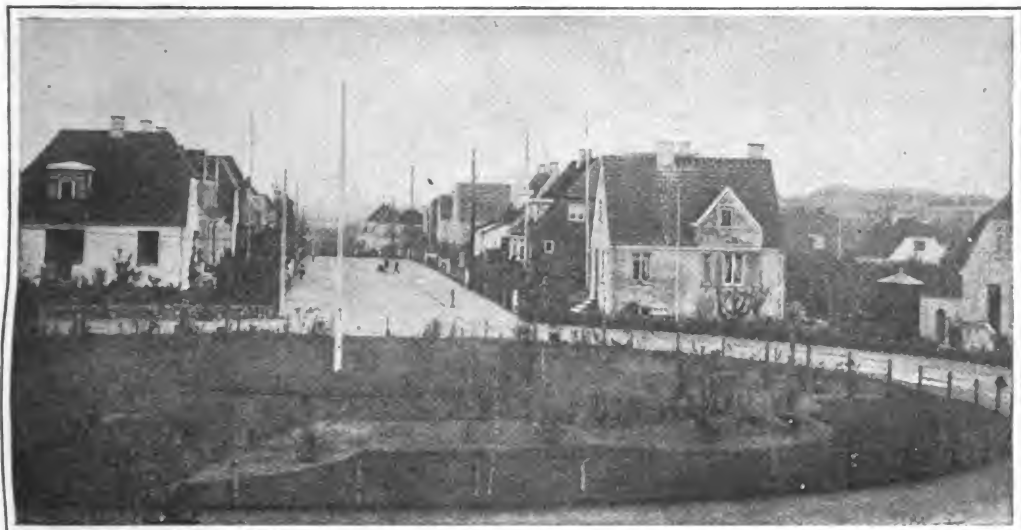
training in industry and in administration. We are gaining that training in running our coöperative enterprises." These representatives of the workers have enough confidence in their program to be willing to test it out in practice before they seek to "capture the state."

As I went from France and Belgium through Holland and Denmark into Germany the contrasts were striking. Holland is thrifty, Denmark is industrious, but Germany is a buzzing hive of activity. The average workingman may not know whether his job will give him enough to pay the taxes, but he does know that no one else is going to pay them for him and they must be paid, so he is up and at it early. Everyone is working. There is liveliness and bustle from the shipyards way down the river at Hamburg to the remotest industrial village in southern Bavaria. It was interesting that no one I met, except the high financiers and politicians, talked of evading the reparation payments. The workers I talked with all unquestionably accepted the fact that the "defeated" in all wars must pay. Stoically they are working to that end, even though their governments may fail to meet the demands of the victors.

While the vanquished Germans work and hustle, the winners of the war in England walk the streets in search of jobs, form parades of unemployed, storm the Borough Councillor's offices for out-of-work allotments, and keep the Prime Minister in a frenzy of suspense with their threats. The English shipyards are full of German ships, the "fruits of victory," but the English shipyard workers no longer have work. Many Manchester cotton mills are closed or are on part time, while the print goods that used to be bought from England are now being made by the workers of Germany. Idleness and its attendant demoralization stalk rampant across Merrie England, making it an ominous land of gloom, pregnant with possibilities of worse days to come.

#### *The Housing Problem*

These are a few of my mental snapshots,—but a closer view of one of the most pressing subjects in the world to-day claimed most of my attention as I went from country to country: The Homes of the People. They are the centers of all that life holds dear. Neither industry, education, civics or any great social measure can prosper with a



PRIESTFIELDS, A GARDEN SUBURB OF COPENHAGEN

(Just outside of Copenhagen this coöperative colony is adding new homes to the ninety-eight that are already there. They are built by the Central Coöperative Building Association, for their members, at a great saving because the society controls the production of a large part of the necessary building materials. The "Coöperative" owns and operates for its own use cement and brick factories, factories for making trimmings and casings for window and door frames, etc. Much of their lumber and raw materials they import directly from Scandinavian coöperative producers of lumber. Graft and conspiracy, so conspicuous, so notable in monopolies of building materials in the United States no longer bother the Danish. Costs are cut down and building progresses unhampered)

floating, homeless population. From the hearthstone of the homes of the citizens emanates the sturdy quality that makes for a nation's integrity, for its welfare and progress.

In our country, the richest and most resourceful in all the world, the housing of vast numbers of the people is as inadequate as it is disgraceful. Thousands and thousands of our citizens are either altogether without homes or are living in such crowded conditions that their health and morals are seriously endangered. The investigations of the Lockwood Committee disclosed the waste and graft due to our present methods of home-building; however, after putting a few labor leaders in jail and instituting ineffective civil suits against the equally offending higher-up employers, some people have come to the conclusion that such corruption cannot be cured by punitive measures. As Judge Landis stated concerning the situation, "In utter contempt of State and penal codes, firms and corporations controlling the various lines have associated themselves together to fix and maintain prices, business is divided up among them, and adherence to the allotments is enforced by penalties, reimbursements, and other devices denounced by criminal law."

But jail sentences and crimes have not eliminated the cause of graft and extortion.

The cause is due to the present system of building for personal profit instead of for public service. Labor and capital combine to perpetuate this system, of which they are a willing part. In America, whether one be a contractor, a manufacturer, a worker or a labor leader, it seems that one must either work with and be a part of the system to-day, or one must get out of the building game altogether. The legal breaking up of corrupt monopolies in building trades or of labor may cause a temporary halt in the grossest practices, but organized methods of extorting profits out of the needs of the people for homes will reappear as long as the system of speculative building exists.

It was most encouraging to find, however, that wherever I went in Europe this system of speculative building for private profit was either totally discarded or was naturally disappearing.

#### *Copenhagen's Coöperative Buildings*

One bright Sunday morning in Copenhagen, Denmark, I started out to see some of the workers' apartment houses that had been built there since the war. I knew they were part of the building enterprises of the Workers' Coöperative Building Society, which had its headquarters in the beautiful new Coöperative Bank Building on the



DANISH COÖPERATIVE HOMES AND STORES

(In this block of apartments the members not only control their rents, by having built their own coöperative homes, but they use the ground floors for their stores, and thereby control the prices they have to pay for all their daily needs. The members can buy almost everything here. There is a delicatessen, a butcher shop, a bakery, a creamery, a house-furnishing store, a drygoods store, a shoe shop, as well as a cigar and candy store. All are owned and run by the members and for the members. They handle the best quality of goods at fair prices, and at the end of the year the members share in the division of whatever amount of money is saved over the cost of running the store)

leading boulevard of the city. The first one I visited was built on the principle of a hollow square around a garden court, covering about 90,000 square feet. It contained 215 apartments. Each room looked out either on the street or on the courtyard. No ugly fire-escapes defaced the walls; fireproof inside stairs gave access to all apartments. The size of the apartments varied from three rooms and bath, which rent for 40 crowns per month, to six rooms and bath, at 100 crowns per month. At the present value of the crown (37 cents in our money), this would mean that they cost from \$14. to \$37 a month, depending upon the size of the apartment.

All the rooms were lighted by electricity. The white-tiled kitchen had a gas stove and modern plumbing. The floors of the rooms were of hardwood. The courtyard of this home colony was a beautiful surprise. A high clock tower with the clock's dials facing four ways stood

in the center of a rose garden, laid out in the form of a Greek cross. At the four corners were the children's playgrounds with swings, seesaws, athletic bars, sand boxes, and sheltered seats for mothers to use, sewing and



DANISH CHILDREN OFF THE STREETS

(All modern apartments in Copenhagen are built around a courtyard. This is required by law. The children have plenty of playground space, free from the dangers of street traffic. Here they have a chance to play organized athletic games. The big ones play on swings, trapezes, seesaws, and parallel bars, while the little tots let their fancies run riot in free imaginative play, creating a world of their own about them, unhampered by policemen's warnings or fussy neighbors' interferences. It is their own playground. These large courtyards also have the merit of eliminating inside dark rooms. In every Danish coöperative apartment the rooms open either directly on the street or on the courtyard. All the rooms are light)



THE WORKERS' COÖPERATIVE BUILDING SOCIETY, COPENHAGEN

(The dwellers in these large family apartments, built in 1920, are the owners. They become members in the coöperative society by owning shares to an amount equal to one year's rent. The rest of the money is loaned by the city of Copenhagen and the Kingdom of Denmark, on the condition that the buildings are never rented for speculative or profit-making purposes. Denmark is seeking to provide homes for those of its citizens who are willing to assume their share of the building undertakings. Denmark is putting a premium on coöperative self-help rather than on commercial exploitation. The state does not make loans to private builders. Almost all modern building in Copenhagen is being done by coöperators or by the municipality)

watching the little ones at play. A cement walk encircled the garden and playground, where boys and girls can ride their bicycles, skate, or play rough, romping games.

I was sauntering through the courtyard asking the children questions about their games when I was hailed by a man from an upper window, who called out to me, asking if I would not be interested to come into his home. He had been listening to my interested inquiries and was most eager, it appeared later, to tell me all about his coöperative housing society. I went upstairs and was taken into a spotlessly clean three-room-and-bath apartment. "Where did the association obtain its money to build these apartments?" I asked him. He told me that each tenant must become a member of the society and pay as a membership fee the equivalent of one year's rent, for which he receives 4 per cent. interest. That constitutes his share capital. The building that I was in cost 3,000,000 crowns, he said, and the membership fee of the householders was supplemented by a loan, without interest, of 20 per cent. of the valuation from the city and 20 per cent. from the district of Copenhagen. The rest of the money was obtained from their coöperative bank. This 40 per cent. which is received from the public

funds is a twenty-year loan, which will be canceled by the government at the end of that time if the coöperative housing association has lived up to its promises and purposes of producing homes, *not for speculation or private profit*, but only for the use of its members.

This sounded very different and very hopeful to me, because I remembered that in the United States no public funds at all were available for housing, and that the great private loaning institutions, such as insurance companies, were financing only those building operations which would guarantee a return of from 20 to 30 per cent! No wonder that block after block of modern workingmen's homes were being erected.

### *No Private Builders Left*

A puzzled look came over the face of this man—a hat worker—when I asked him the next question: "How do these coöperative apartments compare with those being erected by private builders?" He did not seem to understand me at all. When I repeated the question he finally looked up and said: "Why there are no more buildings being erected in Copenhagen by private builders. They are either being erected by coöperators or by the municipality." "Then



MODEL COÖPERATIVE APARTMENTS IN DENMARK

(These are flats that Copenhagen artisans live in. The front exteriors appear severe and bare, masses of brick and tile, but nevertheless they have a permanent, solid look. In garden courts at the rear all is different; flowers are blooming, children are frolicking, all is cheery. The greatest security to the worker comes from assurance that members of this cooperative home-making association are not in danger of dispossession, if the wage-earners face sickness or unemployment. The members have organized a mutual insurance fund to tide them over by assistance with loans during "hard times," on a basis of character and worth of the applicant. There is no danger of the shiftless or unworthy securing assistance; but real need receives real help)

how do your coöperative buildings compare with the municipal housing?" I asked. He quickly replied: "There are none so good as the 'co-ops.' Ours are better built; the rooms are bigger and airier, and look at the gardens! There is nothing but cement in the courtyards of the municipal houses. And then, besides," he added, "the rents across the street in those apartments built by the city are 10 per cent. higher than ours for the same kind of an apartment." "Why is this?" I asked him. He replied with a look of pride: "Why, we are the owners of our buildings. We take an interest in them. We are here to stay. The others across the street are only renters—'drifters.' They are a different class of tenants. They have not invested any money and they have no interest in beautifying their premises with flower-boxes, gardens or any homey touches. Just look at their buildings! Do they look like institutions?" "That may be true," I replied, "but why do they cost more to rent if they were built at the same time and of no better material?" "It's because of the

bureaucracy, all the salaried officials which it takes to run them. We run our own."

And I find that is the real difference between privately owned and publicly, politically owned enterprises of any kind.

"But we cannot build nearly enough buildings to meet the need to-day," he said, "and it has been a good thing that the Social Democrats have had a majority in the Municipal Council in the last few years and have insisted on 70,000,000 crowns being spent in home-building for the workers. Otherwise more of us would be living in the emergency shacks put up by the city, such as you see over there."

I looked out of his window and saw over in an open lot row upon row of tar-roofed wooden barracks, containing groups of two-room and kitchen temporary lodgings, which could be rented, he told me, for twenty-five crowns a month.

"These were all we had to live in since the war, until the new municipal and coöperative buildings were started. So great was the need for homes in Copenhagen a little while ago that the empty prisons were used for lodgings for the homeless!

"All the workers would rather live in the coöperative houses," he said "if they all had one year's rent in hand to invest. It's a good thing, I guess, to require everyone to put up capital, but the trouble is most of the workers haven't got it. It's the only thing that stands in the way of more coöperative building."

"How are the coöperative society's buildings run and controlled?"

"The workers' Coöperative Building Society is the central organization into which the members invest their capital for home-building. Each housing group is a department of the main society and is run by the householders. The rent is collected, the repairs and upkeep are made by a local committee, who are responsible to the main society for the care and financing of each building. Each independent group elects its local officers and also two members to the central board. The central board decides on all the problems of larger finance, such as the purchasing of new property, the erection of new buildings, and the administration of its works and factories. The central board has an elected executive committee, with a full-paid chairman and seven officers, who are paid for their services. Twice a year there is a general members' meeting of all the householders, to whom



the central board makes its reports, which we discuss thoroughly. We had lots of trouble before we were in control of our own supplies," he said.

This sounded natural, for I remembered that some obstacles to adequate housing in American cities were the difficulties in obtaining materials—bricks, lumber, cement, glass, plumbing supplies, etc. from which a heavy toll was taken by the "system."

When I asked him what trouble they had and how the society had got around its difficulties, he proudly said: "We have bought two brick factories, which supply nearly five million bricks a year, although we need twice as many. We buy all our cement from the cement workers' coöperative factory in Jutland, and we run our own factory in Copenhagen, where we make our cement trimmings, castings, etc. We also have a window and door-frame factory, and now we have a paint department, where one hundred workers are constantly employed. Before we got in touch with the lumber workers of Sweden we had lots of trouble getting materials, but now we buy direct from the Swedish Producers Coöperative. But this did not end our troubles, for the private dealers in building materials who had formerly supplied us, finding that they were losing their trade, attempted all kinds of tricks. They got the master painter to take away the good paint that our society had supplied, and hide it, and use bad paint instead. When our board found this out we discharged all our painters working for private contractors, and organized our own paint department. They even went to our president and to our vice-president and offered them bribes if they would continue buying from the private supply companies, but our officers, of course, wouldn't listen."

"How large is your building society?" I asked him. "It has over 3000 members. They obtain apartments or houses as soon as they are built, in the order of their application. We have already built 2000 homes or apartments in fifteen different groups of buildings, and have spent within the last two years 20,000,000 crowns. We still



A SUBURBAN COTTAGE WHERE RENT DECREASES AS THE VALUE RISES

(Four-room cottages like this, modern in every detail, built of stucco with red-tiled roofs, rent for 108 crowns a month [about \$37 at last summer's rate of exchange]. The rent decreases each year as the mortgage is gradually paid off by the coöperative society and interest charges grow less. It would be a unique experience for American suburbanites to feel sure that each year their rent would be lower. It can be done in America as well as in Denmark when home-makers unite in coöperative building societies, instead of going along in our characteristic individual way)

own fifteen acres of city land, on which are being built three more complexes (the general name used for multi-family buildings in Denmark). Five more are planned in the near future. Coöperative apartments like these are not the only kinds of buildings being put up by our society. You should see the houses out at 'Priestfields' or at 'Green Valleys'."

When I motored out there with one of the officials of the building society I found a most charming colony of ninety-eight stucco and brick cottages, each one surrounded by a little garden. These houses of three rooms, kitchen and bath, with electricity and running water, were renting for 108 crowns a year. The homemakers considered the homes as their own, for their society gives them a perpetual lease. The newcomers who occupy the houses built during the last year have not had to bear all the recent expenses of the additional costs of building materials and labor. At a meeting of the members of the colony the earlier settlers voted voluntarily to raise their own rents sufficiently to meet the high cost of the new buildings, so that the rents of all would be equal and the newcomers would not be penalized. This is the sort of expression of real brotherhood that coöperation is capable of developing.

"Priestfields" was just as attractive a coöperative garden suburb as was this little colony. In addition to their charming homes a series of coöperative shops for groceries, meats, hardware and house furnishings were on the colony grounds.



*Rochdale Coöperation among Danish Farmers*

The Danish farmers, as well as the city workers, have been able to improve their condition, from the poverty and squalor of thirty years ago, such as we see portrayed in that wonderful book, "*Pelle the Conqueror*," to the state of efficiency, prosperity and enlightenment which now prevails throughout Denmark. The farmers have used the coöperative methods and organization, as have the workers of Copenhagen. This is called the Rochdale method.

In every land the fundamental principles of Rochdale coöperation are as follows:

(1) Each member has only one vote, irrespective of the number of shares owned; (2) share capital receives a fixed rate of interest—not more than the legal rate; interest does not vary with the surplus savings (the profits); (3) the surplus savings are used either for the development of the enterprises or for the general good of all the members—as an insurance fund, recreational fund, etc.; or they are returned to the individual members, *pro rata*, in proportion to the member's trade with the society.

*Coöperative Housing in Germany*

In Germany there are two kinds of coöperative housing associations—those which undertake only housing, and are capitalized and administered by the tenant members themselves, and those which are owned by the coöperative distributive societies, and

which are built and financed with the savings from their general trade.

When a coöperative housing society is formed to buy land and erect buildings for its own members, the first thing it does is to get together and organize a committee, which investigates and reports on desirable property. When a satisfactory price and site is decided upon, it has the title and outstanding mortgages searched. It then considers methods of financing the coöperative buildings. After it has worked out these preliminary steps, with the advice of building experts, and when enough members have joined the society, they legally incorporate, buy the property and start building. By-laws define the duties and responsibilities of the members, according to Rochdale principles. Provisions are made for the amortization of the mortgage, so that the property, within twenty years at least, may be owned by the society free and clear.

In all coöperative housing societies no individual or outside corporation is ever permitted to own a majority of stock; the title and equity of the property is always retained by the society as a whole. If the members have to move away or dispose of the shares, the society buys them back, but no real coöperative enterprise ever provides for the complete, out-and-out individual ownership and control of dwellings or apartments. The reason for this is clear. If an individual had title to his own property he might destroy the whole coöperative scheme by selling his holding on the market for speculative purposes. It is not only the benefits of the collective purchase of homes that coöperators are seeking, but also the collective ownership and administration of them. Coöperative ownership removes the evils of real-estate exploitation.

*Hamburg's Coöperative Apartments*

The first groups of dwellings that I visited in Hamburg were built and occupied by members of the distributive society, "*Produktion*," which has 130,000 members. Rows upon rows of large coöperative apartment houses



COÖPERATIVE APARTMENTS IN HAMBURG

(The buildings are owned by the great coöperative consumers' society "*Produktion*," with 130,000 members. Savings from the daily trade of members in the coöperative grocery and department stores, bakeries, butcher shops, etc., have formed sufficient capital to build 1458 apartments such as these for their members. They rent for the amazingly low sum of 300 marks a year, about the weekly wage of a skilled artisan in Hamburg. A year's rent for a week's wage! These rents are exceptionally low even for Germany. In 1920 the city council of Hamburg, recognizing the need of meeting the housing crisis, appropriated 200,000,000 marks for the promotion of dwellings. They assisted the society "*Produktion*" by loans for the erection of apartments for 168 families, costing 22,000,000 marks)



HOMES IN A PICTURESQUE WORKING CLASS COÖPERATIVE COLONY AT BITZ, NEAR BERLIN

(It costs ten times as much to build houses like these in Bitz to-day as it did before the war. Nevertheless the coöperative society is steadily adding new homes to the 210 already in this colony. The architecture is charming, the interiors cozy and conveniently arranged. The contrasts of the red-tile roofs and the gay flowering vines on the gray and sage-green stucco walls are lovely. It is a real home colony for people of small means who can afford to pay 1200 marks rent a year)

are found in every part of this big industrial city. These are rented to the members, who participate in the management, but who, except for their membership of 300 marks, have taken little part in supplying the initial capital. Three-room apartments rent for 300 marks a year. The money to build these apartments was obtained from the surplus saved from the daily trade of the members at their coöperative stores; the profits which in America go to the butcher, the baker and the grocer!

A hospitable hausfrau and member of the separate housing society, with a membership of 7000, told me a thrifty story as she led me downstairs from her sunny apartment to show me her little garden in the courtyard. Here the open space, instead of being used for general recreation, was divided up into individual kitchen gardens. Frau — told me that she had raised raspberries in her garden all summer, and had got enough from the sale of her berries to pay her year's rent! She showed me the gardens in front, which were planted with flowers and shrubs, and told me that the society employs a gardener to advise the members how to plant and keep the gardens in order and offers a prize each year to the local society whose front gardens are the most attractive and best cared for.

"Our rental," she continued, "covers the cost of general repair, such as roofing, plumbing, painting, and so forth, but we have to pay for the minor repairs, the decorations and care of the floors. We also have to pay for electricity, gas and coal, but our directors arranged a favorable twenty years' contract with the electric company, which has made it possible for our rates not to be raised. We pay the same now as before the war, 60 pfennings for 100 kilowatts. We are much better off than our friends in private apartments, whose rates have been raised to 260 pfennings for 100 kilowatts."

She also told me that her society in the year 1921 was erecting fifty-five new apartments, costing 3,000,000 marks; that before the war they had to borrow money from various loaning institutions, but that now the municipality favored the making of loans to any building societies erecting homes for non-profit purposes. These loans were interest-free, and were made jointly by the city of Hamburg and the district. All the new apartments are built around garden courts, as this is required by law. Workers who receive wages of 15,000 marks a year rent apartments of four rooms for 800 marks a year—one-twentieth of their income.

In America the average worker spends



A BERLIN COÖPERATIVE APARTMENT HOUSING  
335 FAMILIES

(Park Avenue or Riverside Drive, New York, shows no more charming architecture than these dwellings built of stone and stucco with green-tiled roofs. The courtyards are beautifully laid out with flower beds and fountains. The children of motormen, capmakers, tailors, and street cleaners—the tenants—claim these beauty spots for their playground instead of the streets of the slums outside, while their mothers watch them from the balconies of their apartments above)

one-fifth or more of his income for rent these days. The building boom which has recently started in New York City in no way meets the problem of relieving the housing congestion of the tenement dwellers. It may relieve the high-salaried workers' needs temporarily. It will undoubtedly enrich the builder and the real-estate agent. On my return to New York I found that building activities were attributed largely to a law that was passed at the instigation of the Lockwood Committee in 1920. It provided that all dwellings commenced before April 1, 1922, and completed before April, 1924, should be exempt from taxation for ten years; exemption applying to houses or apartments costing not more than \$1000 a room. I also found from a study of the figures for the city of New York that the average cost of housing of families, exclusive of land, during the current year has

"dropped" to something over \$4700! We know that the average wage of the worker, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is but \$2150! How can anyone feel, therefore, that the housing famine is being relieved? How can anyone be satisfied with such an inadequate solution of the evils which underlie the whole situation?

#### *Attractive Buildings in Berlin*

When I reached Berlin I immediately hunted up the coöperative building society called the "*Ideal Baugennossenschaft*" and talked with its earnest manager. He is a sensitive, idealistic fellow. The crying needs of the poor lie heavily on his heart.

"There are a hundred thousand families needing homes in Berlin," he said.

All the vices of profiteering that exist in Germany seem to flourish especially flauntingly in Berlin. One encouraging thing that the manager told me was that whereas the government has limited the increase of rent to 40 per cent. on existing buildings, privately owned, it has allowed coöperative societies to raise their rents in proportion to their expenses and taxes, because it believes that coöperative expenses are legitimate and are not for purposes of exploiting the people's need. Despite the fact that there is a central administrative organization for assisting and financing new coöperative housing



GARDENS IN THE COLONY AT BITZ

(Flower gardens and vegetable patches are always planned for. In coöperative suburbs like these, fences are rare. There is just a great blossoming square surrounded by quaint cottages. Where the apartments are in congested quarters of the city the people rent small plots of ground outside the city, fence them off and put up a summer house where they have their afternoon coffee. They go there after work to cultivate the flowers and vegetables that both their love of growing things and their thrifty spirits crave. When they cannot have big gardens or little plots they have flower boxes out of every apartment window with deep hanging vines and flowers)

enterprises, the coöperators cannot meet the needs for homes for their members. Capital is hard for the workers to accumulate in Berlin these days.

The new houses and apartments that I did see, however, were charming. I hope that their beauty will be duplicated when greater economic stability and resources develop in the days to come.

In Bitz, a working-class suburb of Berlin, there is an adorable coöperative colony. Two hundred and ten quaint varied stucco tiled roof houses are grouped around a series of inner gardens. A wealth of flowers—roses, poppies, brilliant hollyhocks, and fragrant heliotrope blossom everywhere. Luxuriant vines climbed up the walls and over the roof; even the fountains were covered with rambler roses and ivy. The peace and beauty was indeed a contrast to the noisiness of the streets in the heart of Berlin. The tired artisans find joy and reprieve, here at least, on their return from work in the mills and factories. As I walked through the gardens, women leaned out of the casement windows or stood inquiringly at the doors. "Won't you come in?" they asked. "May I? Yes, indeed, gladly," I said. The houses were so cozy and inviting as they nestled in among their shrubs and flowers.

"We built these houses before the war," they told me. "Then, in 1912, a house such as this, with three rooms, kitchen, attic and laundry cellar, cost us 9000 marks to build, and we rented it from our society for 1200 marks a year. To-day those houses we are building over there (pointing to some half-built houses on adjacent land) cost over 100,000 marks to build; over ten times as



THREE-FAMILY HOUSES OF THE DRESDEN LITTLE HOMES SOCIETY  
(One of many buildings owned and lived in by the workers of Dresden)

much, and no better. Building goes slowly these days," they sighed. "Money comes slowly. Before the war the banks would loan us 60 per cent. and the state 20 per cent. of the value of our houses. Now, in Berlin, we have to supply it all ourselves."

In the heart of a congested quarter of Berlin are a series of coöperative apartments which, for artistic architecture and picturesqueness, are unsurpassed. Three hundred and thirty-five families live in them. Confusion and noise fill the thoroughfares without, but as I passed in under the archway to the courtyard, flowers and vines met my eyes on every side, and the sound of trickling water from the fountain charmed my ear. It is, indeed, "ideal" that at least three hundred families have assured to them, through their coöperative housing society, the peace and beauty without which life cannot be lived to its fullest measure. A bizarre gilt sun-dial casts its shadow on the wall. Quaint medieval balconies were overhung with flowering vines from the flower-boxes. Odd turrets were perched here and there, breaking the regular lines of the tile roof. Stained glass windows on the side of the building marked the course of the inner winding stair.

All was colorful, orderly and beautiful; and, still more, there was service for the common good. In each corner of the courtyard was an office of the "General Sickness Insurance Society," where an oculist, a dentist, and a doctor have their offices for consultation and treatment of the members. There was also an orthopedic and massage clinic and a drug and bandage dispensary. The children's happiness, as well as their health, was planned for. Bright posters on the wall caught my attention, announcing a children's festival, at the playground, for all the children of the society. And the grown folks, too! How I should have loved



NEW NÜRNBERG

(A suggestion of the bizarre type of architecture characteristic of old Nürnberg still remains in the design of these apartments. The solidity, orderliness, cleanliness, and love of color so prevalent all over Germany are present both inside and outside these workers' apartments. The residents are the artisans who work nearby in the coöperative industries)



STREET VIEW OF SOME RECENTLY FINISHED DRESDEN APARTMENTS

(These apartments cost nearly 500,000,000 marks. They were built in 1921, financed by the members and assisted by interest-free loans from the Government. The splendid structural quality of the buildings impresses one with the fact that where the people themselves do their own building they do not get the flimsy, shoddy structures that the building contractors unload on helpless, unorganized home-makers in the United States)

to have remained for that concert in September, at which "all friends of music are welcome." Posters announced the rehearsal of the "Männerchor Ideal" (The Ideal Men's Chorus), held every Friday evening in the hall of the society, but I had to press on south to Dresden. Before I left the gardens, however, the members told me that these lovely buildings—these oases of beauty in the slums of Berlin—costing 23,000,000 marks each to erect, required of its members 300 marks share capital and rented for from 600 to 1200 marks per year for from two to four-room apartments. They are democratically administered by committees of the members, as are all bona fide coöperative dwellings.

#### *Object-Lessons from Dresden and Nürnberg*

Dresden has a vigorous coöperative housing society, the Klein-Wohnungs Bauverein (Little-Homes Society). It has 888 members, owns land valued at over 2,000,000 marks, and has built 428 homes in the last few years. In contrast to Berlin, many large apartment houses, of over 100 families each, and many small homes are in process of construction to-day. The cost of the apartment in the illustration is 2,500,000 marks. Two million was loaned by the city of Dresden without interest. Five hun-

dred thousand marks at 6 per cent. interest have been subscribed by the members of the society.

"We have our troubles, too," the secretary told me, when I expressed surprise that they were going ahead with their plans, whereas I had found Berlin so discouraged. "For instance, while one apartment was being built," he continued, "the cost of a section of the building increased from the estimated 35,000 marks to 63,000 marks in four months! But even so, we can rent our coöperative apartments at less than our Berlin friends can, because of the difference in land values, and because of the fact that our municipality loans coöperative societies a large part of the necessary money interest-free. Our five-room homes, with gas and electricity included, rent for 900 marks a year. This is *one-third cheaper* than similar apartments can be rented from the private landlord; and they are superior in beauty, quality and convenience."

The "Garten Stadt" (Coöperative Garden City), Nürnberg, is just as unusual in its charm as anyone who has been to Nürnberg can well imagine. The roads are winding, the roofs and gables are fantastic, the walls a riot of color. Orange stucco buildings nestle against those of lavender; sage-green against rose. All are covered with vines and blossoms. The gen-



REAR VIEW OF THE NEW DRESDEN APARTMENTS SHOWN OPPOSITE

(Although this view has an unfinished effect it can be seen that every apartment has light and air and every apartment has a balcony. The city authorities are so insistent on ample space that they refused to allow the erection of the fourth rear section of the quadrangle, a building which the society had planned to place on land shown in the foreground. Instead, this land is now divided into little plots, used by the tenants for raising berries and vegetables. Coöperative housing such as this is difficult in the United States because of the dominance of money-making schemes. Already there are more spurious and fraudulent enterprises masquerading under the name of "coöperation" than there are true coöperative building societies. But if the people are willing to study real coöperative methods and to learn how to avoid being humbugged, Americans can have their own homes just as well as the people of impoverished Europe.)

eral architecture and charm of the landscape gardening are quite entrancing. In the garden at the rear of each house are vegetables, pear trees, plum trees and grape vines, which add practical value to the beauty. The houses and grounds are spotlessly clean. These people seem to have no such thing as rubbish and refuse; and the houses are costing the occupants in rental only one-fifteenth of their wages!

A worker on the railroad, in whose home I had been hospitably received, came out to me from his little garden, and with dignified courtesy cut off a beautiful pink rose from a bush near the gate and handed it to me. I shall always remember this man, who, though he receives only 15,000 marks a year in wages, nevertheless impressed me with his dignity and worth. No idle destructive discontent stalks rampant through the ranks of such workers. These coöperative home-builders and garden-lovers have a power and poise that comes from self-help and self-respect.

At the outskirts of Nürnberg is another housing colony (the Seidlung Foundation), entirely financed and built by the municipality during the years 1919 and 1920. It provides homes for 300 families and represents a total expenditure of 40,000,000 marks. The four-room houses are all built of white stucco with red-tiled roofs, with a

thrifty garden plot surrounding each. They are clean, new and fresh, but the whole colony seemed to me to lack personality and charm. The uniformity of the houses made me feel that the people living here had put no devotion and service into the creation of this colony. I found this to be the case when, later, I talked to a member of the Bávarian Parliament about it. "After the Revolution," he said, "there was unrest and discontent. The stability of our local government was much endangered. People murmured, 'What is it good for anyway; what is it doing for us?' and so the government thought it would appease the people by flinging to them this housing colony as a 'sop.' Although it only helped 300 families, yet it did have its effect on the people."

#### *What the Swiss Have Done*

As I journeyed across the frontier from Germany into Switzerland, little did I think that coöperation was so highly held in the esteem of the Swiss Government that its President, Mr. Shulthess, would give up a whole day and evening from his duties to attend and address the Congress of the International Coöperative Alliance, and to make the dedicating speech at the formal opening of the Swiss Coöperative Village, "Freidorf," near Basle. Yet, indeed, he did, and with great enthusiasm.





A MODERN COÖPERATIVE APARTMENT IN LEIPZIG, GERMANY

The story of how this village came into being was told to me by Ulrich Meyer of the Swiss Coöperative Union. "We were called upon by the government," he said, "to pay over all our surplus savings which we had accumulated from the large trade carried on during the war, according to the laws of the excess-profits tax. We did not want to do this. Finally a great plan took shape in the inventive mind of our president, Herr Jaeggi, who thought: Why not use these funds for housing instead of turning them into the bottomless abyss of the government's treasury? You know the government had been petitioned on all sides to help relieve the scarcity of all dwellings; so it could not well refuse permission for funds to be used to meet a necessary popular demand. Herr Jaeggi worked and worked with committees and Parliament, until the federal authorities actually passed a law providing that 'contributions to institutions for the purpose of providing dwellings for workers are not subject to war-profit taxes'—and out of this grew 'Freidorf.' Seven and a half million of francs were turned from the government treasury into the service of building homes for the people.

"On November 1, 1919, we started building 150 houses on a piece of land of twenty acres. We planted fruit, lime and walnut trees along the borders of the road, and we made plans for a garden in the front and back of each house the very first thing."

I had been walking along the "Freidorf" village green with Mr. Meyer. As I reached his house he invited me to come in and really see for myself how well the houses

were built. It was the afternoon of the festival and dedication of "Freidorf." Crowds had come from all the nearby villages, as well as the distinguished delegates from the Congress at Basle. Flags were flying, wreaths and garlands were festooned on the walls of the houses. Little flower girls came up to the guests and handed them bouquets and boutonnières. Perhaps the greatest attraction was the capacious booth for refreshments.

From an upstairs casement window I looked out at the festivities, listened to the music, and watched the dancing on the green and the performance of the turnverein acrobats. Everything was joyous and free—free speeches, free dancing, free sandwiches, even free wine. Rollicking good-will prevailed.

As Mr. Meyer showed me through his home he pointed out the kitchen with both electric and coal range, the dining-room with its quaint tiled stove and oven-mouth, "wherein," as he said, "my good wife may keep my dinner hot when I am detained late at meetings." From the dining-room double glass doors cheerfully lead you toward the garden. All the rooms are lighted by electricity. The floors of the house are most carefully constructed of three layers of material, as a protection against cold feet. On top of the hollow tile ceiling of the cellar is laid one layer of wood, one of felt and another of linoleum. As I went from room to room I felt that these were indeed real homes. Mr. Meyer told us that members must subscribe for at least one share at 100 francs. They may obtain a permanent lease, which in case of death may be continued by an heir. The rent is small, even compared with that paid elsewhere in Switzerland—850 to 1600 francs a year, or about \$170 to \$320 a year, at former rate of exchange, for a four to a six-room house. To Americans these rents are amazing.

In his speech, the President of the Swiss Republic laid emphasis on the ideals of mutual service which are the mainsprings of action in this coöperative village. He referred to the conditions of membership in



which each member pledges "to become a devoted member of the community, to contribute what the common interest requires—friendliness and readiness to lend his help to his fellow neighbors; faithfulness in the fulfilment of such duties as shall make for the happiness and welfare of all the group." The duties include buying all his family's supplies from the coöperative shops and serving on one or more committees. As I talked with the members they seemed to feel it an honorary duty to freely place their special abilities at the disposal of the whole community. As they say in their formal pledge, "We, citizens of Freidorf, seek to give a real social direction to the new economic order."

The corner-stone that was laid by the President was that of the new central building facing the village green. The foundations supported large posters, telling us all that "hereon will arise a social hall for recreation, bowling, dancing, music, and cinematograph, in addition to which will be a library, a Pestalozzi elementary school, a coöperative restaurant, and shops of all kinds." The spirit and the concrete expression of the Rochdale coöperative principles of working for one another instead of for

personal gain certainly have nowhere been more completely carried through in their entirety than in this little community of Freidorf.

Cannot we here in the United States do as well?—instead of abusing the authorities for their failure to "do something"; instead of looking to laws, or to reforms from above; instead of punishing those guilty of extortion and conspiracy. *I believe that we may well learn from the examples of our European brothers that the problem of adequately housing the people can only be solved when the people themselves realize their power and their obligations, and unite their resources and their talents in their own coöperative building societies; and then proceed to supply their own needs, free from graft, free from profiteering, free from the predatory landlords and the impotent state.*

Coöperative methods have been worked out and standardized by seventy-five years of practical experience. When the standardized methods are followed, they succeed. We in America need not forever remain committed to an irremediable fate. We, as well as the people of Europe, if we did but know it, possess within ourselves the power to coöperate.



A STREET SCENE IN FREIDORF, A SUBURB OF BASLE, SWITZERLAND

(Rows upon rows of these trim, modern homes of stucco and tile cluster at the foothills of the Alps. They were built with money which had been saved by the Swiss Coöperative Union during the war. It was used for this building purpose instead of being taxed as excess profits by the Swiss Government. The President of the Swiss Republic is so heartily behind the coöperative movement that he made the address of dedication at the opening festival ceremonies of this village in August, 1921.)





From the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*

DESIGN OF THE PROPOSED GORGAS MEMORIAL INSTITUTE, TO BE ERECTED AT PANAMA CITY

# GORGAS REDEEMER OF THE TROPICS

THE PROPOSED MEMORIAL TO GENERAL GORGAS AT PANAMA -- AN INSTITUTE OF TROPICAL AND PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

BY JOHN BASSETT MOORE

(Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice)

I HAVE often told the story of how, more than ten years ago, during the building of the Interoceanic Canal, when the Culebra cut was still a problem and the Gatun dam was incomplete, I found myself one day in the Tivoli Hotel on the Isthmus of Panama. I was on the last lap of a long journey, in which I had visited many countries and traversed many seas, and, palled by the flatness or frenzied by the sparkle, as the case might be, of perhaps more than fifty-seven well-advertised varieties of mineral beverages, I longed for a glass of plain fresh water. Seating myself at a table I seized a carafe and, as I filled a tumbler, inquired of a waiter whether the contents could safely be drunk. The waiter, with a tone of proud assurance, replied: "Sir, that water is certified by Dr. Gorgas."

Never did words carry a greater import. In a region whose name had been a synonym of pestilence and death, the connection of the two great oceans by the Panama Canal, often called the dream of the

ages, was then in course of prompt and confident realization. The jungle had been robbed of its terrors, and in place of the "reeking miasma" that had formerly risen from the softened ground the hills and valleys were swept with salubrious airs, in which men worked with security and comfort. This marvelous transformation had been wrought by the genius and devotion of

one man, William Crawford Gorgas, Surgeon-General of the United States Army, and it may be said that while the Panama Canal stands to-day as a monument to Goethals and his associates, it was Gorgas, the Redeemer of the Tropics, who made possible its safe and humane construction.

Gorgas's achievement at Panama was, however, only a culminating point in a continuous life-work which, far from ending on the Isthmus, was incessantly carried on, without abatement of energy or of aspiration, to the day of his death. He died in harness; and it now remains for a grateful world, instructed in the benefi-



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PRESIDENT PORRAS, OF PANAMA

cence of his labors, to provide for their perpetuation and development through all time.

Imbued with this sentiment, it was the happy fortune of Dr. Belisario Porras, President of the Republic of Panama, and an intimate friend of Gorgas, to initiate a movement for the creation of a unique memorial, which should at once symbolize the life-work of the great world physician, and permanently extend its benefits to all parts of the globe. This was nothing less than the establishment at the City of Panama of an institution to be known as the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine. This proposal was doubly felicitous, for, while the memorial is to be associated with the scene of Gorgas's most notable triumph, the installation of the scientific laboratories, not only in the heart of the tropics, but also on the line of the interoceanic canal, is conceived to be ideal from the point of view of combined practical convenience and scientific effectiveness.

### *Opening Tropical Empires*

Gorgas's victory over tropical fatality in Panama demonstrated the possibilities which the Gorgas Memorial Institute will advance to their logical conclusion, opening up for high and diversified industrial development some of the richest parts of the earth, both in the Western and in the Eastern Hemispheres. Under favorable sanitary conditions, this would inevitably result from the pressure of population as well as from the desire for riches. Gorgas himself de-



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GEN. WILLIAM CRAWFORD GORGAS  
(1854-1920)

clared: "I believe that again great tropical empires will be known, such as Egypt and Babylon; that from the period of Panamanian sanitation will be dated the beginning of the great white civilization in these parts."

The scientific laboratories of the Gorgas Memorial Institute, situated at Panama, will afford specialists from all parts of the



GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES AT BALBOA, IN THE CANAL ZONE, SHOWING THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING AND CONCRETE QUARTERS FOR EMPLOYEES

world an opportunity to conduct researches in tropical and preventive medicine. The Institute will also permit a limited number of graduate medical students from American and foreign colleges to specialize in tropical medicine by making investigations in the tropics themselves. Of at least equal importance is the plan of the Institute to make practical application of the means of prevention of all diseases through the maintenance of health standards and scientific sanitation. This will lead to the sending of scientific expeditions to such countries as may be afflicted with epidemics of the diseases in the prevention of which the Institute will specialize.

### *Work in Our Own South*

In connection with the Gorgas Memorial Institute at Panama, permanent provision is at the outset to be made in the southern portion of the United States for the training of men and of women who will become workers in the county units of the Southern States health organizations. Up to the present time health and sanitary work in the South has been hampered by the lack of a skilled personnel to carry it on. Men with medical degrees from leading universities have been disinclined to take up work of that kind for the small salaries paid.

With a view to meet the immediate need for county health officers, sanitary engineers, and health nurses possessing a knowledge of Southern problems and of health and sanitary measures, it is proposed to establish the Gorgas School of Sanitation at Tuscaloosa, Alabama. This, the first field extension of the Institute, is a very fitting tribute to General Gorgas, who was himself a native of Alabama. His mother was for years the Librarian of the University of Alabama, and his sister now holds the same position. The University of Alabama has offered the Gorgas School of Sanitation the use of a building for the beginning of classwork, as well as the free use of all university facilities for the students of the school.

### *Career of General Gorgas*

The nature of the plans now in course of fulfillment, for the creation of a memorial which shall at once typify the life of Gorgas and permanently benefit the world, renders peculiarly appropriate a brief sketch of his career, which was so strikingly characterized by the constant effort to do good to his fellow-men.

William Crawford Gorgas was born on October 3, 1854, in Mobile, Alabama. His father, Josiah Gorgas, a graduate of the United States Military Academy, served with distinction during the Civil War as Chief of Ordnance of the Confederacy, residing in that capacity at Richmond, Virginia, and became at the close of the war the vice-chancellor of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, and later president of the University of Alabama.

In this way it happened that the son, William Crawford, spent part of his boyhood at the Confederate capital, and afterward studied at the University of the South at Sewanee. Subsequently he attended the Bellevue Hospital Medical College, now a part of New York University, and, after a year spent as an interne at Bellevue, he was appointed Assistant Surgeon in the United States Army, with the rank of First Lieutenant. Nothing is known of these earlier years to presage the dramatic interest of his later career.

It is not many years since our Southern States were every now and then visited with scourges of yellow fever. The epidemic of 1878 is estimated to have cost more than 13,000 lives in the Mississippi Valley alone, together with a loss of more than \$100,000,000. It was in 1882 that Gorgas, in Texas, had his first contest with yellow fever.

### *At Havana in the Spanish War*

But it was in Havana in 1898, as a Major in the Medical Corps of the United States Army, during the war with Spain, that he again found himself in a struggle with the dread disease on a large scale. When the United States Army went to Havana in 1898, yellow fever was still thought to be a "filth disease," and no actual method of prevention was known.

The military authorities [Gorgas wrote] concluded that Havana offered the opportunity that the United States had been awaiting for the past two hundred years. Thinking that yellow fever was a filth disease, they believed that if we could eliminate Havana as a focus of infection, the United States would cease to be subject to epidemics. This meant so much to the United States financially and otherwise that the authorities determined to make all other efforts secondary to this sanitary effort.

By the middle of 1900 I believed that Havana was cleaner than any other city had ever been up to that time, but in spite of all this work and care, yellow fever had been steadily growing worse ever since we had taken possession of the



A BIT OF PANAMA SCENERY ALONG THE SHORE FRONT AT CRISTOBAL

city, and in 1900 there was a greater number of cases than there had been for several years. The Cubans twitted us with the fact that all our cleaning up and expenditure not only had not bettered things, but had even made them worse. They called attention to the fact that the very cleanest and best kept portions of the city were by far the worst sufferers from yellow fever, and the evidence was so staringly before our eyes that we had to acknowledge the truth of what they said. The health authorities were at their wits' end. We evidently could not get rid of Havana as a focus of infection by any method we then knew.

#### *Discoveries of the Reed Board*

Into this settled and seemingly hopeless gloom there soon came a ray of light. The demonstrations of the Reed Board, appointed by the Secretary of War, William Howard Taft, to investigate the cause and the means of transmission of yellow fever were as convincing as they were spectacular, and proved beyond doubt "that the only means by which yellow fever is conveyed from man to man is by the bite of the female *Stegomyia* mosquito; and that this mosquito, to become infected, must suck the blood of the yellow-fever patient within the first three days of his disease; that after biting the patient, twelve to twenty days must elapse before the mosquito herself is able to convey the infection; that after the non-immune human being has been bitten by the infected *Stegomyia* mosquito, an incubation period of from three to six days elapses before the

man begins to show symptoms of yellow fever; that the disease itself is caused by a parasite, and that the parasite is sub-microscopic."

Gorgas, who was then Chief Sanitary Officer of Havana, immediately grappled with the problem of the practical application of the discoveries of the Reed Board. Vaccination was first tried, but its inefficacy was soon demonstrated. Gorgas then proceeded to screen private homes and hospitals so as to prevent the mosquito from biting anyone afflicted with yellow fever, besides fumigating the entire vicinity wherever the fever developed. Following this, he attacked the mosquitoes themselves, destroying their breeding places and killing them in the larval stage by pouring oil on all bodies of water, from the backyard pools and the puddles in the gutters upon the roofs to the large lakes and ponds. For the ten years preceding the American occupation of Havana there had been more than 5000 deaths per year from yellow fever. In February, 1901, Gorgas inaugurated his sanitary measures, with the result that the plague rapidly disappeared, the last case occurring in September of the same year.

In addition to the campaign against the yellow-fever mosquito, Gorgas directed equally effective attacks on the *Anopheles* mosquito, which was the cause of malaria. Prior to 1901 Havana averaged 300 to 500

deaths per year from malaria, but from that time on the number sharply declined, until in 1912 only four deaths from malaria occurred in the city.

### *Cleaning Up the Canal Zone*

It was but natural that the United States Government, recognizing the great work of Gorgas in Havana in stamping out yellow fever and malaria, should place him in charge of the sanitation of the Canal Zone. When in the middle of the last century the Panama railway was constructed, it was commonly said that the laying of every cross-tie cost a human life. The fundamental relation of sanitation to the digging of the Canal can best be understood when it is realized that the French in their earlier attempt to build it lost each year about one-third of their white force by deaths from yellow fever.

It was loss of life rather than lack of skill, of machinery or of money, that brought disaster to their efforts. If under the American administration the same ratio of loss by disease had occurred, it is estimated that this would have meant the loss of approximately 3500 American lives a year, the effect of which on public sentiment and the progress and eventual completion of the work can only be conjectured. Gorgas keenly realized the great responsibility of

his assignment as Chief Sanitary Officer of the Canal Zone. As Frederic J. Haskin has well said: "Not mountains to be leveled, nor wild rivers to be tamed, nor yet titanic machinery to be installed, presented the gravest obstacles to the Canal builders. Their most feared enemies were none of these, but the swarm of mosquitoes that bred in myriads in every lake, in every tiny pool, in every clump of weeds on the rain-soaked, steaming tropical land. Each mosquito was a messenger of death. The buzzing, biting pests had defeated the French in Panama without the French ever having recognized the source of the attack."

Fully understanding the situation, Gorgas planned accordingly. He divided the Zone into twenty-six sanitary districts, each in charge of a sanitary inspector having from twenty to one hundred laborers with the necessary foremen. The well-known Gorgas system of sanitation was then applied to eliminate the breeding places of mosquitoes; and by the autumn of 1905 he had completely stamped out yellow fever and subdued malaria in Panama.

The ridding of the Canal Zone of yellow fever and malaria will be recorded for all time as an epoch in the annals of preventive medicine. Taking for comparison the previous French death rate, the work of the Sanitary Department under Gorgas during the building of the Canal may be said to have saved 71,370 human lives, while the financial saving to the Government of the United States in keeping the American forces well and fit for duty is estimated at more than \$39,000,000.

But to the far-seeing mind of Gorgas, the great significance of these two factors, immediately important as they were, lay in the fact that even in the Canal Zone, for centuries reputed to be one of the world's worst pest-holes, yellow fever had been completely crushed and malaria placed in subjection; and that it had beyond all doubt been demonstrated that tropical diseases could be prevented or controlled, and that it lay within the reach of governments to assure the health and prosperity of the vast tropical lands in Central and South America, by the application of sanitary methods such as he had used at Havana and at Panama.

### *Exterminating Disease the World Over*

The story of the life of Gorgas reveals how step by step each achievement led him



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NATIVE HOMES WITHIN A SHORT DISTANCE OF  
THE CANAL

(In contrast with the modern, sanitary dwellings  
shown on the opposite page)



© Ewing Galloway

DWELLINGS DESIGNED AND BUILT BY AMERICAN SANITARY EXPERTS, NEAR PANAMA CITY

on to a greater one. Following up his triumph at Havana he made an even greater conquest of disease at Panama. This accomplished, he advanced to the problem of extirpating yellow fever everywhere. Nor were his activities confined to this object. His reputation was world-wide, and he had become an international figure. While still Chief Sanitary Officer at Panama, he was invited to advise and assist various countries and their governments in matters of sanitation. In 1913, at the request of the Chamber of Mines of Johannesburg, he went to South Africa to investigate the cause of the high pneumonia rate in the Witwatersrand mines; and it was there that he received notice that he had been made Surgeon General of the United States Army. In 1912 and 1913, on the request of the Ecuadorean Government, and again in 1916, as a member of the Commission of the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, he conducted the campaign against yellow fever in Ecuador.

As Surgeon General of the Army, when the United States entered the World War, Gorgas had direct charge of the health of all our troops, and it thus fell to him to organize the Medical Department of the Army into a body that could efficiently care for the health of more than four million men. To this end he associated with him men of prominence in the medical profession throughout the United States, and with their cooperation there was created the

splendid medical organization which cared for our sick and wounded in France, as well as for the recruits in the training camps in the United States.

He retired from the Army in 1918; and he then associated himself with the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation to take charge of the yellow fever work, and prosecute his plan for the complete extinction of that disease.

#### *A Citizen of the World*

Gorgas died in London on July 4, 1920, in the midst of his labors, while on the way to the West Coast of Africa. The King of England had expressed a desire to grant him a decoration in recognition of his great work, and hearing of his illness came personally to his bedside and there bestowed upon him the Cross and Star of Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

Other nations had previously paid him their tributes. France had made him Commander of the Legion of Honor, and the King of Italy had awarded him the Grand Cross of the Order of the Crown of Italy. He was also the recipient of honors from leading universities, both at home and abroad, holding some eight degrees of Doctor of Science and five of Doctor of Laws. He was furthermore awarded, because of his particularly eminent services to humanity, a number of special medals, including the Mary Kindsley Medal of the Liverpool



School of Tropical Medicine, the medal of the National Academy of Sciences, the Damson Medal of the University of the South, the Buchanan Medal of the Royal Sanitary Institute, London, and the Harbin Medal of the Royal Institute of Public Health, London.

But Gorgas is not to be remembered for his scientific accomplishments alone. As a man, he equally commands our admiration and respect. A quiet and modest demeanor attested his unassuming greatness, while his ever-ready kindness bespoke the warmth of his human sympathy.

Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, well expressed the sentiment of many when he said that it was appropriate that Gorgas should die on foreign soil, for he had truly become a citizen of the world.

#### *Function of the Memorial Institute*

Gorgas's life-work is not of the kind that can perish. Its results are destined to endure and to grow. It rests with men and women of humane and generous impulses, of imagination and vision, in all climes, to see to it that this is so. In the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine we see a noble and confident initiative, reassuring and full of promise. Its benefits are to be extended to all countries. Through President Porras, the Republic of Panama, in testimony of its gratitude, has offered the funds for a building and necessary equipment. The Institute has already been incorporated in the United States, under the laws of the State of Delaware, the incorporators being: President, Rear Admiral W. C. Braisted, Surgeon General U. S. Navy [Ret.]; vice-president, Dr. Franklin H. Martin, Director General American College of Surgeons; directors, Dr. Belisario Porras, President of the Republic of Panama, founder; Dr. A. S. Boyd, Chief of Surgical Service, Santo Tomas Hospital, Panama; Dr. Frank Billings, Secretary Board of Trustees, American Medical Association; Surgeon General Hugh S. Cumming, U. S. Public Health Service; Dr. Oscar Dowling, Health Officer of the State of Louisiana; Dr. Seale Harris, President of the Southern Medical Association; Surgeon General Merritt W. Ireland, U. S. Army; Honorable John Bassett Moore, Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice; Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union; Surgeon General Edward R. Stitt,

U. S. Navy; Dr. E. J. Williams, Health Officer of the State of Virginia.

The Board of Directors has chosen Dr. Richard P. Strong as Scientific Director.

The Advisory Board, of which Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes is a member, consists of the diplomatic representatives of practically all the Central and South American countries affected by tropical diseases, as well as of a number of eminent physicians and surgeons, and of health officers of the United States acting as committees of the leading medical, surgical and public-health associations.

Through the completion by the Government at Panama, at a cost of \$2,000,000, of the new Santo Tomas Hospital, adjoining the site of the Gorgas Memorial Institute, excellent laboratory facilities will be provided for the beginning of the international work in the very near future, without awaiting the erection of the Institute's own building. We have heretofore mentioned the generous offer by the University of Alabama of the use of one of its buildings for the Gorgas School of Sanitation at Tuscaloosa. With the raising of the endowment fund required for the maintenance of the Gorgas Memorial Institute and its branches, the work will proceed in its entirety, and it is expected that the autumn of 1922 will find most of it in progress.

The importance, both scientific and practical, of the work thus to be undertaken, is universally recognized. The Medical Corps of the United States Army and Navy and the United States Public Health Service have given assurance of their active participation and coöperation. Harvard and other leading universities of the United States interested in the prevention of tropical diseases have expressed a desire to send representatives to aid in research and in the practical application of the scientific principles established. Secretary of State Hughes, in his acceptance of a place on the Advisory Board, expressed the belief that the fulfilment of the Institute's great design would materially assist in cementing the friendship of our sister republics. Conceived in the faith that the work to which Gorgas devoted his life is not for a day, but for all time, the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine has accepted as a sacred trust the task of following the trail which he blazoned, its motto being—"health to all people, in all lands."

# MAKING TEACHERS WELCOME

BY MARJORIE SHULER

THE appalling shortage of teachers, most keenly felt in the rural districts, is giving women a compelling occasion for the use of their new political power. To secure higher salaries and better living conditions for teachers, and to improve schoolhouses and their equipment, these undertakings are vital to the upbuilding of the educational system.

In those States where they had full suffrage, and in the many others where they had the right to vote in rural communities on school matters, before the war, women proved themselves most ardent supporters of bond issues or increased taxation for educational purposes. But the war halted many of the projects for higher salaries, consolidated schools, and the construction of teacherages or school manses which in the preceding few years had proved such a tremendous factor in attracting and holding teachers in rural districts.

Now that the war is over and the women of the United States have been given universal suffrage, the question is: What will women, either as individual citizens or in organized groups, do toward the recognition of community responsibility for the teacher. The community must give the teacher more than a fair salary, more than a roof and meals. It must give the teacher a real place in its life. It must make the teacher welcome. From all over the country stories are coming to show that women citizens are becoming more alert to this need.

In one Southern city last fall there was a dearth of boarding-houses for teachers. The woman's club canvassed the town for homes where teachers would be made comfortable. But the club did not stop there. Its members met the teachers as they arrived on trains, greeted them as personal guests, and drove them to the homes prepared for them.

In another city the woman's club gave a reception during the first week of the session. A large house was opened for the affair. The teachers were divided into groups, one for each room. And all the people of the community were asked to greet each of these groups of teachers.

These instances are typical of a new spirit. They represent a big step forward from the old system of opening a home to a teacher, either to exploit the teacher as a contributor to the family income or to patronize the teacher as an outsider, provided for only at the call of courtesy.

Imagine such living conditions as one teacher describes: "For two months I slept in the haymow, in the barn, with four children and their mother, lulled to sleep by the rattle of the horses' chains and often awakened by a cat or dog jumping on me. Then the two-roomed house was finished, and I slept in the same room with the family, two children in bed with me, and very often a third at my feet. In January I was asked to take a school out from ———, forty pupils, and seven different nationalities, and constant friction between them. My boarding place was another two-roomed house. The bedroom was too small for two beds, so one had been made shorter and it was given to me. As I am five feet nine inches tall, I was too long for the bed. I slept on one feather bed and under another. When I could bear a cramped position no longer I would put my feet out through the rods."

## *Houses for Rural Teachers*

But this step forward is not enough. The teacher, whose acts and words are made the intimate concern, the active topic of conversation in every community, is still, while in a home, under constant observation, is still denied seclusion and solitariness. And so groups of both men and women voters in rural communities and in towns are uniting in the attempt to secure appropriations for manses to be given or rented for a minimum sum to teachers.

The cost of these "teacherages" has increased since the State of Washington built its first one in 1905, rapidly following it with 107 others in the next ten years. Washington built some of its teacherages as cheap as \$50 and \$75, setting up the little bungalows on the school grounds and surrounding them with flower gardens and play spots for the children. Some communities appro-

prorated as much as \$2000 for a cottage, and \$3000 was a large sum to be expended.

### *Progress in the State of Washington*

But in spite of increased cost of construction, Washington has gone steadily ahead with the plan, and in so doing has clearly established that there is a need for teacherages and that they are practicable. The fact that to-day Washington has 354 of these cottages is in great measure due to the enthusiasm and perseverance of its woman State Superintendent of Education, Mrs. Josephine Corliss Preston, a pioneer in the teacherage movement and an ardent advocate of its possibilities.

The following extracts are taken from the last reports to Mrs. Preston from superintendents of education in Washington counties where there are teacherages:

**Benton County:** District 16, or the Prosser District, built a five-room modern bungalow with a large sleeping-porch, on the high-school lawn, for the home of the superintendent. The cottage cost about \$3500 last year. Mr. Wright tells me that he likes his cottage very much and is pleased with the idea of building teachers' cottages, as the teachers are on the school premises and near the school building, where they may with the least trouble supervise at all times.

**Douglas County:** What do I think of teachers' cottages? Not five minutes ago one of the best teachers in my county came into the office ready to leave the school work for another profession. Why? Because in her rural district she was forced to live in a three-room house, with a large family of quarrelsome school children. She is an energetic, hard-working school teacher, and at the end of the day is too exhausted to associate further in such intimate contact with her noisy pupils.

**Grays Harbor County:** I have begun to feel that this question is almost as deep in the towns as in the rural districts. In time past there has always been a place in town where a teacher could secure room and board; but there are towns in our county where it is now almost impossible for teachers to secure any kind of room, and so many of them have to stay in one room, without heat or even an oil stove, and get their meals at a public-eating house. These things have a tendency to make teachers unhappy, which cannot help but be reflected in the schoolroom. It seems to me that the time is not far distant when in the towns, as well as in the country, it will be necessary to have a house for the teachers.

**Okanogan County** has twenty-three cottages in all. District 73 of this county has just completed a modern four-room cottage which is considered a model for any rural district. The total cost was less than \$1000.

**Walla Walla County:** There are twenty-one teachers' cottages in this county. They furnish a splendid home for the teachers and in every instance are a necessary part of the school system.

### *The School Manse in South Dakota and Minnesota*

**Pierre, South Dakota,** built a school manse in 1894 for \$1000, securing for that amount seven rooms, two halls, a cellar, closets, screened porch, and an acre of ground for the teachers' garden.

South Dakota and Minnesota and other prairie States have found the building of teacherages more expensive than Washington, for the long winter months, with the temperature hovering below zero, make necessary more elaborate heating arrangements than on the coast. But Minnesota has been recompensed for the expenditure on its fine teacherages, because the same heating plant in most instances does for both school house and teacher's house.

Concerning the school manse in Alberta, Minnesota—which Dr. George E. Vincent described a few years ago in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* under the heading, "City Comforts for Country Teachers"—the local superintendent, Fred Grafelman, now reports:

Our manse is doing very well, indeed. The teachers get along most harmoniously and pleasantly. We now have six teachers in the club. They still employ a very good house-keeper. Two years ago we tried the plan of having the teachers do their own house-keeping, but it failed to prove successful. Ever since then we



A NEW KIND OF BEDROOM FOR A COUNTRY TEACHER

(With hot water, electric light, heat, and a modern bathroom a few paces down the hall)

have held to the tried and trusted plan of having the teachers devote all their time to professional duties as well as social community work. They like this so much better. Last year the total living expenses per teacher per month were \$23, but this year everything has so advanced that it now costs \$32. This is still much cheaper than similar home comforts can be secured elsewhere. . . . The home is a wonderful help in these days of teacher shortage.

### *Keeping the Teacher Satisfied*

That the manse can be a good financial investment is proved by a privately owned one in Illinois, which is netting 8 per cent. on an investment of \$10,000. That an old building may be utilized at little cost has been proved in a number of States. Colorado has a manse made from an outgrown schoolhouse, and South Carolina has one in a remodeled church. In another Colorado county a private citizen built a house to meet the urgent need of the teacher, and in an Oklahoma town a teacher who was unable to secure a house built a home for himself in a corner of the schoolyard, which on leaving he sold to the district.

The married woman teacher with children and the married man teacher with a family perhaps suffer most in the unsuccessful quest for a home. One married teacher in Washington tells that before he secured a position at a school with a manse he had taught for fifteen years and furnished five houses.

The hardships of the married men teachers in a Texas county stimulated the building of school manses, described by the local education official as follows:

Our first manse was built from funds loaned by a patron in the community. He is to be paid back from rent on the cottage paid by the teacher who occupies it. The teacher pays \$10 per month. . . . The last year before the cottage was built, the teacher—who was a married man—could not get a home in the community, so he drove eight miles each morning and afternoon in going from his home to the school.

The school manse supplies the remedy for "roving" in the teaching profession. A few years ago the United States Commissioner of Education estimated that two-thirds of



**A TEACHER'S MODERN DINING-ROOM IN MINNESOTA**

(Looking from the reception-room, with its piano, suggesting cheerful evenings, one catches a glimpse of the kitchen, where an up-to-date gas range is prominent)

all the rural teachers in any year were in districts where they had never been before. In one State, for instance, out of 9883 teachers in one- and two-room rural schools, only fifty-five had taught for six or more consecutive years in one location.

### *Leaders in the Community*

The school manse means permanence of good teachers. And it means even more than that. Its occupant has a place in the community such as that of the occupant of the church manse or rectory. In Europe, where school manses have long been the rule, the teacher remains for years in a community in the same leading position as the pastor or the priest. England, Germany, France, Denmark, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, all have their teacherages with kitchen gardens, flower gardens, and often a small farm.

In the rules of the English Board of Education for the construction of school manses, it is set down that there should be no internal communication between the residence and the school. This has not always been followed in the American manses. Some of them have been built in connection with the schoolhouses, with the intention that the kitchen of the manse should serve as a domestic-science laboratory for the girls and a manual-training workshop for the boys, a condition not wholly satisfactory for the teachers.

The development of the community-center idea is giving new impetus to the teacherage movement to-day. Using a com-

munity building for only a few hours a day during a few months in the year is becoming more and more repellent to citizens. The school building itself as a lecture hall, a meeting place for clubs, an intellectual center, means education for grown folk as well as children. The employment of a teacher for a full day every day in the year means higher salary for the teacher and puts the teacher's skill at the service of the community in many ways.

The school superintendent in a Southern county which has built teacherages says that the plan is "to employ the teachers for the whole year and have them do odd jobs in the summer like looking after the library, conducting community meetings, taking the census, looking after corn clubs and canning clubs. We hope to use these homes for teaching domestic science on a small scale and serve a hot lunch occasionally to the school. We want to make the teacher a permanent factor in the community all the year around."

Mrs. Preston writes about a principal occupying a teacher's cottage in an eastern Washington district, as follows:

He is the leader in the pig and garden clubs of his community; he raises a model garden each year, promotes interest in poultry clubs, takes an active part in the grange work, cares for the school building and plant at all times; conducts declamation contests and spelling bees, and teaches in the community Sunday School. His wife, who teaches in the same school, helps in grange activities, directs sewing and canning clubs, drills pupils for neighborhood entertainments, prepares patriotic programs, heads the Red Cross auxiliary, serves a warm lunch each noon to the pupils in the little two-room school, and teaches a Sunday-School class. This principal and his wife live in a teacher's cottage within a stone's throw of the school building. They are busy twelve months in the year with rural community activities and rural school education. They declare the cottage they occupy is largely responsible for the success of their work in the community, because it gives them opportunity to devote their time to community activity.

### *Consolidated Schools a Help*

There is a second reason for the present increase of interest in teacherages, and that is the growth of the consolidated school movement. As citizens plan for better school buildings and equipment, and as they concentrate a teaching staff in one town, the

wisdom and necessity of a teacherage becomes more and more evident. The greatest objection to a school manse, that a teacher may be compelled to live alone, often in an isolated section, is eliminated and in the consolidated school manse there are apartments for the principal and the several teachers. Those with experience in the construction of such manses urge the necessity of separate apartments and separate eating places for the teachers and the principals, in order to insure more freedom and independence for both.

While the consolidated school is by far the most desirable institution, districts that have not yet seen their way to consolidating are making some decidedly worth-while efforts to improve the one- and two-room rural buildings, bettering the conditions for teachers and pupils.

North District, Arlington, Vermont, has just had such an experience that is filled with profitable suggestions for other parts of the country. For years the children had been going to school in a "box-car" type of building. Since the census for the entire district, babies included, is only eighty, it seemed impossible to raise funds to clear the yard of stones, to close up the poorly placed windows and cut others, to replace the old wooden blackboards, to take out the screwed-down desks, to finish the old floor whose splintered surface it was impossible to keep clean, and to provide some arrangements for heating the children's lunches.

Money may have been lacking, but community spirit did the job. There was a "neighborhood bee," and men and women together worked on the building and grounds, effecting remarkable changes. The walls and woodwork were painted a sunny color, the old windows were closed and new ones were cut so that the light would fall over the shoulders of the children, a new hardwood floor was laid, the desks were put on runners so that they could be moved easily to use the room for community purposes, a new porch was built, the room was re-shingled, brush was cut, and the stones were removed from the school yard. A victrola, white curtains, and a kitchenette were installed within the building, and outside there were added a curtained play porch, new flower gardens, and some transplanted trees.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## PREMIER POINCARÉ'S COMMENTS ON A PREDECESSOR'S POLICY

SINCE his retirement from the Presidency of the French Republic, M. Raymond Poincaré has been a frank and constant critic of successive Ministries, doubtless in the conviction that his own political career was not only rounded, but completed. M. Briand, however, once more marches out of office without waiting to be unhorsed, pointing pretty plainly to the ex-President as the most deadly if not the most savage of his critics, thus apparently forcing his return again to the arena, to create the only Cabinet that may endure a like attack.

Doubtless, in the *Matin* and the *Temps* these criticisms, now so dramatically presented, have been more open and less dignified than in the fortnightly general surveys of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The latest of these surveys, in the Christmas number, will be conned with unusual interest to see how far the new policy of France will really and seriously break with that of M. Briand, so recently our honored guest.

The essay opens with the rapier-like grace of French courtesy:

Having landed at Havre, Monsieur Briand chose, as was natural, to make accurate report to France on the results of his mission to Washington. He opened his grip-sack, and found that it was empty! All those informed as to the United States had foretold that so it must be. But—

the well-meaning Prime Minister, like a Stuart King, was "hemmed in by evil counselors." And it was a capital mistake to go overseas at all.

Monsieur Briand's personal presence, it is conceded, had certain apparent advantages.

He gave unique importance to the head of the French delegation, as the real, if short-lived, spokesman of the French people. The hearty welcome accorded him, his magnetic eloquence, and personal grace are fully acknowledged by M. Poincaré.



M. RAYMOND POINCARÉ  
AS A "FREE LANCE"

But he was suddenly set down in a strange land, whose very speech was unknown to him, surrounded by hostile and unscrupulous critics, in the full, glaring publicity of the "new diplomacy."

Here M. Poincaré devotes extraordinary space and energy to the defense of the old method of international conferences behind locked doors. He ridicules the sonorous public meetings at Washington, declaring that the private conference is and must still be the guiding force. He depicts with humor the hordes, not merely of secretaries, experts, stenographers, and typists, but of correspondents and photographers especially, roam-

ing the corridors between the public sessions to accept, distort, or boldly invent any reports of confidential personal utterances, and especially any frank collisions of opinion, that might please or excite the home readers of each. He enlarges on the harm that might have arisen from Wells' telegram to the *Daily Mail*, exposing "rash transgression planned by France against England." Italy is actually in uproar over a malignant invention—for certainly no French statesman ever said or thought it—"If the Cabinet at Rome accepts disarmament on land, it is because the Italian Army, already morally disintegrated, has demobilized itself."

On the other hand, this *bon mot*: "It is for

the sardine fishery that iron-clads are built; submarines are fashioned to study the deep-sea flora!" is accepted as a possibly authentic witticism. It does, indeed, give us some hope that neither French statesman will cling stubbornly to this detested war engine, any more than to the defense of poison gases.

In general, the thinly veiled attack is rather on M. Briand's journey, oratorical display, and fondness for the limelight generally, than on his international policy. French statesmen are only too united as to that. All alike feel that the equilibrium of Europe and civilization must have an absolutely safe and anchored France for its fulcrum.

France has an immense development of maritime frontiers, a great number of distant colonies, 60,000,000 subjects spread over the world—and she must be able to transport her Tunisian, Algerian, Moroccan and Sudanese troops freely across the Mediterranean. With these reserves, France is ready to reduce her fleet.

The wardens of India, of the Philippines, even of the Dutch East Indies, will be duly impressed. That the submarine



FORMER PREMIER BRIAND  
(Leaving the Élysée Palace after a conference with President Millerand)

is not, therefore, to be accounted indispensable may still be hoped, for next we hear:

The German ships are under water. On the seas are only Allies of Associate fleets. We do not wish to oppose a general agreement.

We hear much as to the most recent sensational discovery of arms secreted in Germany, and still more of the reactionist's convention in Würtemberg, to be repeated from Heilbronn to "Goeppingen," with its graphic charts of lost colonies, provinces, and coal basins: with its cartoon of a new-born "Boche" crushed in his cradle by a debt of 87,162 marks. Over the gate of this exhibition the French essayist sees inscribed the rash utterance of a diminutive German, Dr. Kleiner: "Our only virtue must be hatred, our only aim revenge." (Did the last word, "revanche," rouse memory's echoes?)

A serious plea is made for a better mutual understanding, notably between the French and

English, but the urge is clearly to teach rather than to learn. The British must realize the peril in yielding to any temptation to export their surplus products to the homeland of this revived Pan-Germanist agitation, or of yielding a jot, tittle, or iota of the latest imperious demand for German cash on account for reparations this very year and month.

Certain English journals, like *Reynolds's*, forgetting that the French taxpayer is far more heavily burdened than the German, are courteously inviting us to load him yet more grievously.

As to the separate Angora Treaty, M. Poincaré has not heard the cry from the hundreds of thousands of loyal rayahs, left in Aintab and the other cities, to be massacred like the Armenian nationals elsewhere. All hasty or violent utterance, like Lord Curzon's, is deplored. The essential gain is that the French did make an end of fighting the Turks and withdraw their troops. There may have been a little haste in phrasing, some little need of verbal revision.

A general discussion with England and Italy



THE PIPE OF PEACE

BRIAND TO HARDING: "Good! But are you quite sure that this is not merely an opium pipe?"

From *Le Rire* (Paris)



over the relations of the Allies with Turkey and Greece is assuredly necessary. Lord Curzon is right, that it is desirable for the three Allied Powers to adopt a single policy, a single program and a single aim . . . but why do you say to your brother: "Let me pluck out the moat, etc"?

It is not a violent break of continuity in French statesmanship that is to be feared.

M. Poincaré also would go to Cannes. The French will not be missing at Genoa. But the economic rehabilitation of Germany, of Russia, of the world, the free political development of China, and all such problems will always seem secondary, in the minds of some Frenchmen, to the safety of Paris.

## THE LAKE OF ATITLÁN IN GUATEMALA

A GREAT lake in western Guatemala, seldom visited by travelers from the United States, is described in the *Pan-American Magazine* by Dr. Alfred P. Maudslay, the British geographer. This is the Lake of Atitlán, situated in what Dr. Maudslay describes as "one of the most beautiful and least-known regions on the North American Continent."

This lake is twenty miles long and 5000 feet above sea level. In its vicinity are two volcanoes of from 10,000 to 12,000 feet elevation. The surrounding hills are covered by forests. Mr. Maudslay says:

The human element only adds to its charm, for quaint Indian villages cap the rugged promontories or nestle in the narrow level ground between them, and the men in their loose black woolen garments, with red and white kerchiefs wound round their heads, and the women with white or striped upper garments and tartan skirts—each village appears to have its own particular pattern—fit into the picture. But the crowning glory of Atitlán is the sunset. After a brilliantly clear morning the clouds from the Pacific Ocean, about thirty miles distant, creep up the passes between the mountains and slowly stretch out long fingers round the slopes, and then, as evening approaches, hasten up in a thousand fantastic shapes, with colors altogether indescribable. Nowhere else in the world have I seen sunsets display such an intensity or range of coloring or such rapid kaleidoscopic changes. Sometimes a veil of mist would suddenly shut out the view and as quickly melt away again to display a new combination of color until the veil of night itself was drawn down, when every trace of cloud would vanish and the mountains were outlined against an absolutely clear blue-black sky studded with the brilliant stars of the Tropics.

The Indians in the neighborhood of the Lake are the descendants of the Quiches, Cachiuels,

and Zutugils, and still retain many of their old customs. The Quiches and Cachiuels had their strongholds at Utatlan and Iximché on upland plains north of the Lake; they may be described as islands or peninsulas in the plain, surrounded by deep barrancas or gulches. The Zutugils probably had their headquarters where the village of Atitlán still stands, and their stronghold on a peninsula in the Lake known as the Cerro



Photograph by A. P. Maudslay

SUNSET ON LAKE ATITLÁN, GUATEMALA

del Oro (although I have never heard of any gold being found there), where the Indians made their last stand. At one time these three tribes are said to have formed a powerful confederacy, but they were at war with one another at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, and all three were easily subdued in detail by Pedro de Alvarado, the headstrong lieutenant of Hernando Cortés. There are traces of stone buildings at Utatlan and Iximché, but nothing to show that the people had attained to any high degree of American culture.

It is nearly fifty years since I first gazed on the Lake of Atitlán, and it has always remained in my mind as a scene of supreme beauty. Later visits have not broken the spell, and I long to watch another of those wonderful sunsets, and to be awakened at early dawn by the chant of the Indian pilgrims returning from the distant shrine of the Black Christ at Esquipulas.

## IS ADVERTISING AN UPLIFTER?

IN an article that he contributes to the January number of *Scribner's Magazine*, Mr. Earnest Elmo Calkins has found a new point of departure in his treatment of the much-discussed subject of advertising. He deals in this article with the effect of advertising upon those who use it. This effect seems to him to be altogether wholesome. He admits, however, that advertising itself required a certain regeneration before it could become an uplifter.

In the days before manufacturers had accepted it as the great right arm of selling, it was looked upon with justifiable suspicion, for those who used it most were exploiting the credulity of those who believed in it. Chief among them were the patent-medicine men. Advertising is the one essential ingredient of a proprietary remedy. Legitimate businesses have thrived without advertising, but no patent medicine could exist without it. The least harmful of these quacksalvers were those who merely took the victim's money and gave him nothing. Remedies costing one cent to manufacture were sold for a dollar. Habit-forming drugs disguised as tonics produced their own reorders. It became tragic when hopeless people suffering from chronic diseases were led to depend year after year on worthless remedies until all help was too late. Testimonials of victims who had in the meantime died while depending on the remedy advertised to cure them were used in the advertising.

The "housecleaning" effort on the part of the magazines is now an old story, and the details need not be repeated here. It is well understood to-day that the traffic in proprietary medicines is no longer an important source of advertising revenue. In fact, it is not too much to say that the business has been placed under a ban. That, however, was only the beginning of the regeneration of advertising. Mr. Calkins continues:

The attack of powerful magazines was only one of the forces at work to regenerate advertising. The magazines, brought to realize the real value of their columns, and the possibilities of advertising for industries that had never dreamed of using it, and never would while it was the chosen method of every disreputable swindler, took other steps to build up the integrity of their advertising pages. They began the creation of what is known as reader confidence. The first step was the guaranteeing of the advertising. Readers were assured that the publisher stood behind every offer in his advertising, morally and financially. On this offer publishers sometimes had to make good. Occasionally more money was spent in reimbursing the subscriber than the publisher received for the space.

Another innovation was imperative—the censorship of copy. The publisher refused advertising that even unintentionally would mislead the reader. In some instances the blue-penciling of all extravagant claims was enforced. The advertiser was no longer allowed to say that his product was the best in the world, unless it was and he could prove it. No advertiser was allowed to reflect on a competitor's product. Each publisher as he made these reforms effective used advertising to inform the world. For some time the dominant note in advertising of magazines was the spotless integrity of their advertising pages.

Among the modern instances of the refining influence of advertising upon those who use it Mr. Calkins mentions the effect that advertising has had in minimizing what is known as cut-throat competition in American business life:

There is one idea in business almost as old as that *caveat-emptor* principle, and that is hostility to a competitor. The desire to gain some great end by advertising has brought groups of competitors together. This great end is the one of educating the public to be better customers. Cement manufacturers have learned that it is better to teach more people to use concrete construction and thus make a bigger market for cement, than to fight each other for the smaller trade that already exists. Under the ægis of advertising paint manufacturers, tile-makers, orange-growers, raisin-driers, lumbermen, dairy-men have joined the hands formerly lifted against one another. There is competition still, just as determined and far more intelligent than in the old days, but it is the competition of golf, all within the limits of a gentleman's game. Each one plays his own ball, the best he knows how, and when his competitor's ball is lost in the rough, he cheerfully joins in the search for it.

Mr. Calkins closes with a quotation from an article by Bruce Barton in *Associated Advertising*:

Is it fair to expect perfection in a profession that counts only a single generation to its credit? Should it occasion surprise when even a well-laid advertising campaign goes wrong? Is it any wonder that workers whose chief raw material is human nature should have to confess that they cannot always tell in advance just how that raw material will act?

We are learning. We have just passed through one great cycle of inflation and deflation. We know now what happens to the automobile business and the shoe business and the perfumery business when prices go up like a rocket and come down like a stick. How much wiser counsellors to our customers we will be when another cycle swings around. How much better we will be able to read the signs of the storm, having passed through one such tempest.

## BRITISH LABOR IN WAR AND PEACE

IN beginning his article on "Labor in War and Peace" in the *Fortnightly Review* (London), Mr. G. D. H. Cole warns his readers that any estimate now made of the effects of the war on trade unionism must be provisional, since the forces set in motion by the war and by the peace that followed it are still active in every department of economic life, and no one can foresee the results of the future interaction between them and the policies of statesmen, capitalists and trade union leaders. Mr. Cole does, however, attempt to "draw together the tangled threads of the past seven years in such a way as to make clearer the significance of past developments and of forces which are still in motion."

As indicating the complexity of the facts under review, Mr. Cole points out that before the war each trade had its own distinct problems and methods of dealing with them. There was little attempt either to coördinate in action or to bring together into a common account the separate activities of the different groups. The war brought new complications, as it affected different industries and groups of workers in quite opposite ways, and the various forms of state control of industry wholly altered, each in its own fashion, the forms of settlement and adjustment of differences.

Mr. Cole begins by outlining the situation just before the outbreak of the war:

The years from 1910 to 1914 are remembered as the period during which labor unrest, of a new kind and on a new scale, first made itself strongly felt. The first nine years of the century had been a time of exceptional industrial quietude during which the main activity of the trade unions, apart from their day-to-day work as negotiating bodies and benefit societies, had been occupied in the building-up of the political Labor movement. During these years prices, increasing at a rate which then seemed rapid, although now it would appear almost negligibly slow, outstripped wages, which remained practically stationary in the majority of trades. The consequence of this, and also of a certain disillusionment with the immediate results of political activity, was the growing prevalence, from 1910 onward of a spirit of industrial unrest.

In the middle of 1914 a series of important disputes were actually going on and others pending in major industries. The war put all this aside, but, in Mr. Cole's words, by the autumn of the next year it "had become evident that, so far from the exigencies of war forcing industrial problems into the background the war would be

fought almost as much in the workshops at home as on the field of battle." One by-product of this was an increase in trade union membership, as the unions, in order to protect their standards, threatened by the influx of new and largely untrained workers, set about the task of organizing them. The following table shows the increasing momentum gathered as the movement advanced:

### TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP, 1914-1919.

All Trade Unions	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
General	8,918	4,141	4,399	5,547	6,624	8,023
Labor	366	452	506	732	1,102	1,490
Proportion of General Labor to Total	.09	.11	.13	.13	.16	.18

(Figures in thousands)

This vast growth in numbers, by which the total membership of all trade unions was more than doubled between 1914 and 1919, brought with it problems of its own.

Through the winter of 1919-1920 the trade unions were still endeavoring to get the pledges given to them redeemed. As failure became manifest, projects of "direct action" revived, and the Miners' Federation, in March, 1920, definitely asked the Trade Union Congress to support it in taking "direct action" to enforce mines nationalization upon the government. But the trade union atmosphere was already different from that of 1919. Although membership was still growing, the sense of weakness was returning, and the first after-war impulse to aggressive action had passed away. The Trade Union Congress refused, and recommended political action and education in preference to "direct action." With that decision definitely died the menace of aggressive action by the trade union movement as a whole in support of demands involving substantial modification of the capitalist industrial system.

For the most part, the earlier reductions in wages were accepted without a stoppage of work. The last big strike for increased wages was that of the miners in the autumn of 1920, which ended in an inconclusive and purely temporary settlement. At the beginning of April, 1921, this settlement came to an end, and the action of the government, despite pledges to the contrary, in precipitately decontrolling the industry, forced the miners into a disastrous lock-out, which ended, after more than thirteen weeks' struggle, in defeat. Suddenly, the fundamental weakness of trade unionism stood plainly revealed; its lack of coherent organization, and, much more important, its timidity and hesitation in face of a crisis. Doubts of the leaders were met with doubts of the rank and file; the whole question was raised of the meaning which membership of a trade union bore to the mass of the members. Would the railwaymen or the transport workers have struck if the call had been given? There was at least a doubt, eating at the heart of the movement.

## THE LABOR UNIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

THE remedy offered by the American Federation of Labor for unemployment is set forth in the January number of the *American Federationist* (Washington, D. C.). In this publication Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the Federation, states the following reasons for supplementing the work of the President's Unemployment Conference, which was semi-official in character, by unofficial initiative:

(1) Such initiative can bring new support for the recommendations of the Presidential Conference. (2) It can apply the principles laid down by the semi-official conference more broadly than could that body, because unofficial opinion is not limited, as the President's Conference was, by the necessity of reaching unanimous decisions involving the assent of extremely conservative elements. (3) Unofficial public initiative can see to it that the value of the scientific method followed by the President's Conference is not lost by the refusal of these conservative interests to apply its principles logically and practically—and on a sufficient scale to bring results in proportion to the magnitude of the problem and in proportion to the numbers of those unemployed because of the present cycle of business depression.

If the Presidential Conference is to count for the largest results it is indispensable to get the public out of the complacent state of mind it created. Unintentionally the conference created the impression that the problem of unemployment was now on the way to rapid solution! Its organizers understand that nothing could more endanger even those limited recommendations reached by agreement. Even to secure public support for these recommendations a continued and renewed public interest is essential.

Mr. Gompers enumerates the achievements of the President's Conference under the following heads:

In organization and use of experts it set a new and higher standard for national industrial conferences.

It laid a scientific foundation for discussion by a sound classification of the various forms of unemployment and by outlining the general principles upon which effective remedies must rest.

It discussed adequately *certain groups of remedies*, i. e., remedies lying within the self-imposed limits of the conference and within the limits set in advance by President Harding and Chairman Hoover.

Whatever remedies were proposed (within these limits) were of a progressive character.

After some discussion of the limitations of the President's Conference, as well as of the specific remedies proposed, the *Federationist* article comes to the consideration of public works and public credit in relation to un-

employment. The opinion is expressed that in countries like England and the United States, where the public credit is excellent there is no practical obstacle to the undertaking during hard times of public enterprises of a productive character on a sufficient scale to stimulate all industry and reduce cyclical unemployment to a mere fraction of what it is to-day. Although this principle was repeatedly recognized by the Presidential Conference, it is asserted that it was not applied on a scale at all commensurate with the evil. This method of dealing with unemployment has been recommended by the International Unemployment Conference of 1913, the League of Nations International Labor Office, and by various governments.

The Federation of Labor stoutly denies that the extension of public credit for public works and other public purposes signifies paternalism in any sense of the word. Such works and such credit extensions are along the lines familiar to the American Government, and are calculated to stimulate and promote the entire industry of the nation. It is no new undertaking that is asked, but merely a development on a considerably larger scale of functions already in operation. The article concludes with the following paragraphs:

The problem of unemployment can be solved. Seasonal unemployment can be almost eliminated. Cyclical unemployment is a social crime of the highest order and no society which permits it to continue can expect to survive.

As long as men and women, eager to work, in a country filled with untold riches of materials and land, are denied the opportunity to work and to maintain themselves properly, our society is bankrupt in its most important essential.

The question is no longer open to debate. The problem of unemployment *must be solved*. There is no alternative.

Labor lays down its proposals. It supports every constructive move, no matter where or by whom initiated. It brings forward in addition to those moves a program of proposals which will clear away the social waste and wreckage caused by unemployment and put the nation on the road to full and final remedy.

These proposals are before America. Labor demands that the problem be attacked with full vigor and determination, with fearlessness and an eye single to solution with justice.

Working people must work to live. To deny the opportunity to work is to enforce death.

The problem can be solved. It must be solved. The time for action and solution is, not tomorrow, but *now!*

## OUR DECREPIT RAILROADS

**A**N article by Edward Hungerford in the January *Century* characterizes the American transportation industry as "the sick man of American business." Various causes are assigned for the decline of our railroad system, but there is general agreement that legislation thus far has not done much to check the decline, to say the least. Mr. Hungerford goes back to the passage of the so-called Hepburn Bill in 1906 and the group of federal and State regulations that followed it to find the starting point of the decrease in American railroad efficiency. Yet he shows that for fully ten years after 1906 the net earnings of the carriers continued to increase until they reached the total of almost a billion dollars a year. The deterioration of the railroad structure, therefore, had set in some time before the maximum of net earnings had been reached.

When the Federal Government took over the railroads as a war measure it is admitted that the whole system was very near a breakdown. The Government raised railroad wages immediately and at the same time other operating costs went up as well as taxes. Since the war there has been some decline in prices of materials and supplies, but they are 70 per cent. above the 1916 level, and taxes of every sort 90 per cent. higher. When the railroads were returned by the Government to their private owners on March 1, 1920, the expense of conducting them had reached a total about 80 per cent. higher than that of 1917. As an offset to this vast increase, the Government had made sweeping increases in both freight and passenger charges. Passenger fares were increased 25 per cent. and the freight rates from 50 to 75 per cent. Even with these great increases, the corporations could produce nothing but deficits. As Mr. Hungerford points out, the high rates are actually driving business away. He refers to the long-haul use of the motor truck as a protest against the existing railroad freight rates. As to passenger fares, a nation-wide rate of almost four cents a mile, including war taxes, in addition to the heavy increases in the Pullman rates, has not proved to be an inducement to travelers.

Our railroads no longer grant a lowered per-mile rate to the wholesale user of their service. If a passenger buys a mileage book, he finds that the thousandth mile costs just as much as the first. On this point Mr.

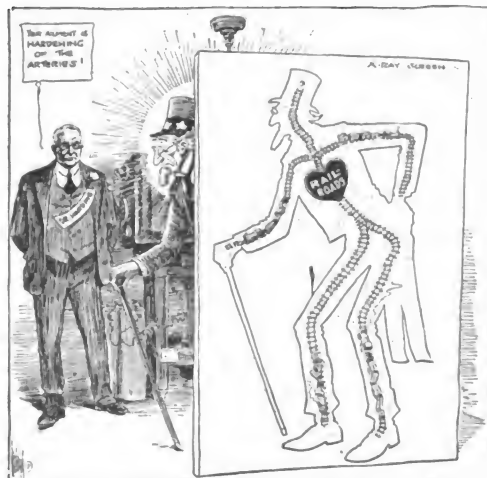
Hungerford cites the practice of French and British railroads:

Contrast this with France, where a man may, upon presentation of a small photograph of himself and six hundred francs in hard cash, receive a card entitling him to ride as much as he pleases upon her railroads for twelve months at half-fare, no matter in which class he elects. Such a plan might not be practicable in the United States, although I do not see why. But it ought to be good business to sell passenger miles at wholesale once more.

In many such ways our railroad men might grow in wisdom by watching their fellows across the seas entice the hesitating traveler. Our managers have utterly disregarded the possibilities of selling different classes of passenger service. But their contention that Americans would not endure the stigma of traveling second class is hardly supported by facts. The Pullman Company has for years successfully operated second-class sleepers under the camouflaged name of "tourist-cars." Americans, after all, are not foolishly proud. We ride in Ford cars and enjoy them; we eat in popular-priced white-fronted restaurants and admit it.

In the United Kingdom the first-class fares are very slightly higher than our standard fares when combined with our Pullman day fares, and the service is quite as good. The second class is almost obsolete, but the third class, at about half first-class rates (a little less than three cents a mile, American), has equipment generally superior to our branch lines and suburban roads.

As to the deterioration of our railroad equipment, Mr. Hungerford finds that while 15 per cent. of our freight cars are unusable, 19 per cent. of our locomotives are in an extreme state of disrepair, and are standing idle upon the sidings.



THE EX-RAY SHOWS THAT UNCLE SAM IS AFFLICTED WITH "HARDENING OF THE ARTERIES"  
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

## RATHENAU, ORGANIZER AND PHILOSOPHER



DR. WALTER RATHENAU, GERMAN MINISTER OF RECONSTRUCTION AND HEAD OF THE DELEGATION TO CANNES

THE appointment of Dr. Walter Rathenau as head of the German delegation to Cannes has precipitated an enormous amount of press comment on the bitter rivalry between Dr. Rathenau and Hugo Stinnes, and on Dr. Rathenau's important function in the Wirth government. All this gives timeliness and point to the anonymous character sketch of Rathenau contributed to the *London Review of Reviews*.

It is recalled that Walter Rathenau's father, Emil Rathenau, who founded the famous "A. E. G." (General Electricity Company), was perhaps the greatest figure of his day in industrial Germany. The father was past fifty when he saw Edison's electric light bulb, and after this had made millions for him he developed a company producing every description of electrical appliances and machinery, and conducting large enterprises all over the globe, until it became the most heavily capitalized concern in Germany.

The son is to-day recognized as one of the

"men of the hour" in Germany. Before the war his business activities were extraordinary, and even in state affairs he had become influential. Largely during the war he evolved a philosophy of his own. As a young man he had studied philosophy, physics, chemistry, and engineering to such purpose that at the age of twenty-six a corporation was set to work to exploit a method he had discovered for obtaining alkalis. Works were built in Germany, France, Switzerland and Poland.

Even in his young days Dr. Rathenau was not a man who stood still. Half a dozen years and his first-born company knew him no more. He joined the "A. E. G." and looked after its interests in Manchester and Amsterdam, Buenos Aires, and Baku. Three years of that and he retired from the company and went to Zurich to manage the "Elektro Bank," founded in 1895 by his father as a "holding company" to promote electrical enterprises and control their operations in the interests of the "A. E. G."

Not long afterward he joined Herr Karl Fürstenberg, the director of that great industry-bank, the Berliner Handelsgesellschaft, godfather to the "A. E. G." in its early days and really head of the house to many a big German business concern. For some years Walter Rathenau was busy putting on their feet many of the firms in which the Handelsgesellschaft was interested, and the experience made him an economic and financial expert of a remarkable kind.

After an official trip to the German and English colonies in Africa he returned to the "A. E. G." to work in earnest. In 1915 his father died and he became president of the concern. Under him the "A. E. G." has absorbed many other companies and become a tremendous trust.

When the war came, Dr. Rathenau was the first man to see that it was not going to be over in the militarists' six weeks. What of the raw material to keep the country going?

He carried his fears and plans to the War Minister, and the result was that he became virtual dictator of the whole industrial and trade organization of Germany. The country was organized on the lines of the "A. E. G."—till April, 1915, when a military officer took charge, and things soon went from bad to worse. It was raw material that affected Rathenau's whole outlook on the war: A beaten Germany would have no raw material; if she could force a peace or make one on favorable terms, all he cared about was that raw materials should dominate the conditions. Though he abhorred the submarine war, though militarism, imperialism, annexations, and money indemnities were to him stupid enormities, he sent out an appeal for a *levée en masse* and a continuation of the war when even Hindenburg and Ludendorff had given up the gamble as lost. For the moment, raw material blinded his clear vision.

Regarding Rathenau's system of philosophy, this writer says:

In spite of all these things, his name was not widely known till in book after book his philosophy was set forth. It was a daring thing to sit down, and, in a period mostly co-terminous with the war, to formulate a philosophy. That is what Rathenau did. In a time when the stricken earth was rocking to its very foundations, he was trying to find a base for things to rest on. Now, in the after-chaos, there are points in his philosophy and world-order at which we may smile; many people in Germany are pleased to sneer. But he is exerting a constantly increasing influence on thinking Germany. One of his works, "Von kommenden Dingen" (which has appeared in English), reached its 65th edition before the end of 1918; one is in its 39th edition, and a third in its 40th; a fourth has reached its 20th and a fifth its 25th.

His ideal, briefly, has been "so to understand science that I may be in a position to put all philosophic and social problems in a clear form and so seek a solution." "The real world is the world of the mind, not the material one in which we live." "Skepticism is deceit; pessimism is folly. In an age of machinery, he will not have man a machine." "We are not here merely for happiness. Our wills do not exist, nor development take place, simply to increase

our happiness. We are not on the way to happiness, but on that leading to amelioration, the way of the soul, and we must tread it even though happiness collapse. And we take that way not because we must, but because we will. . . . Not fear and not hope are the driving forces, but faith which springs from love, utter need and God's will." He calls for a return to seriousness; he pleads for a simpler life. "It is not the struggle for existence which poisons life, but the struggle for the trifles, the vanities, the worthless things."

To him the war has done one thing: it has brought the world so suddenly up against all the biggest problems that reforms are of the utmost urgency; now is the time for reform. And in his scheme of reform he has a place for the state, though not the state of Marx; for capital, though not the capital that cuts throats; he would rein competition and divide the world's raw materials, markets, and finances fairly; he wants a "people's state," but would prefer a constitutional monarch at its head. But always he wants simplicity, which need not be drab or dull. "Twenty fewer varieties of shirts, and we should still have more than our fathers had thirty years ago." Above all, he wants the world to recognize and achieve its unity. And nearly all that was written before the war, or when Germany had hopes of victory, or before her defeat.

## "THE ECONOMIC RESURRECTION OF POLAND"

THIS is not too strongly worded, as the title of a most optimistic paper in the *Revue Mondiale* (Paris) for December 1, 1921, by Stéphane Aubac. An editorial note hails the paper as a "source of confidence for the nations, victims alike of the disastrous war and of the catastrophes brought about by the crisis in exchange."

The Austro-German invasion and the recent campaign against Soviet Russia brought the newly-received nation of 30,000,000 people to the verge of bankruptcy and starvation. "There was a ruinous overissue of currency. The balance of foreign trade was heavily against them. Speculators of neighboring lands made a sustained effort to force still lower the value of the Polish mark." The reference here is to Germany and Austria especially, and their action was closely connected with the political struggle for Upper Silesia.

The mark has now driven out its four rival monetary units from circulation, and gained 150 per cent. in value; though a statement in the editorial note would indicate that it still requires 200 marks to purchase one French franc!

The treaty with Norway and the economic understanding as to Danzig are named as hopeful factors; but the restoration of peace and demobilization of the army have brought the chief immediate relief. Great efforts have been made to restore the devastated provinces, and to feed several million families just rescued from the tyranny of Bolshevism. Already there are under cultivation 3,000,000 acres, which lay barren in 1920.

The normal balance of exports with imports was at once assured by the acquisition of most of Upper Silesia, "the coal produced there having constituted three-fourths of the total 400,000 tons of all imported merchandise." This quiet substitution of mere weight instead of money values, in discussing the trade balance, is quite illustrative of the general rose-colored view of the writer. The total state budget is figured at 47 French francs per capita, against 1210 in England, and 300 even in Germany. So, too, the state debt is said to be but 140 francs for each inhabitant, compared with nearly 7000 in England and 7500 in France.

Communism, under any guise, we are



assured, can take no root in Polish soil. "Against German hostility and British indifference, firmly loyal to her true allies (the French), and to all her glorious traditions, Poland is swiftly returning to normal life and economic prosperity." In coal, salt, petroleum, alcohol, timber, and even in textile fabrics, she already supplies her own needs and exports ever more largely.

A remarkable charge, involving a sinister view of Teutonic efforts, is contained in this paragraph:

Germany is striving to prove that the condition of the exchange forbodes only evil for Poland's future; but this propaganda is intended solely for foreign consumption. While Berlin pursues its purpose to alienate the western states from Warsaw, the economic journals of Germany are urging the financial world to push into Poland and make contracts for business on the largest scale.

If there really is an international race in progress for the economic capture of Poland's natural resources, there need be little anxiety, it would seem, in Paris. Speaking, toward the close, of the rapid gain in the amount of foreign capital invested, the writer remarks that French funds finance 80 per cent. of the petroleum industry, 75 per cent. of the coal mining, and control largely also Polish metallurgy, textiles, and other industries.

Careful perusal of the closing paragraphs will make clear the clever special pleading, the half-concealed bias, that discloses itself as one reads the entire essay:

The foes of Poland lay great stress on the

alleged internal dissensions; but those who have occasion to journey thither agree that partisan strife is there no keener than elsewhere. All parties are devoted first of all to the prosperity of the State and the security of its frontiers. The patriotism of the mechanic, the admirable good sense of the peasant, are the best of assurances. The strikes which do occur from time to time in Poland, as everywhere, aim only at better pay, and such claims are often justified by the fluctuations in exchange. In any case, the strikes are free from lawless violence, and are of brief duration. The cities are most orderly; the country regions are in the full tide of prosperity.

The robust common sense of the peasant fuses with the artisan's profound patriotism. . . . This nation is devotedly attached to the cause of progress, loyal to its political and economic pledges, and has overcome the difficulties of its beginnings. Henceforward, it constitutes an essential part of the European edifice, an indispensable element in the equilibrium of the continent.

To a French audience this means that Poland is now securely established as a permanent barrier between Russia and Germany, preventing any dangerous union of the two against France, and is, also, so controlled by French capital that she can be relied on for firm adherence in economic matters, even against the policy and interests of England. Any evidence of German energy or recuperation is cause for alarm. This is the general trend of deliberate utterances from Paris at present, and is, perhaps, the most disquieting symptom in the political and economic situation. It is quite possible that many Germans in 1914 really saw themselves completely encircled by actual or potential foes. Such an attitude of mind hardly permits the restoration of normal trade, economic prosperity, or stable human relations of any sort.

## SCIENCE IN BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA

A GREAT many fragmentary reports have been published regarding the conditions under which Russian men of science have been living during the Bolshevik régime and the extent to which they have been able to carry on their work. Now that the veil has been lifted from Russian affairs to some extent, more comprehensive information on this subject is available, and a particularly interesting report is the one recently published in the *New York Times* by Prof. J. J. Sederholm, director of the Geological Survey of Finland.

"Even during the late years of disturbance, seclusion and distress," we are told,

"the torch of science has burned in Russia."

About 700 scientific books and pamphlets have been published since 1914, only very few of them, however, later than 1918, when the Bolsheviks came to power.

The monthly bulletin of the Academy of Sciences in Petrograd appeared even during the days of revolution which overthrew the power of the Czars, as well as during the subsequent revolution which brought the Bolsheviks to power. At present there has been an interruption of two years, but the learned Secretary of the Academy, Professor Serge Oldenburg, hopes that publication will soon begin again.

While a number of scientific men have taken arms against the Reds, and some have

been thrown into prison or executed, many have, for the sake of their families, or to save their own lives, submitted to the existing government.

It is also extremely difficult for a scientific man to leave his museum or his laboratory, which embodies the result of his life's work, with the risk of seeing its contents thrown to the dogs. In many cases he will prefer to remain as its guardian. Whatever may have been the political consequences of this forced compliance of Russian science, it has been able thereby to accomplish some work which would else have been undone, to the great loss of science in the future. There are some kinds of scientific work where it is of the greatest importance that no gaps intervene which would make it impossible afterward to correlate the observations from all the world, and sum them up. It is, therefore, of interest to state that, for instance, the meteorological observations have been continuously made all over the Russian Empire where it has not been entirely impossible because of war or other intervening hindrances. In the same way the seismographs have been in action, registering earthquakes, and the astronomers of Pulkowa have continued their observations on the stars, looking down from their lofty height on this bloodstained planet, and they have even made some important discoveries.

As Professor Sederholm is a geologist, he naturally devotes much space to the geological undertakings of his Russian confrères. Thus he tells us that

During the year 1920 not less than twenty-three geological expeditions were sent out by the Siberian Geological Survey at Omsk alone, but their work was very often hampered by lack of provisions and instruments. That group, for instance, which was sent to the Angora region in order to investigate its coal resources was forced to return in a month, because no food was available. The peasants do not accept any Bolshevik money, the only kind which the officials have to offer.

In the Ural Mountains the mining geologists have been able to determine a larger extension of several important ore deposits than has been known before, and at the Caspian immense deposits of sulphate of soda have been investigated.

Also some mineralogical work has been carried out. While searching the Peninsula of Kola for the rarer metals Professor von Fersmann of the Academy of Sciences has found dykes of a rock containing a great number of splendidly crystallized rare minerals, of which several were new to science.

It is sad to state that some of the works now published were written by scientists who have succumbed to their privations. Professor Fedorow, the famous mineralogist, whom I met in 1917 still in his laboratory in Petrograd, pale, thin and looking as though haunted, died in 1919, but left to posterity an immense collection of mineralogical notes, mainly comprising crystallographical formulæ. That monograph has now been published in the German language under

the heading "Das Mineralreich." This bulky work has a weight of not less than twelve pounds. It is replete with facts collected during the whole lifetime of a busy scientist.

A Russian paleontologist and geologist of great renown, Alexander Karpinsky, the former Director of the Geological Survey, was lately reported to be living in great distress, but the last news from him is more comforting. His health has improved, and he is now, as President of the Academy of Sciences and keeper of its paleontological museum, very active in spite of his 77 years.

The Bolsheviks have encouraged various branches of scientific work having obvious practical applications. There is a "Commission for Studying the Natural Productive Powers of Russia," which has issued numerous publications. The development of electrical power is a favorite scheme of the Soviet Government, and several publications relating to this subject appeared in the year 1920. It is interesting to learn that among the publications of the same year was a translation of a work by Prof. R. A. Daly, of Harvard University, on "Igneous Rocks and Their Origin."

In his account of the progress of medicine and kindred sciences Professor Sederholm says:

"How is Pavlov?" was a question continually addressed to me while I stayed in America during last winter, and only now am I able to give an answer. The famous physiologist is still busy in his laboratory, which has even been considerably enlarged, and he is lecturing to the students. Being a free-spoken man, he has often told his audience his opinion, in no sugared expressions, about the present misrule of Russia, and, having been summoned to the Tcheka, the formidable police of the Soviet Government, he has flatly refused to take back anything of what he had said. In spite of this boldness, he has neither been executed nor put in prison, but enjoys even the right to use a motor car, one of his legs having been injured. Another proof of the wrongness of the assertion of old Falstaff that fame is of no practical value!

With regard to the daily life of the Russian scientific men, the writer says:

To a certain degree the Soviet Government, in spite of its known hatred of the "intellectuals," has favored those scientists who have been willing, or forced, to serve it as specialists. There is, in this State where equality is a watchword, an order of precedence, with a graded scale of thirty-five degrees, of which one is the lowest. Civil engineers are reckoned in the thirty-fourth class, and certain scientists, as, for instance, the geologists, in the highest one, belonging to the category of "learned specialist." Their wages are, of course, falling, as everything is, because of the rapid continued depreciation of the

money, but at a time when a cord of wood cost 70,000 Soviet rubles, they received 7200 rubles a month, or 86,500 a year. Moreover, the scientists got the special "scientific ration" (outchonnny payock), which was a little greater than the daily hunger ration of other citizens. When traveling the specialists could even be allowed a "Red Guard's ration," which was, however, not always given to them, even in places where stores of food existed.

In the House of Science, formerly the palace of Grand Dukes Vladimir Alexandrovitch and Cyril Vladimirovitch, the scientists of Petrograd are able to take their breakfast, if they have any money to pay for it, and some are even staying here and taking all their meals.

The news which we get about the life of the struggling scientists of Russia awakens sentiments of two kinds: compassion for their extremely difficult situation and admiration for what they have been able to perform even during such

circumstances. One of their greatest sufferings comes from the isolation in which they live, and therefore their colleagues all over the world are able to relieve a little part of their distress by sending to them, through some safe intermediary, the publications which they have been longing to read during years of seclusion.

In describing the present state of the Russian museums, Professor Sederholm recounts the vicissitudes of the art treasures of the country, the most momentous fact being that the splendid contents of the Hermitage, including its forty-seven Rembrandts, after having been removed to Moscow, are now safely restored to their old home, and have been augmented by many works of art that formerly adorned the palaces of the Grand Dukes and other private individuals.

## THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT CROP REPORTS

**D**ETAILED statistics are essential to the successful conduct of every big industry. Because agriculture is the greatest of our national industries the Government finds it necessary to maintain an immense statistical organization in connection therewith; viz., the Bureau of Crop Estimates in the Department of Agriculture.

According to an article in the Department's *Weekly News Letter* (Washington, D. C.) entitled "How Government Crop Reports Are Made Up," it was freely conceded at the last meeting of the General Assembly of the International Institute of Agriculture that our American system of agricultural statistics is the most complete and accurate ever devised. The system is maintained by a veritable army of volunteer coöperators and a large staff of experts. There are about 220,000 voluntary crop reporters, located in all parts of the United States. The largest corps of these render monthly reports for individual townships or similar small districts, directly to Washington. Then there is an independent corps of reporters who render monthly reports on whole counties, also directly to the Department. Lastly there are about forty trained statisticians or field agents, who have their own groups of reporters and make reports on whole States or other large areas. Summaries of the reports from these three independent sources form the basis of the reports issued by the Bureau.

The monthly crop reports, which are so important a factor in the business of buying and selling agricultural products, and which incidentally serve the purpose of keeping speculation within bounds by supplying authentic facts where guesswork and manipulated reports would otherwise prevail, cover acreage, condition, estimated or actual yield, total production, stocks on farms, progress of farm work, wages, supply of farm labor, fertilizers and seeds. These reports are made for about sixty crops, and cover about 95 per cent. of the total agricultural production of the country. The process of digesting and publishing the reports is one of romantic interest.

The reports of field agents on the speculative crops are mailed direct to the Secretary of Agriculture in special envelopes. These are separated from other mail in the Washington post office and are delivered by messenger to the Secretary or his first assistant, who places them, with the seals unbroken, in a safe, to which he alone has the key. The reports remain locked in the safe until the morning of crop report day. The returns on speculative crops from the voluntary reporters come direct to the Bureau of Markets and Crop Estimates and are tabulated on separate sheets for each crop.

On the evening before crop-report day all telephones are disconnected. The next morning all doors are locked, and guards are stationed at the outer doors to prevent anyone entering or leaving when the Crop-Reporting Board is in session. The sealed reports of field agents and crop specialists in the custody of the Secretary are turned over to the chief of the Bureau, and the Crop-Reporting Board begins its work. The board is

composed of the Associate Chief of the Bureau of Markets and Crop Estimates, three of his most experienced assistants, and usually one or more field agents.

Each member of the board is supplied with a separate sheet for each crop. On the sheets are shown for each State, in parallel columns, the estimates of the crop specialists and State field agents, the average of returns from the county reporters, the average of returns from the township or local reports, and the average of returns from special reporters, together with the report for the previous month, for the same month of the previous year, and the 10-year average for the same month. The chairman of the board reads the comments of the field agents and crop specialists, the reports of the Weather Bureau for each State, and such other data as may be available.

With this information before him, each member proceeds, independently and without consultation with other members to make his individual estimate of the crop condition for each State. The chairman then lists the individual estimates in parallel columns and reads them. They are discussed by the board, and a single figure is adopted for the crop report. This figure is not an average of the figures of the individual members of the board, but a figure upon which all the individuals agree after hearing what factors influenced each member in forming his judgment. As a general rule, there is surprising unanimity of judgment, and little difficulty is had in reconciling differences.

As fast as the figures are determined by the board, they are turned over to a force of expert

computers, who convert the condition figures into numerical estimates of yield per acre for each State, and into United States totals or averages.

The report is then summarized and a sufficient number of copies run off for immediate distribution to the press. Shortly before the time set for issuance of the report, the Secretary or Acting Secretary is admitted to the board room, reviews the work of the board and approves the reports. Exactly at the minute set in advance by the Secretary, the report is released to representatives of the press associations and telegraph companies in waiting in another part of the building, and is at once flashed over the country by wire for publication in daily newspapers. At the same time, a telegraphic report is sent to the office of each State field agent, who issues a State report for papers in his own State. An hour later manuscript is forwarded to the Government Printing Office for publication in the Monthly Crop Reporter, which goes to all the voluntary reporters of the Department.

Any official or employee of the Department who gives out advance crop information or who speculates in agricultural products on the basis of advance information is subject to a fine of \$10,000, or imprisonment for ten years, or both. Only one case of this kind is on record. Heavy penalties are also incurred by officials or employees who knowingly compile or issue false statistics.

## ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE RICHES OF THE ARCTIC

**I**N a series of articles contributed to the *World's Work* Mr. V. Stefansson, the explorer (whose new book, "The Friendly Arctic," is noticed elsewhere in this REVIEW), combats several prevalent misconceptions regarding the fertility and habitability of the Arctic regions.

Although his own experience of eleven years beyond the Polar Circle, traveling on the average of 2000 miles a year on foot, might seem to qualify Mr. Stefansson sufficiently as a competent witness concerning Arctic conditions, he does not ask the reader to take his unsupported statement of fact, but refers him to a recent report made by a Royal Commission to investigate the reindeer and musk-ox industries in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions of Canada. The upshot of this report, summarizing investigations covering two years, is that the Canadian North may be a commonplace country, but is at least habitable and rich in natural resources.

During his extended journeyings through the Arctic, as described at length in his book, "The Friendly Arctic," Mr. Stefansson became convinced that one of the chief problems of Canada and Siberia is to begin to make use of the vast quantities of grass that go to waste in the North every year. It seemed to him obvious enough that a domestic animal that will eat the grass should be found, and that this animal after fattening should be butchered and shipped to those countries where the meat is



MR. V. STEFANSSON

needed as food. On returning from his last expedition, just before the close of the World War, Mr. Stefansson found that in his absence in the North even Americans had been on food rations, and in Europe had gone hungry. It was not a difficult task for him to impress upon representatives of the Canadian Government the urgent importance of developing the meat-producing resources of the North.

As to grazing resources north of the Arctic Circle, Mr. Stefansson assumes that the educated Canadian-American or European has been misinformed by his schoolbooks. Says Mr. Stefansson:

To begin with, he will be of the opinion that the northern third of Canada has either no vegetation at all or else only mosses and lichens. He finds it at first revolutionary and unbelievable that the northern half of Canada is a vast pasture. But it is true. The world's largest area of grass lands is undoubtedly in northern Eurasia and to it only Canada is second. Northern Norway, northern Sweden, northern Finland, northern Russia, and northern Siberia are mountainous in some parts and forested in others, but in general they form together a great prairie land variously estimated at from four million to six million square miles, or anything from the full size of the United States to one and one-half times that area. But in northern Canada we have the next largest grazing area in the world, one and a half or two million square miles of prairie land, equal to half the area of the United States. There are no mountains, although there are rocky hills. In some places there are alkali flats without vegetation and in some places there are forests, but in the main it is a verdure clad prairie. Whether in square miles or in tonnage of flowering plants, the grazing areas of the Argentine or of Texas are insignificant in comparison.

These grass lands are not only the northern portion of the continent but also the islands that lie north of Canada, even to the north coast of the most northerly of them. The vegetation is only in part of a typically polar nature, strange to Southerners. In part it consists of common plants, such as various sedges, bluegrass, timothy, goldenrod, dandelion, bluebell, poppy, primrose, anemone, and the like. More than 115 species of flowering plants are known to exist in Ellesmere Island, the most northerly of the Canadian islands. Sir Clements Markham says in his "Life of Sir Leopold McClintock" that in the Polar regions in general there are more than 332 varieties of mosses, 250 varieties of lichens, 28 varieties of ferns, and more than 762 varieties of flowering plants.

Mr. Stefansson hazards the assertion that for every ton of mosses and lichens on the lands beyond the Arctic Circle there are at least ten tons of flowering plants. In connection with the supply of food for animals, it should be remembered that such plants as grasses and sedges grow afresh every year,

while certain species of lichens, cropped by herbivorous animals, require many years to replace themselves.

The northern third of the territory of Alaska is Arctic, and our Government is now making the first detailed studies of the grazing possibilities of that region. These studies have now gone far enough to shew beyond any question that the grazing in the North, as represented by grasses and other flowering plants, is far in excess of that represented by mosses and lichens.

An animal that requires no shelter or feeding, and yet produces meat that commands a fair price, is the domestic reindeer.

Those who have no personal familiarity with the Polar regions find it strange that these animals flourish up there. Fundamentally there is nothing strange about it when you once realize that they are native animals. Each creature flourishes best in the peculiar environment of its own. Cattle and giraffes can fend for themselves in the South, but would die in the North. Reindeer and caribou flourish in the North, but would probably not get along very well in the South. They are in no more need of shelter from a blizzard than a Texas steer needs shelter from the rain, nor are they more likely to freeze to death than a giraffe is to die of sunstroke. The reindeer is no more likely to starve to death in the North because the ground is lightly covered with snow part of the time than a fish is to die of thirst because the ocean is salty all the time.

Regarding the quality of reindeer meat, we have the experience of the city of Stockholm, Sweden, where it has been in use for several decades. About ten years ago it reached the level of the various common domestic meats. It is now sold in the city by the hundreds of tons each year, and one year ago the average price ranged up to 25 per cent. higher than that of beef for corresponding cuts. It has also been marketed in American cities, and in Nome, Alaska, it is regarded by many consumers as better than beef.

Mr. Stefansson predicts that within fifty years every part of the northern mainland of Canada and every island to the north of Canada will be producing reindeer meat for export. It is estimated by Mr. E. W. Nelson, Chief of the U. S. Biological Survey, that within twenty years the annual output of Alaska will be 1,250,000 carcasses per year (equal to about 3,000,000 sheep). But Canada has ten times as much grazing land as Alaska, and should be able to yield a yearly turnover of from 10,000,000 to 13,000,000 carcasses.

# THE HIGH COST OF ELECTRIC ENERGY

WRITING on the subject of "Electricity and Civilization," in *Harper's Magazine* for January, Mr. Charles P. Steinmetz, the General Electric Company's expert, draws several interesting conclusions concerning the cost of electric power as supplied to the factory and to the home.

Because of the rapid advance of electrical engineering, electricity is the only commodity which during the past quarter of a century has steadily decreased in price. Domestic uses of electricity, once regarded as a luxury, have now become actually economical, besides being more convenient, cleanly and sanitary than the old methods.

Thus, electricity is supplying household power and saving labor, eliminating the drudgery which formerly made household work so unattractive—fan motor and vacuum cleaner, the motor on the sewing machine or the ice-cream freezer, the washing machine and ironing machine, the door-bell, the electric flat-iron; electric cooking, from special services, as electric toaster, coffee percolator, etc., to the electric range replacing the coal- or gas-fed cooking stove—in all these electricity has found its field. It is reasonable to expect that all the domestic and industrial work of the city, all locomotion and transportation, will some time be done by electricity, and that in a not very distant future, and that fires and combustion will be altogether forbidden by law within the city limits, as dangerous and unsanitary. It is not reasonable to believe that our civilized society will always allow the air and the sky above our cities to be filled with soot from a thousand smoke-belching chimneys, or the air of the city streets to be poisoned by the ill-smelling exhaust gases of thousands of gasoline cars, when electricity can perform the duty in a safer and better manner.

Mr. Steinmetz points out, however, that it would be hopelessly uneconomical, even with the lowest prices of electricity, merely to replace the grate of the coal stove or the burner of the gas stove by an electric heater. The heat from electric power must always remain much more expensive than heat by the combustion of coal, but electric heat can be employed so much more directly and with so little loss as to make electric cooking in some cases even cheaper than cooking by coal or gas stove. If, on the other hand, we should take out the grate from our hot-air, steam or hot-water heating furnace in the cellar of the house, put in an electric heater, and try to use the same heating plant, the cost would be economically hopeless. Mr. Steinmetz is convinced that the cost of electric heat compared with that of coal can

never decrease sufficiently to make electric heating of our houses as now constructed generally economical.

It might be possible, however, by adopting an entirely new method of building to make the cost of electric heating economically feasible. The walls would have to be insulated against losses of heat by conduction through them. Double or triple glass would be used in the windows. All openings through which cold air might enter would be made perfectly tight. Double or triple entrance doors would be used, in order not to lose appreciable heat when opening them. For ventilation a regenerative system would be used. That is, the heat contained in the foul, warm air leaving the house would be transferred to the fresh, cold air entering it. The outgoing air passes around the pipes which carry in the fresh air.

Coal used for producing electric energy costs five or six times as much as the coal that would produce the same amount of heat directly by combustion, but the cost of the fuel is often less than half the cost of the electric energy, so that the actual cost of the heat produced from electricity in domestic service must be from ten to twenty times as great as the cost of the same amount of heat produced by the burning of coal.

Mr. Steinmetz further shows the fallacy in the prevalent belief that electricity made from water power costs little or nothing because no fuel is consumed in producing it. He says:

Hydroelectric plants almost invariably cost several times as much as steam plants, due to the much more expensive and extensive hydraulic development, the cost of transmission lines, etc. Therefore, what is saved in the hydraulic station, in the cost of fuel, is in general pretty nearly lost in the higher cost of the development, with the result that electricity from water power can differ little in cost from that from steam power. That is, some water powers can produce electricity cheaper than the average steam station, and some large steam stations cheaper than the average water-power station, and in general hydroelectric power is a little cheaper and a little less reliable than steam-electric power, but the difference is not sufficient to give the water power any radical economic advantage.

We also must realize that if all the possible water powers were used—that is, every drop of rain which falls in the United States were collected and its power converted into electricity—and all this electric power used for heating, the total amount of heat produced would be only about one-third as much as that given by our present coal consumption.

## THE WAY TO BETTER MOTION PICTURES

FINDING fault with motion pictures is a perennial occupation, but until lately the fault-finders were mostly persons not connected with the cinematographic art. At present complaints are rife within the ranks of filmdom. The alarm has been sounded that something is wrong with the "movies," and that the results thereof are becoming painfully apparent at the box-office.

Mr. Larry C. Moen, who discusses this subject in the *Photodramatist* (Los Angeles), emphasizes, as others have done, the lack of originality of the contemporary American film. "We have made our pictures," he says, "much as Henry Ford makes automobiles, and without denying the usefulness of his much-maligned vehicle, surely no one would class it as a work of art. The picture should be custom-made—not one of 5,000,000 stock models."

In contrast to several striking photoplays that have recently come to us from abroad, Mr. Moen characterizes the prevailing domestic productions as follows:

Mostly the usual dreary round of film clichés, each "A Celluloid Masterpiece," "Greatest Since 'The Birth of a Nation,'" "Tessie Aintshesweet in the Greatest Triumph of Her Career," "Another 'Miracle Man,'"—it is to weep.

Here and there, among them, there has been a flash of originality, a bit of daring imagination and then—thump! back into the rut.

Producers, we are told, are educating the public to appreciate finer pictures—principally by surfeiting it with mediocrity.

Who is to blame for the present parlous state of the art, and what is to be done about it? The writer says:

To begin with, there is the producer. He has a great deal to say about just what sort of pictures are to be made, and he is entitled to, for it is his money that is being spent. To be the head of a great film corporation, a man must be something of a business man—and unfortunately the business man is seldom an artist at anything except making two dollars blossom where but one grew before. Many of these executives have been unable to see beyond the present profit, and the slogan has been, "Get the money now," little thought being given to the morrow, and the reaction which might come. As a result we have had pictures made, primarily, for the box office, and sold, all too often, on a basis of misrepresentation and exaggeration, until exhibitor and public take film advertising and publicity with a liberal dose of salt.

Not that I am belittling the box office. If a picture cannot interest a sufficient number of people to be profitable, there is no economic justification for producing it. The unfortunate thing, however, has been the tendency, because a certain picture has made money, to make all others of the same type.

We need, then, producers of vision and courage. There are several in the field who possess those qualities in no inconsiderable measure. The right type of producer is going to be arrived at, eventually, by the simple process of the survival of the fittest.

Given our producer, however, we run up against a fresh difficulty. He must have the right kind of people with which to surround himself. He must have directors of ability and ideals, a capable technical staff, players who will sympathetically understand and carry out his aims. And where is he to obtain them?

There are, of course, the other studios. He may watch for people who show signs of true ability, employ them, and develop them along the lines of his own policy. These people, however, are trained in the making of the conventional photoplay, and when it comes to making the unusual picture they are likely to be at sea.

If, on the other hand, he goes into the highways and byways and selects people who seem to have the artistic insight that he requires, he will have subordinates with good intentions but no knowledge of the craft. There is, in brief, no source of trained makers of pictures save the studios themselves.

Mr. Moen sees the solution of the problem in the creation of a motion-picture university.

Not a motion-picture department in a State university, but a school by, of and for motion-picture men. It should be run as an experimental studio, training directors, camera-men, scenario writers, laboratory workers, editors and title writers—it should, in short, duplicate a studio on a small scale.

Such a school could be made profitable, I am sure, from a purely financial standpoint, with the wide interest in motion-picture production which prevails, and think what it would mean to the producers eventually!

It would have to be a practical school, maintained with the coöperation of the leading producers, directors, writers and players, or it would fail of its purpose, but along with the practicality there would be a fine idealism, and a venturesome spirit, that would lead to new advances in film craft.

The school could make, as part of its work, short productions, just as dramatic schools present plays at frequent intervals. These pictures would be likely to possess no little originality, and since they would not be made for commercial distribution, their makers would be unhampered by the usual restrictions. They might be very crude and amateurish, but they would be the source of other and finer things.



# QUASI-AUDIBLE MOTION PICTURES

IT is a well-known fact that various technical difficulties have thus far prevented the realization of successful "talking movies," combining the cinematograph with the phonograph. The practice has become common, however, of introducing occasional audible features in motion-picture productions. The desirability of extending this practice, and the means by which such effects are produced, are discussed in the *Scientific American* by Mr. A. A. Hopkins. He says:

How to imitate, simply and effectively, the many sounds suggested by activities represented in motion-picture presentations, is a matter of interest. The exhibitor knows that, if the vision of the prowling lion can be accompanied at critical moments with a realistic roar or two, the audience will be much better entertained and thrilled than if the picture were allowed to pass silently. The heroine is held by her enemies, but the rescuing hero is fast approaching on horseback. If the regular thud, thud, of the coming horse can be rendered true to reality, then an added satisfaction will be given to what the eye sees. Such audible accompaniments have been successfully used upon the regular stage, so one need not wonder that moving picture people are following this lead. In fact, we may expect a greater development of the imitation of sounds on behalf of the "movies," because such sounds are urgently needed to intensify the effects produced by the pictures.

Scientific methods are available for reproducing the various composite sounds in question, but the process of synthesizing these sounds is too elaborate for practical use. Mr. Hopkins suggests, however, that a scientific analysis of the sounds to be imitated might be useful in finding other sounds appropriate for the purpose of imitation.

However, the business of supplying instruments which may be used as sources of imitative sounds has been developing. The anvil is imitated by a metallic sound produced by a similar metal. The lion's roar is produced by an instrument on the market. This consists of a shell closed at one end and open at the other. Several

hoops surround the shell, one of them securing the diaphragm closing the one end. This diaphragm is a membranous affair. It is set in motion by a string through the center. The shell is considerably smaller than an ordinary wooden water bucket. A smaller but somewhat similar affair produces a sound imitative of a dog's bark.

Note now this: These animal cries are produced by the vibration of animal material. The tones and overtones of which the animal membrane is capable are doubtless similar to those which make up the lion's roar and the dog's bark. All that is needed may be the shells to inclose a body of air that may be set in vibration. A small affair of a similar character, but with the string passed in and out again through two holes near the middle of the diaphragm to form a closed loop, constitutes an instrument with which the



A MOVIE SOUND-DISSEMBLER

(Turning this toothed wheel produces such sounds as the action of a windlass, crane, derrick, heaving the anchor, and ferryboat entering slip)

locust or the frog may be imitated. A stick is passed through the loop and the shell whirled round. A steamboat whistle is reproduced by using a kind of triple whistle with the parts differing discordantly from one another. A clog dance may be rendered so far as sound is concerned by operating two long handled mallets as if they were the feet of the dancer. A police rattle is really a kind of rattle. A wooden arm may be whirled round the end of a short handle held in the hand. A tongue of wood is secured near the outer end of the arm and projects back to a cog wheel on the end of the handle. The end of the tongue in passing round the cogs, as the instrument is whirled, produces a strong rattling noise.

A steady beat of a horse's hoofs upon a hard and sounding road may be imitated with a pair of cups which are struck, open end to open end. The dull, hollow-like sound gives the *thud, thud*. Another instrument imitative of horse's hoofs consists of two pads or flat cushions which may be struck by two long sticks. A horse galloping over pavement or sod may have his footfalls imitated by strokes delivered on the pads.

# MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

AFTER spending many months in Mexico, as well as in this country, Dr. E. J. Dillon, the correspondent, has presented to the public of Spain, through the medium of *Nuestro Tiempo*, the monthly review published at Madrid, an article entitled "The Differences Between Mexico and the United States."

In general, Dr. Dillon criticizes the attitude of the United States Government toward our southern neighbor in the refusal to accord recognition of the Obregon Government until a treaty has been negotiated which will guarantee the rights of American investors in Mexico. The chief points of Dr. Dillon's criticism are contained in the following excerpts from his Spanish article:

It is conceivable that the present divergence is nothing more than a question of form, namely, whether the recognition of the present régime in Mexico should take place prior to or after the negotiation of a treaty in which preëminent considerations might be assured to the United States. The arguments in favor of a written contract are many. It is reasonable that the southern republic may have a commercial treaty with her big northern neighbor—although it may not appear that such treaty should contain special privileges. The majority of states are united by such treaties, and none of them complain that their interests are injured thereby, their dignity wounded, nor their freedom of action gravely impaired. Why, then, should not Mexico follow this custom? Is her national dignity specifically different from that of any other nation? Is her delicacy a pathologic symptom or a deceptive pretext? No. It is neither one nor the other. Mexico is not averse to discussing the conditions of a commercial treaty, as this may not be the prelude of an economic interpenetration. What the Mexicans refuse and what is repugnant to them is the proceeding to demand a contract from them as an inexorable condition precedent to the recognition of their own government.

The recognition of one government by another is nothing more than the implicit admission that the administration recognized represents its country and is authorized to treat in its name, as its mediator and depository of its confidence. This theory, accepted and practised by other nations, has the approval of all international precedents. Treaties are negotiated only with recognized governments, and this principle is so rigorously followed that even concerning a nation overthrown by another on the field of battle recognition precedes the treaty of reconciliation or peace. Recognition and the treaty have never been simultaneous, and to pretend so now constitutes an alarming innovation.

In commenting on the recognition of the Carranza régime and the non-recognition of

Obregon, Dr. Dillon makes the following observations:

Why, ask the Mexicans, must the present President, with whom the exercise of justice is not dictated by blind force, but is inspired by an innate sentiment, be treated worse than those of whom it was said injustice was their second nature? . . . The recollection of Carranza, the acknowledged favorite, would cause one to think of the supreme irony of a foreign government that took pleasure in aggravating the moral crisis of Mexico in putting a premium on bad faith and punishing sincerity.

The insistence of the North American Government in the previous obtaining of a treaty shows that in the American continent the recognition of a national power is something entirely different from what it has been held to be up to the present time, and what it is still considered to be elsewhere. Regularly, and in international law, it is nothing more than acknowledgment by one state that the other has created a government which legitimately represents it and that such government represents it within the limits of a valid authority. This and nothing more. The question as to whether such power is adequate is exclusively a domestic question. This is so certain that it is not even affected by the dissolving power of war. For instance, Francis Joseph died before the armistice. His successor, however, was tacitly recognized as the head of the Austro-Hungarian State, the propositions of peace being discussed with his envoy, Prince Sixto, and the terms of peace being adjusted with delegates that he sent to Saint Germain. There was no demand of a treaty for this recognition. . . .

In further comment upon the oil situation Dr. Dillon remarks:

It is said that the Mexican Constitution contains a clause which involves the confiscation of property of Americans who have invested capital, talent, time, and work in exploiting the petroleum fields of that country, and that to neutralize the effects of such a constitutional clause it is necessary to obtain a treaty before recognition is granted.

Dr. Dillon holds that this is a fallacious statement of the case, and that the article in question, No. 27, is clarified and limited by Article 14. He states that the article does not refer to all property and that it is not retroactive in effect. Quoting Sr. Adalberto Rios, President of the Mexican Senate, he points out:

The Constitution has been falsely interpreted by American engineers. What the Constitution really does is to establish *direct* state rule over the riches of the subsoil, not *absolute* rule. It was the astute and diligent engineers who, misinterpreting the confiscatory law and decrees,

deceived the foreign companies and obtained the support of their governments against the supposed *absolute* dominion, which is not the sentiment of the Constitution.

After further discussing the recognition of Carranza, the non-recognition of Obregon, the oil question and the Mexican Constitution, Dr. Dillon states:

The fundamental law which President Obregon has sworn to uphold contains an article, No. 15, which explicitly prohibits him from signing such a treaty as is offered. Therefore, if he signs the treaty presented by the Department

of State of the United States he violates not only the Constitution of his country, but also his oath to uphold it.

In connection with this prohibition he further says:

Undoubtedly there are ambitious and unscrupulous men who would not hesitate in paying such a price for the recognition that is held out and denied, but President Obregon has never been of that class. If he acceded in the matter he would place himself on the level of these others, and on account of his refusal his fellow-countrymen give him their support.

## THE FOUNDER OF BAHAIISM

IN November last the newspapers of the world reported the death (at the age of seventy-seven) of Abdul Baha, the originator of a religious cult which had obtained adherents in Asia, Europe and America. In an article which he contributes to *Unity* (Chicago) for December 22nd, 1921, Mr. Horace Holley says of this spiritual leader:

In effect, Abdul Baha may be called a teacher. His purpose and his influence were to establish an attitude toward life, enabling men to realize the best in themselves by realizing the common

foundation of reality in the life of all. His words had the weight of deeds; his wisdom poured forth from the abundance of his experience. His own example spoke first and last, and those who knew him most familiarly day by day, looked upon him rather as a symbol than an individual man. A forerunner in the unseen world of consciousness, many a generation must pass before his teachings have been absorbed into the instinctive being of the race.

The foundation of Abdul Baha's teaching is declared to be the principle of unity:

Unity, proceeding downward from the primal Oneness, into the manifested worlds of separation, there undergoing an essential evolution linking together the mineral, vegetable, animal and human worlds—unity lost in principle by human consciousness during a certain period now at an end; unity recoverable amid the present division of experience into the several planes, each with its manifestation upon social existence—unity claiming at this stage of human development a new degree of influence throughout all affairs—thus, perhaps, can the many-faceted teaching of Abdul Baha be realized as one teaching, given according to the capacity of the individual making inquiry of him. It is as the aviator, not the pedestrian, that Abdul Baha points out the road.

And thus, when Abdul Baha addressed his audiences in Europe and America, he developed the great theme of Peace not as the difficult, hesitant, semi-conscious groping together of broken peoples into an agreement to kill no more—not as a step forward in our political thinking conditioned by a past of unceasing war and strife—but rather from deeper levels of experience and vision he witnessed a glorious world-wide civilization established impreguably upon the rock of God-given law; which vision he poured forth as living water to such as thirsted for righteousness.

Mr. Holley finds the fundamental significance of the life and teachings of Abdul Baha to consist in his elevation of the spiritual principle of service.



ABDUL BAHÁ ABBAS, HEAD OF THE BAHÁI RELIGIOUS CULT

## ITALIAN EMIGRATION TO BRAZIL

IN an article in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome), warmly advocating Italian emigration to Brazil, Ugo E. Imperatori calls attention to the fact that Italy greatly needs an outlet for her rapidly growing population, which has increased more than 50 per cent. since 1850. This found expression in the constant growth of emigration, which, finally, in the decade 1901-1910, averaged 600,000 annually. At the outbreak of the World War it was estimated that about 6,000,000 Italians were domiciled in foreign lands, 80 per cent. of this number being in North or South America.

The World War checked this migration and with it one of Italy's chief sources of financial prosperity. Great numbers of emigrants came back to the mother country, and their accumulated savings were expended. With the return of peace it became evident that grave difficulties interfered with a resumption of this exodus, for commercial crises in the industrial countries closed the doors to any influx of workers from Italy to the best transoceanic markets, and the breaking up of the Austrian Empire, coupled with the Russian catastrophe, shut out Italian laborers from some of their best fields in Europe.

The urgent need to utilize what has already proved itself to be a region well fitted for Italian emigrants has recently resulted in the conclusion of a labor treaty between Italy and Brazil. The economic evolution of the latter country since 1889 has been powerfully aided by the work done by Italian agricultural laborers, but unfortunately their experiences in Brazil had not always been pleasant. The owners of the great plantations had long been accustomed to maltreat their negro slaves, until on May 13, 1888, negro slavery was finally abolished, and they often took advantage of the inexperience of the newly arrived Italians. Moreover, the crisis in the coffee industry led in many instances to breaches of the contracts regarding wages.

The individual Brazilian states, imperfectly coördinated, failed to carry out an efficient policy in defense of the Italian laborers, and the Italian Government was slow to realize the great importance of the emigration movement, as well as its sacred duty to care for the welfare of the expatriated Italians. Nevertheless, the writer declares that even under these difficult con-

ditions the Italian workers have been able to accomplish in the State of São Paulo the most extraordinary results, and to-day, among the 700,000 Italians living in this State, the greater part enjoy exceedingly favorable social and economic conditions. They have been successful in every field of activity and have assured for themselves the respect and admiration they so well merit.

Hence the Italian emigrants of to-day have a much better outlook than had those of twenty or thirty years ago, for there are now, in the whole of Brazil, a million and a half Italians who are ready to extend a hearty welcome to the new arrivals and to help them to take advantage of the best opportunities. This is doubly important in view of the fact that the stream of Italian emigration will rather augment than diminish in volume with the passage of time. Thanks to the more efficient hygienic measures that are being carried out in Italy to lessen infant mortality, the excess of births over deaths in that country will soon reach a half-million annually, and the resultant increase in population would cease to be an unmixed blessing did it not render possible the creation of zones of Italian influence outside of the mother country.

In conclusion, the writer says of the relations between the two countries:

If among the dangers incident to emigration much stress has been laid upon the presumable inclination of the emigrant to abandon his nationality, our relations with a country like Brazil, to which we are bound by so many ties of blood and civilization, prevent us from dreading this danger. The recent labor treaty between Italy and Brazil distinctly signifies our official recognition of these ties, and offers a guarantee that they will be rendered still closer in the future.

It is not with a foreign civilization that we come in contact in thronging to this vast and rich country, which receives us hospitably and offers us a market for the conquest of which we have the most appropriate instrument, namely, the fruitful labor of our emigrants. Italians do not impoverish their native land in emigrating to a country which tenders them a fraternal welcome; on the contrary, they are able to demonstrate the full value of our wealth in man-power, and to add by their remittances to the financial well-being of the home country. We must rather admit that it is only by the labor and savings of our emigrants that the national finances can be quickly and substantially restored. The different Brazilian states will compete with one another in offering our emigrants the best guarantees of comfort, because their own fortunes depend in great part upon the intelligent and valuable co-operation of our countrymen.

# THE ROMAN COLISEUM TO-DAY

**A**N article in *Cornhill* (London) for January on the desecration of historic sites and monuments in the city of Rome refers at the outset to the feeling of indignation that spread over the civilized world when, on April 1, 1921, Senator Lanciani, the archæologist, rose in his place in the Italian Senate to interrogate the Ministry as to the rumored conversion of the Coliseum into a kind of variety theater.

The answer, according to the writer in *Cornhill*, was significant of the manner in which the desecration of Rome has been carried on by the civil and municipal authorities since the Eternal City came under their rule:

The Minister of Public Instruction, Signor Croce, under whose jurisdiction the ancient monuments of Rome seem to lie, made the astounding answer, received with indignant laughter, that a five-year lease of the Coliseum had been granted in February to a theatrical company by an under-secretary, and without his knowledge. "There was doubtless some clause in the contract which laid it open to rescission, and in view of the protests and dissatisfaction the project evoked, he would undertake that it should go no further." Well might Professor Lanciani express his wonder—*sua maraviglia*—that an act so abhorrent to the sanctity of the spot, "its historical, artistic, and traditional sanctity" could have been effected by an underling without the knowledge or consent of his chief. Romans accustomed to the methods of their rulers, while drawing a breath of relief at the danger so narrowly escaped, gave thanks for the outburst of public feeling which had prevented the usual curt reply of the *fait accompli*, given so often to cut short the protests made against acts of a similar kind, effected in a similar manner.

The dealings of the authorities with that ancient monument have been neither merciful nor tender. Nature had clothed its ruined walls with an exquisite veil of greenery: a flora so marvelous and interesting that books had been written on its four hundred varieties, a few of

which were so rare, that their seeds are supposed to have come in ancient days in the cages of wild beasts from tropical countries. They have all been scraped away, the walls are bare, and more damage has been done to them by dragging out the roots of the shrubs than might have happened naturally in the course of centuries. When we stand in the bare ugly interior, it is difficult to conjure up the picture of the old beauty we loved—now so ruthlessly banished.

In the writings of Bede there is quoted a prophecy of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims:

While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand;  
And when Rome falls, the world.



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INTERIOR OF THE COLISEUM AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY

For many centuries, down to the year 1872, on February 1, there was a solemn procession from the church of San Clemente to the Coliseum, carrying the relics of Saint Ignatius, the disciple of St. John and companion of Polycarp, around the scene where on that date he had been devoured by lions as the first of the martyrs of the Coliseum. The spot where shortly after his death 115 Christians were shot down by arrows was marked, until 1872, by a cross which was then destroyed.



# THE NEW BOOKS

## AFFAIRS OF THE NATIONS

**A Political Pilgrim in Europe.** By Mrs. Philip Snowden. George H. Doran Company. 284 pp.

In this volume Mrs. Snowden, who has lectured much in the United States on social and political topics, gives an account of two years of travel and investigation on the continent of Europe. She was present at the meeting of the Second International in January, 1919, at the Women's Conference at Zurich, and at the League of Nations Conference in March of that year. Her book also records interesting observations in Austria, Russia, and Germany. At the end of her travels Mrs. Snowden was more firmly convinced than ever before of the necessity of internationalism for the world's salvation. To secure the right form of political internationalism she believes that the labor organizations of the world should support the League of Nations, and see that it is kept on fairly democratic lines. As the only rational solution of the problems of peace and war, she looks forward to total disarmament by all the nations.

**America and the Balance Sheet of Europe.** By John F. Bass and Harold G. Moulton. The Ronald Press Company. 361 pp.

It is now admitted everywhere that the economic readjustment of world affairs is more important than the political. The best statement of the present business conditions of Europe that is available for American readers is to be found in a book by John F. Bass and Harold G. Moulton, which surveys the situation with systematic thoroughness. Mr. Bass is the well-known correspondent who has been studying conditions at first hand in all countries for more than a quarter of a century. Mr. Moulton is a professor of political economy and a financial authority, and both writers are associated with the University of Chicago. Both have studied and observed economic conditions in Europe very exhaustively since the war, and Mr. Bass is the author of a previous book highly commended in these pages, called "The Peace Tangle." The first part of this book is a compendium of information on trade, industry, and public finance. These writers face facts unflinchingly and show that Europe has been moving toward an economic ruin from which it might take centuries to recover, if proper solutions are not adopted by international effort and agreement. Even a condensed statement of the scope and character of this volume would require many of our pages. The processes of reform that are emphasized are: first, domestic production in every country must be increased; second, unrestricted trade between nations must be restored; third, the world's business and the trade of all countries must rest upon a resumption of the gold standard; and, last but not least, the European Governments must balance their budgets—that is, they must see that their expenditures

do not go beyond their receipts. The working out of these things would of course involve the disappearance of price and currency inflation. A considerable part of the volume is devoted to the subject of Germany's reparation debts. A changed attitude toward reparations is asserted to be necessary, while, with equal candor, the authors of this book declare that the United States must for many reasons cancel the debts owed to us by European Governments. If the argument for such cancellation as here presented is not conclusive, it is at least the most candid and persuasive statement that has appeared in any quarter. In view of the expected economic conference of all the European powers, to be held at Genoa in March, there is no current work that seems to us as valuable and as timely in its treatment of fundamental conditions as this compact volume, based as it is upon clear thinking and profound weighing of concrete facts.

**Marooned in Moscow.** By Marguerite E. Harrison. George H. Doran Company. 322 pp.

In February, 1920, Mrs. Harrison entered Russia as correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Associated Press*. Her intention was to remain in the country for six weeks. She actually stayed eighteen months, ten of which were spent in prison. She had a good opportunity to observe the workings of the Soviet Government of Russia, and although she was not permitted to take out of the country any notes that she had made of what she saw and heard there, the occurrences of those eighteen months were so vividly impressed on her memory that she has had no difficulty in writing an absorbingly interesting narrative of what passed under her own eyes. Fortunately, her newspaper training had given her a good sense of proportion and the ability to distinguish the essential from the unessential in relating her story. She makes no special plea in behalf of anyone, but simply tells in a straightforward way what she saw going on under Soviet rule. In the final chapter she expresses the conclusion that the Soviet Government, whether we like it or not, is a real government and should be recognized.

**Through the Russian Revolution.** By Albert Rhys Williams. Boni and Liveright. 311 pp. Ill.

It is probably true that Mr. Williams, as a correspondent, saw as much of the Russian Revolution as any of its participants did. This volume contains an account of what he saw, and also includes considerable special pleading for the Soviet Government, for which the American reader will make due allowance. In connection with the text, there are reproductions of official Soviet posters which are important as disclosing the attitude of the leaders at various stages of the revolution. Several of these are in color.

# THE FARMER'S INTERESTS

**City Homes on Country Lanes.** By William E. Smythe. Macmillan. 270 pp.

Mr. Smythe was one of the early leaders of the great irrigation movement in our Western States, and especially in southern California. His writings and speeches contributed to the success of the national Reclamation policy, and he has long understood and advocated the possibility of creating a fine type of social and neighborhood life on the basis of agriculture. During recent years Mr. Smythe has been one of the men at Washington who have worked for the adoption of the land policies that came to be identified with the name of Secretary Lane. In the present book, he shows by a striking array of facts how great are the advantages of the city as compared with the average, ordinary life on American farms. He believes on the other hand that millions of people in the cities ought to have some relation to open air existence, and ought to know the sense of dignity and permanence that comes with the ownership of a home that is surrounded by a bit of cultivated land. This is not a book that undertakes to deal with the larger agricultural problem. As its name implies, it endeavors to encourage the yearnings of people who are "country-minded," and who might find real enhancement of health and happiness if they were living in a garden-city suburb with a good-sized lot, or, better still, a full acre of land, and with a garden, small fruit, poultry, and so on. Mr. Smythe has known a great deal about such developments in southern California; and he believes that around all of our cities there ought to be a zone of garden suburbs giving homes to millions of people, many of whom would continue to have their daily employment in the city. The book has many practical chapters, including a very charming one on Luther Burbank and his work. Its literary quality is notably high, and it will serve to strengthen the resolution of many people who are longing in their hearts to try the adventure of country life.



MR. WM. E. SMYTHE

**Rural Community Organization.** By Augustus W. Hayes. University of Chicago Press. 128 pp.

In this very small volume, Professor Hayes of Tulane University, New Orleans, has made a valuable contribution to the discussion of con-

ditions now pertaining to farm life and rural communities. He takes a hopeful view of the possibilities of farm life, not only through the adoption of new and improved methods of soil maintenance and production, but also through the consolidated school and other agencies for improving all the conditions of country neighborhoods, through political and economic co-operation within definite local units.

**The Farm Bureau Movement.** By Orville Merton Kile. With an Introduction by James Raley Howard. Macmillan. 282 pp. Ill.

Those who have wondered how a farmers' organization could attain a paid membership of more than one million in its first year, and could spend a quarter of a million dollars a year in a single State, will find answers to their inquiries clearly suggested in this volume. The Farm Bureau Federation, which now represents nearly one-third of the country's population, is the logical outgrowth of a farmers' movement in this country at least half a century old. The organization is described in detail by Mr. Kile, who compares it with the Grange, the Farmers' Alliance and the Non-Partisan League, for the purpose of setting forth its weaknesses, as well as its strong points. The important part unconsciously played by the Government, in its effort for agricultural extension, and especially in the development of the "county agent" idea, is well brought out. All who have either a business, political or social interest in the Farm Bureau Movement, may gain from this volume a better understanding of its origin, form and objects.

**Marketing Agricultural Products.** By Benjamin H. Hibbard. D. Appleton and Company. 389 pp.

The author devotes about half of this book to a statement and exposition of the problems and the mechanism of farm marketing. He then outlines the reforms sought through general organizations and political movements, including the Grange, and the American Farm Bureau Federation, and in his concluding chapters shows what has been done through coöperative business organization. Although the author is concerned with the principles of marketing, rather than with the actual processes of selling farm products, he has included in his book, by way of illustration, a good deal of descriptive material applying to conditions as they are to-day.

**The Demonstration Work.** By O. B. Martin. Boston: The Stratford Company. 269 pp. Ill.

This is a timely tribute to the services of the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, who, through the powerful impetus that he gave to farm demonstration work, really inspired the Lever Act and the coöperation between the Government and the local farmers in the modern agricultural extension movement.



## ECONOMICS, SOCIOLOGY, LAW

**Waste in Industry.** By the Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry of the Federated American Engineering Societies. McGraw-Hill Book Company. 409 pp.

Mr. Herbert Hoover, as President of the Federated American Engineering Societies, suggested late in 1920, a study into the restrictions and wastes in industry. In January, 1921, Mr. Hoover named seventeen engineers to constitute a Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry. This Committee at once investigated six typical branches of industry—the building trades, men's clothing, shoe manufacturing, printing, metal trades and textiles. A summary of the findings of this Committee is presented in this volume. The facts revealed by these reports may be made the basis of a general improvement in our industrial efficiency.

**Problems in Business Finance.** By Edmond Earle Lincoln. Chicago: A. W. Shaw Company. 525 pp.

This book of problems in business finance was prepared primarily for use in the author's classes in the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. In these classes the so-called "case" method of instruction, familiar in modern law schools, has been adopted. The author has taken pains to include in his volume a discussion of the problems that come to the small and medium-sized business concerns. He also develops the financial problems that are common to all kinds of business units, large or small. The average business man will find in this book that more attention has been given to the everyday matters with which he is intimately concerned than to those of a spectacular and public sort.

**Economic Development of the United States.** By Isaac Lippincott. D. Appleton and Company. 691 pp.

In this convenient economic history of the United States, comprising a single volume, the major portion of the space is devoted to the era of industrial expansion, beginning with the Civil War and ending with the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. A final chapter gives a brief survey of American industry during the war period, 1914-21. Altogether, the book contains a large amount of interesting historical material which could not be brought together from general sources without extended research.

**The Defective Delinquent and Insane.** By Henry A. Cotton, M.D. Princeton University Press. 201 pp.

Dr. Henry A. Cotton for many years has been at the head of the New Jersey State Hospital for the Insane at Trenton, and has also had a professional relation to the prison population of the State. Several years ago he entered upon a new method of treatment, particularly in the State Hospital, giving great attention to the discovery

and elimination of local foci of infection. Dr. Cotton and the brilliant surgeons who have cooperated with him have secured astonishing results. A few years ago it might be said that something more than one-third of the patients admitted to the institution were in due time discharged as measurably restored to sanity. Under the new methods of treatment, more than two-thirds are now restored and discharged. At the present stage of experimentation, while this promises to be a matter of profound public interest, it is as yet primarily a subject for the medical professions and the official heads of institutions. Meanwhile, this volume, which is made up of a series of lectures given early last year at Princeton University, is a contribution of most remarkable value to the study of the causes of insanity and of certain forms of delinquency, as affected by physical disorders.

**The Spirit of the Common Law.** By Roscoe Pound. Marshall Jones Company (Boston). 224 pp.

This book by the Dean of Harvard Law School contains his most interesting lectures on legal philosophy, ancient and modern. No lawyer who pretends to be a community leader, no judge who is sympathetic and even moderately conscious of the stupendous sociological progress of recent years, no legislator or administrator of any real purpose or responsibility—none of these should fail to read this book. It is soundly written to advance American jurisprudence, suggesting the line of direction, and recharting the past for future guidance. The chapter heads include such titles as Puritanism and the Law, The Courts and the Crown, The Rights of Englishmen and the Rights of Man, Philosophy of Law in the Nineteenth Century, Judicial Empiricism, and Legal Reason. And that last is a most valuable and timely chapter, written in an authoritative manner by one of our most brilliant and scholarly commentators.

**Intervention in International Law.** By Ellery C. Stowell. John Burne & Co. (Washington.) 558 pp.

Looking backward to the abolition of dueling between men, one may wonder why it is still tolerated among nations. Out of the high-minded principles enunciated preceding our participation in the late war may yet come a new international jurisprudence designed to secure a large measure of progress toward a higher civilization. It is Mr. Stowell's aim here to show when one nation is justified in using force to influence the conduct of another. It will be interesting to any enlightened person to compare the progress of the common law with that of the law of nations, especially to note how the latter seems to lag, notwithstanding Mr. Stowell's formulation of the new rule: That no state shall unreasonably insist upon its rights or pursue its interests to the detriment of the opposing rights and interests of other states.

## BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

**Boy Scouts' Life of Lincoln.** By Ida M. Tarbell. Macmillan. 247 pp. Ill.

For many years Miss Tarbell has been engaged in collecting Lincoln material, hunting up and interviewing men and women who knew Lincoln in life, and striving to revivify the portrait of Lincoln for the present generation. This little book, prepared for the Boy Scouts, is of course equally entertaining to every boy and girl who is interested in the career of the martyr President. One thing that makes it especially welcome to the Boy Scout troops of Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois is the attention that it gives to the homes and haunts of Lincoln's boyhood and youth. It makes familiar to the reader of to-day all the trails that Lincoln followed in his early life on the frontier.

**Making Woodrow Wilson President.** By William F. McCombs. Edited by Louis Jay Lang. Fairview Publishing Company. 309 pp. Ill.

Mr. McCombs was manager of the campaign that resulted in the nomination and election of Woodrow Wilson as President in 1912. From 1912 to 1916 Mr. McCombs was Chairman of the National Democratic Committee. Therefore his account of "Making Woodrow Wilson President" is what the newspapers call an "inside story." The most important part of the book is the series of chapters (X-XIII) describing the Baltimore Convention of 1912, in which Mr. Wilson was nominated on the forty-sixth ballot after the Hon. Champ Clark, of Missouri, had on several ballots received an actual majority of the Convention.

**Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic.** By Raymond M. Weaver. George H. Doran Company. 388 pp. Ill.

In the revival of interest in the South Seas, for which we have to thank the writings of Mr. Frederick O'Brien, the almost forgotten American writer, Herman Melville, who seventy years ago made the South Seas known to the English-speaking world, is again coming to his own. Melville, the friend of Hawthorne, although recognized as the literary discoverer of the South Seas, died in New York City in 1891 in a sort of self-imposed obscurity. An article by Arthur Stoddard, published in this REVIEW at the time, was one of the very few tributes to the great sea writer published at the close of his career. Now, thirty years after his death, the articles about Melville's personality are far more numerous than they ever were in his lifetime. This biography by Mr. Weaver gives for the first time a full and authentic account of Melville's life and experiences. It need hardly be said that the adventures recounted in Melville's books were largely his own, and that the descriptions were at first hand. Robert Louis Stevenson declared his books about the South Seas the best ever written.



ONE OF THE LINCOLN LANDMARKS IN ILLINOIS  
(The Logan County Court House, in which Lincoln tried cases)

**The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman.** Collected and Edited by Emory Holloway. Doubleday, Page & Company. Vol. I. 264 pp. Vol. II. 350 pp.

Judged by standards of modern criticism, much of the material presented in these two volumes might well have remained "uncollected." There are long extracts from Brooklyn and Long Island newspaper files of the '40's and '50's of the last century, the republication of which can add little or nothing to Whitman's literary reputation. As to the poetry, one can readily understand why Whitman himself in his later years was willing to consign many of the efforts of his youth to oblivion. Yet the reproduction of these early writings, some of which were discovered by the editor, Professor Holloway, in manuscript form, was worth while, not for their intrinsic worth, but because of the light they throw on Whitman's own growth and emergence as a writer. Two excellent introductory essays, one biographical, the other critical, serve to put the reader in touch with the true significance of Whitman's writing, especially in the period preceding the Civil War.

**The George Sand-Gustave Flaubert Letters.** Translated by Aimee L. McKenzie. With an Introduction by Stuart P. Sherman. Boni & Liveright. 382 pp.

These letters were exchanged between George Sand and Gustave Flaubert during the last ten years of George Sand's life. They cover the period of the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune. To a great extent the letters are given over to matters of current literary interest and to questions of art, morals and politics.

## EXPLORATION, DESCRIPTION, TRAVEL

**The Friendly Arctic.** By Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Macmillan. 784 pp. Ill.

The Stefansson expedition, made under the auspices of the Canadian Government, added about 100,000 miles to the known area of Arctic lands. It began in 1913, and was completed in 1918, just before the signing of the armistice that ended the World War, of which the members of the expedition remained in blissful ignorance for more than a year after the beginning of hostilities. Every book of Arctic exploration is from the nature of the case a tale of adventure, but this volume by Mr. Stefansson is far more than a record of the personal fortunes of those who took part in the expedition. His forerunners in the field of Arctic discovery, including Admiral Peary, the man who found the Pole itself, have related surprising feats of endurance in the Arctic, but it has remained for Stefansson to show how white men can live there and can survive the ups and downs of human existence, much as they do at home. Stefansson not only "lived on the country," where the Eskimos themselves had never ventured, and successfully fought the cold and wet of those far-off regions, but he did this under the serious handicap of illness—typhoid, pneumonia and pleurisy in succession. He and his comrades proved that the so-called solitudes of the Far North are teeming with animal and vegetable life, and that they need have no terrors for the white man from the temperate zone who is endowed with a reasonable amount of physical strength and common sense. After all it is a "friendly Arctic."

**The Passing of the Old West.** By Hal G. Evarts. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 234 pp. Ill.

In this volume Mr. Evarts, who is a popular writer of animal stories, describes the vanishing of certain forms of American wild life—the beaver, the buffalo, and the passenger pigeon—and tells how the elk of the Yellowstone Park have been decimated. He makes a strong plea for the conservation of animal life, as well as of American forests.

**In the Alaska-Yukon Gamelands.** By J. A. McGuire. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. 207 pp. Ill.

This book relates the experiences of a group of American sportsmen who made a trip to northeastern Alaska for the purpose of collecting specimens of moose, white sheep, caribou, goats and smaller game for the Colorado Museum of Natural History. Mr. McGuire gives some good descriptions of far northern scenery, as well as of the big game which lives in that part of the world. An introduction is supplied by Dr. William T. Hornaday, of the New York Zoological Park.

**Trapping Wild Animals in Malay Jungles.** By Charles Mayer. Duffield and Co. 207 pp. Ill.

Thrilling adventures in catching elephants, tigers, apes, snakes, and other wild beasts in the Malay peninsula for the great circuses and

menageries. Mr. Mayer's experiences were first published in the form of articles contributed to the magazine *Asia*.

**Among the Hill-Folk of Algeria.** By M. W. Hilton-Simpson. Dodd, Mead & Company. 248 pp. Ill.

The Shawia Berbers of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria, often called the "White Arabs," are representatives of the white race who have remained almost unknown and unvisited, and still retain many customs that have wholly disappeared among other white peoples. The author of this volume gives an account of three winters' sojourn among these primitive tribes. His book discloses many facts heretofore unknown to English or European travelers.

**Panama Past and Present.** By A. Hyatt Verrill. Dodd, Mead & Company, 262 pp. Ill.

A good book for mid-winter tourists, many of whom are about to start for the Canal Zone. Mr. Verrill is not content with merely describing the Canal itself, but includes in his book a great deal of useful information regarding the Republic of Panama itself, which has been referred to as the least known of all Latin-American countries. Mr. Verrill has lived in Panama for several years, and knows its people and its resources.

**A Fortnight in Naples.** By André Maurel. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 385 pp. Ill.

The author of "A Month in Rome" gives in this new book a description of Naples arranged in the form of fifteen successive days' observations. There are many excellent illustrations.

**Sea and Sardinia.** By D. H. Lawrence. Thomas Seltzer. 354 pp. Ill.

Mr. Lawrence developed his latest book in the primitive conditions to be found on the island of Sardinia. He gives an excellent description of that part of the Mediterranean and the Italian coast, and his text is well supplemented by the color sketches contributed by Jan Juta, a young artist from South Africa.

**The Tower of London.** By Walter George Bell. John Lane Company. 164 pp. Ill.

Probably most Americans visiting London wish to inform themselves concerning the Tower. Heretofore there has been no short account of the Tower's history accessible. The want is now supplied by a well-informed Londoner who, oddly enough, seems to have written for the sole purpose of interesting Londoners in their historic possession. The facts that he relates are of equal interest to the traveler from beyond the bounds of London. Some excellent pen-and-ink sketches are contributed by Hanslip Fletcher.

**More About Unknown London.** By Walter George Bell. John Lane Company. 251 pp. Ill.

A book of rare and curious information, embodying many historical facts of more than local significance.

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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**HON. CORDENIO A. SEVERANCE, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION**

[Never before in the history of the legal profession has there been so great an interest as this year in the training and qualifications of practising lawyers. Immediately following Washington's Birthday, a two or three days' convention, to be held at Washington, was arranged by the leading lawyers from all sections, representing State and local bar associations. A call has gone out from leaders of the bar, urging a higher recognition of the duty of lawyers to the community, and insistence upon higher standards of education and character. The Section of Legal Education and the Conference of Bar Associations united in calling this meeting. These are working parts of the American Bar Association, of which Mr. C. A. Severance, of St. Paul, is president this year. Mr. Severance for many years has belonged to the famous law firm of which former Senator Cushman K. Davis was senior member until his death, and of which Senator Kellogg was a member until his recent retirement from practice. Mr. Severance has had a leading place in important federal cases having to do with railroads, corporations, and the Anti-Trust Law. The present movement for better legal training has owed much to the surveys and reports conducted under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation. Nine years ago the Committee on Education of the American Bar Association asked Dr. Pritchett, of the Carnegie Foundation, to have the education of lawyers studied as thoroughly as that of medical practitioners.]

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 3

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Hope Comes  
with the  
Spring Time*

The world has been fighting its way through a grim and painful winter. The struggle for food and clothing, for fuel and shelter, has been exceptionally severe. Many millions of workers have been out of employment in the more highly industrialized countries. The business of maintaining governments has been more costly than in former times, because, in all countries except Germany (to which might be added Austria and Hungary) the military establishments have continued to be far greater than they were before the outbreak of the war in 1914. But at least the world has seen less actual clash of arms than in any previous season for a good many years, and that is something to be thankful for. Unemployment and temporary scarcity are hard to bear; but they are not to be compared with the calamities and woes of military conflict on any considerable scale. The present period of economic stagnation has not been very long, and the hope of better times in the near future has sustained many a suffering family whose bread-winners have been deprived of opportunities to earn. Conditions in Europe are slowly improving, and perhaps the worst has been faced.

*Russia, and  
American  
Altruism*

As spring approaches, it is perceived that by far the greatest area of distress remains, as had been predicted, in the famine-stricken parts of Russia. Many hundreds of thousands of people already have died, while relief services have saved the lives of enough people to populate a small country. European authorities declare that the American Relief Administration in Russia has been efficient beyond any other, and that, considering the difficult conditions, it has been as nearly perfect as any human agency could be. It is agreeable to us to have such tributes, because Europe sometimes criticizes this country in

terms of bitterness and insult—at least many European newspapers indulge in this practice. Whatever may have been the causes leading to the general result, it is true that the American people are impelled to a surprising extent by the motive of altruism. To blame the United States for not having accepted membership at a given moment in a particular organization called the League of Nations is to be guilty of a kind of bad taste that wise and thoughtful Europeans do not exhibit. They appreciate American generosity.

*The Nation's  
Unexampled  
Record*

America was only one of many neutral governments during the early part of the World War. Nothing at all happened which required the United States to assume belligerency in aid of the Allies which did not also call with equal insistence upon the governments of Spain, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Argentina, and Chile. Brazil and China shaped their policies to accord with ours. We ought by all means to have expanded our armaments enormously in 1914 and the following years; and we would have done well if we had asserted our principles and shown our power considerably earlier than we did. But from the standpoint of Europe, our later expenditures of money, of effort, of mobilized man-power, were high-spirited and unselfish beyond the sum total of all comparable examples of official altruism in the records of mankind. We ought to have formed a proper organization of neutrals at the very beginning of the war; and such an organization should have challenged and prevented illegal submarine warfare, criminal air-raids, Armenian massacres, Belgian atrocities, and many other violations of the accepted rules of international law. Using its influence firmly against the violation of Belgian neutrality, such a grouping of the non-belligerent powers

might have ended the war almost at its beginning.

*Why Foreign  
Criticism  
Irritates*

But, even if the United States failed to act with energy and with wise forethought until after the elections of November, 1916, our people made herculean efforts and sacrifices in 1917 and 1918, which atoned for every previous mistake—although it is inevitable that the student of history should in due time survey and appraise all that was done and that was left undone. We simply took it upon ourselves as a neutral power—better able to take care of our own interests, regardless of either or both European belligerent groups, than any other neutral—to intervene with all our resources and to bring the war to an end with justice triumphant. Whatever of security in the world for small nations or for large ones is now to be obtained through peace efforts following the Great War, it is true that the United States more than any other country will have merited credit as having intervened for principle's sake, at great cost and without anything to be gained of a selfish nature. Under these circumstances, the insolence of certain European newspapers, and the cold and calculating ingratitude of certain foreign financiers and publicists, is rather irritating to American sensibilities.

*Certain  
Innocent  
Mistakes*

If America is further to be impelled by altruism, there must be an ample admixture both of humor and of common sense. The efforts inspired by habitual impulses of generosity must be controlled by knowledge and sound judgment. We are suffering a good deal, not because our efforts to end the war were on too great a scale—for indeed it would have been worth while to have embarked on large efforts a year or two sooner—but because in our relations to other countries we were not always sufficiently businesslike and clean-cut. For example, all the preliminary "secret treaties" in which the Allies were involved would have been abrogated willingly and without dispute in 1917, or at latest in the spring of 1918, if we had but asked for this as a reasonable condition of our immense war efforts. But after the war was ended, and peace negotiations were on foot at Paris, this network of secret treaties enmeshed the whole situation. Particular governments were entrapped, and it was too late to do what would have been so simple

and easy only half a year earlier. Again, if our Treasury loans to foreign governments had been issued in a form to show what they really were, we would have escaped practically all of the present embarrassing discussion about them.

*The Foreign  
Loans, for  
Example*

There was never any trouble about understanding the "United-Kingdom loan" or the "Anglo-French loan," or certain other foreign issues that were floated in the United States. So far as the realities were concerned, the Allied borrowings through our Treasury were of precisely the same nature as the loans we have mentioned. The money loaned for war purposes was that of American investors, whether borrowed through New York bankers or through the Washington authorities. If the foreign loans, which Congress has this last month been making plans for refunding, had been issued directly to the investors not in the form of American Liberty Bonds, but as British or French or Italian bonds, accompanied simply by the statement that the United States would hold itself responsible (as endorser) for ultimate payment of interest and principal, the bonds would have been marketed with perfect ease, and no confusion about their character could ever have arisen. At present, the foreigner—not thinking all the way through the transaction—seems to imagine that the Government at Washington could cancel these loans, thus relieving Europe, without any subsequent burden to anybody. But although the bonds were not printed and issued in the name of the borrower, but rather in the name of the endorser of the paper, they remain outstanding in the hands of the lenders; and, since he is solvent and responsible, Uncle Sam will have to pay the money if the real borrowers should succeed in avoiding the obligation.

*Putting Things  
In Proper  
Form*

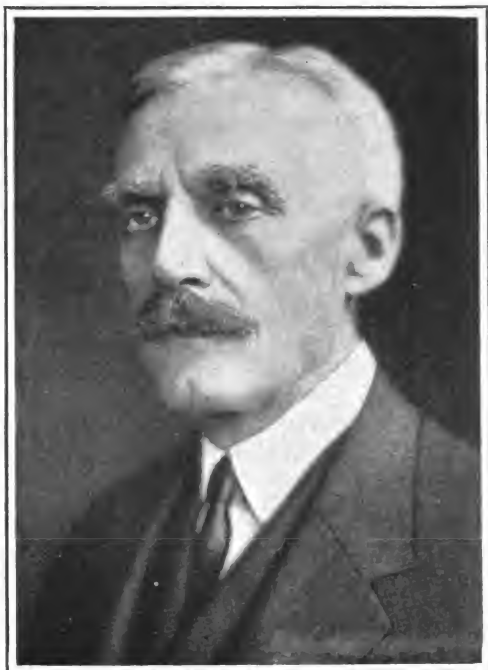
It is now quite an awkward thing to correct the mistake; yet there seems no practical way to deal with these obligations except to issue them, belatedly, as they ought to have been issued in the first instance, so that they may show for themselves exactly what they are. If (as is probable) the American taxpayers are at some future time to assist the taxpayers of Europe in paying the debt due to American investors, no steps to that end can be taken until the obligations themselves are suitably recognized and are so presented that



their nature is clear to everybody. That any great and solvent nation should give preference to its domestic debt, and should desire to be released from its obligations to foreign lenders would be a wholly new thing in the history of finance. Domestic war debts should be liquidated by one means or another as quickly as possible. Being "all in the family," they are mostly a matter of book-keeping. But foreign obligations are another matter, not to be lightly shaken off. The notion in Europe that Americans, after the unexampled generosity of their war efforts, could become exacting in the matter of the repayment of loans might well be resented here. The American people are not Shylocks, and will not be merciless or exacting. But things should be called by their right names, and definite obligations ought not to be waived in a casual manner. If this situation were not dealt with in a proper and business-like fashion, there would never again be such a thing in the world as international credit.

*Who Are  
Chiefly  
Concerned*

The discussion of this question of the foreign debts has to a great extent been marked by ignorance or forgetfulness of facts. The average citizen should understand that there are three principal parties involved in these great financial transactions. These three are the borrowers, the lenders, and the endorsers. The United States Government acted for the lenders, and represented the endorsers. The borrowers are European Governments which gave their unqualified pledges to repay. The lenders are those who bought the bonds that were sold through the United States Treasury to raise the money. The endorsers are the American tax-payers. While the investing lenders are principally American citizens, the bonds are to some extent held elsewhere throughout the world. The third principal party, and the one by far most vitally concerned, is the American public in its taxpaying capacity. Already the American public has paid something like two billion dollars to the owners of these bonds, as against the accruing interest. Because of the solvency of the American people and their high financial honor as represented by their Government, the loans that have been made through the United States Treasury are by far the best investment in the world. After the reestablishment of our finances subsequent to the Civil War, the United States bonds were largely held by European and



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HON. ANDREW W. MELLON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

(With the signing of numerous treaties, and the adjournment last month of the Armament Conference, Secretary Hughes was entitled to some relaxation after the intense labors of more than three months. Issues of a financial character have now brought the Secretary of the Treasury into special prominence. Among these are the funding of the foreign war debts, the study of revenue sources to meet possible bonus payments, and the impending reissue of many billions of our own short-time bonds)

foreign investors who profited greatly. In due time Uncle Sam's present Liberty bonds will also be held abroad in considerable amounts, debtor and creditor thus changing places.

*Inter-Allied  
Bookkeeping*

Debts that European powers owe to one another are mainly a matter of their own inter-allied arrangements for prosecuting a common war. England, France, and Russia were equally menaced, and were compelled to use supreme effort. It was to Britain's advantage that she could defend herself on French soil, and thus avoid the devastation of her own coasts. It might be said that what Britain advanced to France by way of supplies, now standing on the ledger account as debts from Paris to London, was more than offset by those superior sacrifices on the part of France which alone saved England from invasion. These are matters between England and France; and they bear no relation, except of a remote sort, to loans that were floated in America.

*A  
Suggested  
Parallel*

A bank loans a sum of money to a trader and holds his personal note. Later the trader comes to the bank with the statement that he has a partner who owes him a like sum, and he proposes that debts be "cancelled all around." That is to say, he would absolve his partner if the bank would tear up the note and forget it. There might be reasons, indeed, why the president of the bank should feel very friendly. And he might suggest that the bank had already expended a great deal of its own money to support the general conditions of business that were vital to this firm. But, as regards the particular proposals, the bank president might explain very politely that he owed certain duties to the stockholders of his bank, who would have to "make good" with the Federal Reserve Bank that had rediscounted the note. The money had actually been loaned, and if the note were cancelled the burden would merely be passed on to those who would suffer through the bank's inability to collect what was due. The president of the bank might, however, say that there would be no attempt to force collection, and that every kind of consideration, direct and indirect, would be shown, so that in the long run everybody would be satisfied.

*"Cancelling  
All  
Around"*

The suggestions that have emanated from certain financiers abroad about "cancelling debts all around," while appearing quite the fair thing to those who have not examined them carefully, have undoubtedly made the situation more difficult because of their palpable fallacies. The people of the United States will not press these claims ungenerously. The best proof of this assertion lies in the fact that the American people are regularly paying all of the interest out of their own pockets. There are many able statesmen and publicists in Europe who are thoughtful and intelligent enough not to join in slandering the American people at the very moment when America is bearing the entire burden of this indebtedness without complaint. At Washington, ever since the war, there has been a constant, though not very energetic effort to put these obligations into some proper form for ultimate disposition. This is all that the Refunding bill, presented by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon, and — with serious changes — adopted by Congress last month, and signed by the President, can be expected to bring about.

*"Refunding"  
by Act of  
Congress*

There is to be a commission of five members, three of them belonging to the Cabinet, and one each to the two houses of Congress. It has been intimated that Secretaries Mellon, Hughes, and Hoover, representing the Treasury, Foreign Affairs, and Commerce, would be the proper Cabinet members, though Secretary Weeks, who is a banker and a clear thinker, might well be named in place of Mr. Hughes, who has been working prodigiously. These, with a Senator and a Congressman, under the Refunding bill, are now authorized to deal separately with the countries involved. The original Mellon bill, as favored by the President and the Cabinet, asked that unrestricted discretion be given to the Secretary of the Treasury. Congress preferred a commission of five. The bill was not to have the effect of putting pressure upon any foreign debtor, but was merely to bring the obligations into proper form, as had been agreed at the time the money was loaned. President Harding signed the bill on February 9.

*Wealth,  
American and  
European*

The finances of Europe at present are greatly disordered. But the old, highly industrialized countries of Europe are much wealthier than the United States when judged by many tests and standards. Apart from these war-time loans of ours, it is our nation that has been the debtor to Europe for several decades past, by many billions of dollars. We to-day have scanty investments in foreign countries, except for some holdings in our immediate neighborhood, as in Canada, Mexico, and Cuba. European countries, on the other hand, still hold many billions of outside investments, including billions enough soundly invested in the United States alone to offset our recent loans to European governments. The principal countries of Western Europe are to-day in need of additional housing; but their necessities in this regard are not as great as those that exist in the United States. British correspondents like Mr. Wells, going out from Washington through adjacent parts of Maryland and Virginia, were shocked at the conditions they found. Many millions of our American people of the earlier British stock are still living in wretched log cabins, or in habitations not suited to present-day conditions. Modern rehousing has gone much farther in Europe than in America. Mrs. Warbasse's article in this REVIEW last month showed with what

energy, and with what high standards, the European people are even now, since the war, adding to the housing accommodations of their working people. The farm lands of Western Europe are far more productive than our own; their markets are near at hand; they are not subject to such vicissitudes as those which have recently overwhelmed our cotton belt, our wheat belt, and our areas devoted to corn, hogs, and cattle.

*Need of  
Rebuilding  
America*

Outside the zones of our overdeveloped cities, the greater part of the United States is in a crude and relatively undeveloped condition. The American people, especially the farmers, have been accustomed to excessively hard work and to meager rewards. They are cheerful and optimistic, and they will overcome their difficulties. As we remarked in the beginning, they are altruistic; and it is their instinct to help people who may be a little worse off than themselves in all parts of the world. Foreigners who come to New York or to Washington as a rule have no idea of the real conditions of life, State by State, county by county, throughout America. We shall always be able to take care of ourselves, and at the same time to do something for famine sufferers in Russia or China, or for orphans and refugees in regions like Armenia, not because of the nation's wealth, but because of the nation's character. Trade balances, and the maintenance here of sound money standards, have brought a preponderant stock of gold to American bank vaults and the federal treasury; but we should be much better off if that gold were elsewhere, and were supporting sound currencies abroad, with a normal movement of commerce. In the early future, the debt commission will enter upon its duties, and it will be time then to discuss the methods and the details of the refunding.

*Solid Achievements of the  
Conference*

Further, let it be remembered that the business of dealing with these foreign debts is to be in the hands of the men who have carried the great international conference at Washington to a successful conclusion. What this conference has done is excellently stated by way of a final summing up in Mr. Simonds' article, printed elsewhere in this issue. Mr. Simonds always chooses to leave to others the glowing rhetoric of the enthusiast. He

is not cynical, but he likes to keep his feet on solid ground; and praise from him is to be fairly earned before it is accorded. It is to be well noted, therefore, that he has only praise for the results of the conference, for President Harding's timely action in calling it, and for the consistency, energy and skill of Secretary Hughes in bringing his program to the stage of successful accomplishment after twelve weeks of unflagging effort and devotion. Mr. Simonds shows—what we have remarked from time to time—that history cannot be made all at once by a mere effort of right-minded men sitting in a conference. There were certain things to be done because conditions had made them possible. There were certain other things that could not be done because conditions were not ripe.

*Some  
Tangible  
Results*

Mr. Simonds shows most lucidly what has been done and what remains. We have renounced a prospective naval supremacy that, fortunately, we did not want. We have proved to England that she may safely renounce her existing naval supremacy because her varied interests and responsibilities are not to be menaced. We have told Japan that we had certain things yet to do in the Philippines, but are not building up an empire of power in the Far East. We have asked Japan to deal considerably with China as a friend and neighbor. But we have become more than ever convinced that China must emerge from her own political chaos before she can exercise all the attributes of sovereignty—of none of which we desire to see her deprived. Japan promises definitely to withdraw from Siberia when she can safely do this, in view of the collapse of trustworthy authority in Russia. In the drafting and signing of various international treaties, we have brought back international law; and never again—we hope and believe—will the world tolerate the crimes that were perpetrated on land, under water, and in the air, less than four years ago.

*Conquest  
of Public  
Opinion*

While the new international court last month was assuming its robes of dignity at The Hague, we were strengthening its hands at Washington by restating sound principles of the law of nations and placing such an array of power and of public opinion behind those principles as had never existed before. Wise and generous men and women in all

lands last month accorded high praise to President Harding, to Secretary Hughes, to Elihu Root, and to Senators Underwood and Lodge. Never for a single day did these men do their work without carrying along with them (1) the intelligent conviction of many competent advisers at Washington, (2) the countenance and help of the American press, (3) the earnest support of the Pulpit and the Bar, (4) the accord of commerce and finance, (5) the good-will of those who are influential with organized labor, and (6) the hearty approval of the men and women who are close to the soil. For a time there was some anxiety lest the partisan mood should assert itself in the Senate, and the treaties should be debated and delayed in an acrimonious spirit. Fortunately, the Democratic leaders for the most part accepted the wiser view that partisanship had no proper place in these matters. It became clear that to vote for the treaties would be less likely to hurt Democrats in the fall elections than to obstruct the treaties. The President had never been quite so persuasive as in his address to the Senate when offering the treaties for ratification; and organized opposition seemed unlikely.

*Friendly  
Negotiators*

Now, as regards the foreign debts, it is almost too evident for assertion that the men who have shown themselves so large-minded throughout the Washington Conference will not be otherwise than reasonable and generous in the more or less technical business of carrying out the processes that are authorized by the Refunding bill. A banker of vast experience like Mr. Mellon, an international statesman and man of affairs of the first rank like Mr. Hoover, a foreign minister universally esteemed like Mr. Hughes, a President of poise, kindness, and sagacity like Mr. Harding, will not be found browbeating the European financiers over the handling of these debts. There are many preliminary conditions that ought to be met by the countries of Europe for their own best welfare. They should reduce the cost of land armament as rapidly as possible. They should trade freely with one another. They should shake themselves free of the horrid nightmare of irredeemable and almost worthless paper currency. They should dispose of their unpayable domestic war debts. They should pay taxes enough to balance their budgets.

*Economic  
Reform on  
Broad Lines*

Then will come a time when it might be in order to consider the best way in which to support the foreign debts upon a broad international base. When European countries have met their own internal problems with fortitude, and have solved them, undoubtedly the people of the United States would be ready to do even more than their share in disposing of the net residual burden of international obligation. Mr. Vanderlip's new book, which has now been published in several languages, and to which we made advance reference in these editorial pages last month, while strongly asserting the validity of the indebtedness to the United States, also advocates the adoption of some ultimate plan by means of which the repayment might result in general advantage. America has no thought of worrying France or Italy, or of pressing Great Britain at this time. There should be orderliness in public finance; but generosity will be the best investment.

*A Cash  
Bonus for  
Soldiers*

There was a somewhat formidable attempt at Washington early in February to attach a soldier bonus bill to the measure for refunding Europe's debts. The bonus movement had been checked last year by President Harding's outspoken opposition and by Secretary Mellon's constant disapproval on fiscal grounds. The advocates of a sweeping and comprehensive bonus bill at this time had all along been very vague as regards the means by which to raise the money. It was asserted



THE PROCESSION STARTS TO THE SENATE  
From the *World* (New York)



THE PHOTOGRAPH SHOWS A SCENE IN THE FINAL SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS AT WASHINGTON WHEN DELEGATES AFFIXED THEIR SIGNATURES TO VARIOUS TREATIES

that the farmers and the industrial workers would not tolerate a sales tax. Mr. Mellon insisted that large incomes and commercial corporations could not pay increased taxes, and that nominally higher rates would diminish the total yield rather than increase it. The leaders of the bonus movement then caught at the idea that the European debt could be associated with the payment of bonus to soldiers, and that a certain kind of moral pressure could be put upon foreign governments to meet interest payments which in turn might be diverted to the project of wholesale distribution among the ex-service men. Against this proposal President Harding was obdurate. He did not state in set terms that he would veto a measure of that kind, but such a course was fairly to be inferred.

*Taxes  
for the  
Bonus*

Mr. Mellon, as director of the Government's financial mechanism, never lost sight of the fact that the foreign loans were merely a part of the total of our own outstanding indebtedness, and that refunding the foreign debts was hardly separable from the technical processes of refunding domestic obligations. It might indeed be a very good thing if the entire bulk of our war indebtedness were, for purposes of administration, separated altogether from the ordinary handling of the budget. The commission that is to deal with the foreign loans might very well be charged with refunding from time to time the domestic debt, meeting its interest charges, and planning its reduction. While a sales tax would be unpopular for the ordinary purposes of revenue, it might be pos-

sible to levy a universal sales tax, the proceeds of which should be used exclusively for paying interest on the public debt and gradually amortizing the principal. This would leave the existing sources of revenue available for a strictly balanced budget relating to the current expenses of government. Nothing of this kind is likely to be done; but it is desirable for purposes of clear thinking to keep these two broad fields of financing separate from each other.

*Politics  
and the  
Service Men*

The bonus bill has proved itself to be an embarrassment at Washington. If no elections were to be held until 1924, it may be said with entire assurance that the present session of Congress would not have tried to pass the bonus bill that was imminent last month. This bill was expected to pass both Houses without fail at an early day; yet there was no one capable of making a close estimate of what it would cost. The pending bill offers several options. The ex-soldier or sailor may have cash, or paid-up insurance, or vocational education, or help of one kind or another in buying a home or in establishing himself upon the public lands. There were widely varying estimates as to the percentage of the men who would draw cash instead of insurance or some other kind of benefit. Regardless of precise statistics, it may be guessed that about five million individuals would become beneficiaries under this act. It might also be wildly guessed that the act would call for an early expenditure of not less than five billion dollars. In the end it



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HON. WILLIAM E. BORAH, UNITED STATES SENATOR  
FROM IDAHO

(Mr. Borah's oratorical energy, independence of view, and bold initiative have made him more conspicuous than any other member of either House of Congress during the past winter. It was Mr. Borah's resolution requesting the President to call a naval disarmament conference that passed the Senate unanimously last May, and was accepted by the House with practical unanimity late in June. He was prominent in the debate over the seating of Senator Newberry, and last month he took the lead in opposing the pending bonus measure)

would probably cost considerably more than this round figure. Sorting over the five million individuals, it might be possible to find one in ten, let us say 500,000 in all, who for definite rather than for general reasons would be entitled to immediate help.

*Danger of  
Hasty  
Legislation*

There were certain large constructive notions for helping the returned soldiers entertained by such men as Secretary Lane that seemed to us admirable in the highest sense. As for the disabled, we are already spending something like one million dollars a day, or nearly four hundred million dollars a year, to meet their just claim upon the nation. We cannot do too much for those who suffered in the war; but help should be bestowed wisely. A large proportion of those who served in uniform do not favor the proposed cash bonus. They are aware that the service men, like other people, have more to expect from the rewards of improved general business than from cash doles out of the Treasury that might retard the process of business recovery. Unfortunately, the bonus question is now

"in politics," and this makes for haste rather than care. In a few weeks primary elections will begin. Those who are opposed to the bonus are not organized to fight it; while those who demand it are prepared to challenge the reelection of any Congressman who is not surely with them. Everyone said in Washington last month that it would be political suicide for Congressman or Senator to oppose the bonus at this time if he was seeking reelection next November.

*What is  
the Right  
Policy?*

There is nothing hidden or obscure about this situation. It is not technical or difficult like the tariff question. The service men, like millions of other people, have had to endure the pinch of hard times during the past year. They are entitled to good-will and friendly help from all quarters. Those who have not felt it wise at this time to enter upon a scheme of cash bonus, for all who wore a military uniform in the last war, ought not for that reason be regarded as less friendly than others. Mr. Hoover prefers a plan of comprehensive insurance, as against the cash doles. Men in Congress who are opposed to certain features of the present bonus bill may indeed be quite as friendly to the service men, while also showing a higher sense of public duty, than others who think it will be easier for them to go home with the record of having voted for a bill that they may not regard as entirely wise. It is not at this moment a question of doing something or doing nothing for the men who fought in the war, but rather a question of taking ample time to decide upon what is best.

*"Adjusted  
Compensation"*

If there is to be a so-called "adjusted compensation," the term could only mean that the soldiers were paid far too little, while their brothers and cousins who stayed at home to make munitions or build ships were paid relatively on too liberal a scale. Everyone knows that there ought to have been a work army as well as a fighting army; with everybody treated on like principles. Unluckily, extravagant wages were consumed to a great extent in extravagant outlays, and those who were overpaid have very little left with which to make things square with the uniformed men who were underpaid. As for the so-called employing "profiteers," they have already been quite well mulcted by the excess business taxes, and by the higher brackets of the personal income tax. All things con-

sidered, if a large sum is to be raised and distributed as a soldiers' bonus, a sales tax would probably furnish the most appropriate means of raising the money. Fur coats, fancy shoes, silk stockings and underwear, cosmetics, expensive shirts and neckties, cigarettes, chewing gum, soft drinks, tea and coffee, patent medicines, theater tickets—such are some of the articles of wide current consumption that might be heavily taxed for the benefit of the service men. Gasoline and automobiles are suggested. Articles that belong more strictly to the common necessities should not be included.

#### Tariff Perplexities

It is not to the discredit of the present Congress that it finds the tariff question so hard to solve. It is no longer a sectional issue. It is best for the cotton regions that they should diversify their agriculture and amplify their manufactures; and it is decidedly best for the wheat, corn, and cattle "belts" that they should not be so dependent upon distant consuming markets, but should steadily build up a variety of home industries. Too low a tariff would hurt the South and West quite as much, in the long run, as it would hurt the East in the short run. On the other hand, we enlarged the volume of foreign trade so greatly in the war period that it would now do us more harm than good to build the kind of tariff wall that Republicans plausibly advocated in Mr. McKinley's time. How to make a tariff that shall reasonably protect home industry, while not destroying foreign trade and wrecking the whole of our new merchant marine, is far too puzzling a question to be handled by mere partisan orators. Senator Underwood's help should be welcomed by the Republicans. This is the time for encouraging in every way the scientific studies of the Tariff Commission. In spite of serious difficulties and objections, the trend seems to be toward the valuation for customs purposes at the American port of entry, rather than the present method of levying *ad valorem* duties upon the foreign cost. Specific duties have many advantages over *ad valorem*. President Harding has come to favor some plan for what is called a "flexible tariff." He presented this idea to Congress in his message on December 6. Since then the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has tested out the sentiment of business men throughout the country, and strongly favors the creation of a "Tariff

Adjustment Board" authorized to vary the rates within prescribed limits in accordance with changing conditions. Delay in final action upon the Fordney Tariff Bill has been statesmanlike, in view of many complexities and changing conditions. The business leaders of the country are disposed to lift the question out of the ruts of party controversy, and to settle it along lines of commercial policy.

#### One Year of Mr. Harding

On the fourth of March, President Harding's Administration will have completed its first year. It came into authority by virtue of an overwhelming vote of the American people in November, 1920. There are those who declare that they are disappointed because of what the new Administration has done or has failed to do. There are others who predict that the Democrats will win a sweeping victory in the State and Congressional elections eight months hence. Those who understand best the currents of our political life might suggest in reply that if Mr. Cox and a Democratic administration had come into power with a sweeping Congressional majority, the same sort of mid-term reaction might be anticipated. It would be no real advantage to the Republicans to carry everything this Fall. A strengthened opposition would help rather than hurt the Administration.



THE SERVICE MAN'S "RICH UNCLE"  
From the News (Dallas, Texas)





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DR. HUBERT WORK, OF COLORADO  
(Who was selected last month to succeed Hon.  
Will H. Hays as Postmaster General)

*A  
Consistent  
Record* Dismissing party prejudice, and taking the calm view of things, it is fair to say that President Harding has grown in his hold upon public opinion. His presentation of the new treaties to the Senate on February 10 was a surpassingly strong and convincing argument for the prompt acceptance of the results of the Armament Conference. He has worked harmoniously with his Cabinet, and has known exactly how to maintain proper relations with Congress. The first change in his Cabinet comes with the retirement of Mr. Will Hays from the Postal Service. As we remarked last month, the retiring Postmaster General has been able in one brief year to make a praiseworthy record. His successor will be Dr. Hubert Work, of Colorado, who is to be promoted from the position of First Assistant Postmaster General. Dr. Work was for a number of years the Colorado member of the National Republican Committee. But as a successful physician—recently president of the American Medical Association—he is even more widely known than as an official or political leader. Newspaper rumors have from time to time busied them-

selves with several other possible changes in the Cabinet, but no substantial ground for such reports has been indicated. The best interests are served, as a rule, by according full power to one party or to the other during a full Presidential term. Deadlocks between President and Congress are not good for either party, and they injure the country.

*Farmers  
and  
Public Policy* The Farmers' Conference at Washington brought together a group of men and women whose average of intelligence and good sense would be hard to surpass. The Conference as called by President Harding had been well planned by Secretary Wallace of the Department of Agriculture, with a group of his competent associates like the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Pugsley, and Dr. Taylor, who is an eminent economist and head of the Bureau of Farm Management. Permanent policies for farm prosperity were clearly differentiated from those that bore upon existing emergencies. So much of the vigor of the country has been drawn into the activities of city life that the necessity of public policies intended to maintain rural pursuits has not been as well understood as it should have been. The Conference helped to educate Washington, and it taught the metropolitan press some needed lessons. One immediate result of it was the passage in the Senate of the bill authorizing cooperative farm marketing with only one opposing vote on February 8. Professor Ely of the University of Wisconsin, long recognized as our leading authority on the subject of land economics, was one of the principal speakers at the Conference; and he has prepared for our readers a valuable summary of its program and its conclusions, which will be found elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW.

*Agriculture  
Now Gets  
Its Hearing* One result of the Conference was to win for the so-called "farm bloc" in both houses of Congress a more cordial hearing and a better understanding. Some of the measures urged on behalf of agricultural interests—for example, some parts of the emergency farm tariff of last year—might be lacking in remedial virtue. But projects for placing farming upon a better basis as respects long-time and short-time borrowings of capital are desirable for the whole country. Farmers have not been wholly wrong in the opinion that too much liquid capital, relatively speaking, has been available for trading in

bonds, stocks, and commodities at the large centers (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, the Twin Cities, St. Louis, San Francisco, New Orleans) and too little for the support of agricultural production. Experience has shown that wherever coöperative methods, as in the fruit industry of California, the dairy husbandry of the Northwest, and to some extent the grain growing of Kansas, have been thoroughly tried, the results are beneficial to consumers as well as to producers.

*Railroads  
and  
Farmers*

In their attitude toward railroad freight rates, the farmers' leaders are too much impelled by temporary conditions and too little regardful of permanent issues. The country as a whole, farmers included, has most to gain from having the railroads prosperous and efficient, so that plenty of capital may go into the railroad business. Furthermore, extremely low long-haul freight rates are of doubtful advantage. Such rates unduly intensify manufacturing in the East, and force the Southern and Western farmers to produce a few staple crops and go too far afield for markets. A better distribution of industries would make Southern and Western farmers more prosperous because of large home markets, and would at the same time lift the agriculture of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia out of the long-standing depression that has been caused by the overwhelming competition of surplus meats and breadstuffs from the West. To many people, this doctrine of higher rather than lower freight rates will be hard to accept; but there is something to be said in its favor.

*Kenyon  
to Become  
a Judge*

Certain New York papers were unduly sarcastic about the appointment of Senator William S. Kenyon of Iowa to the position of United States Judge of the Eighth Circuit Court to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Wallace I. Smith. The intimation that Senator Kenyon was deserting the pending agricultural bills, or that President Harding desired to send him away from Washington, was absurd. Senator Kenyon had formerly served in the Department of Justice, and his training and his own preferences have made his elevation to the bench most fitting. He was unanimously confirmed by his Senatorial colleagues in open session. He had recently



ON THE FOURTH OF MARCH PRESIDENT HARDING WILL HAVE COMPLETED HIS FIRST YEAR IN THE WHITE HOUSE. HIS PERSONAL HOLD UPON PUBLIC CONFIDENCE HAS UNDOUBTEDLY INCREASED

made a masterly speech against the undue use of money in politics, during the course of the debate upon the seating of Senator Newberry of Michigan.

*Again, the  
Newberry  
Case*

It is unfortunate that there has been so much controversy among Senators since the vote on Newberry's seat was taken. Upon the whole, the debate has been salutary. If Senator Newberry had resigned after the vote had been taken in his favor, and had proposed to enter the Michigan primaries again, there are many even among his opponents who would have wished him well. The claim was made on his behalf that he had been absent from his State—absorbed in war work—and not personally cognizant of expenditures made on his behalf, during the stubborn contest of 1918 against so popular a candidate as Henry Ford. To resign the seat, and to attempt to regain it as manager of his own campaign by personal appeal to his fellow citizens of Michigan, would be regarded in many quarters as the finest contribution a man in Senator Newberry's place could make toward a welcome era of better methods in our contests for public office.



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HON. TRUMAN H. NEWBERRY, UNITED STATES  
SENATOR FROM MICHIGAN

(Mr. Newberry was a young business man of large interests when with the approach of the war with Spain twenty-four years ago he entered the Navy. In President Roosevelt's second term he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy and, for a few months, Secretary and member of the Cabinet. When we entered the war in 1917, he joined the Navy again, and was in this Government service when the Republicans of Michigan elected him to the United States Senate in 1918, Mr. Henry Ford being the Democratic candidate. It was charged that Newberry's election was secured by the improper use of large sums of money. After a thorough investigation, the Senate confirmed him in his seat on January 12. Most Democratic Senators and several Republicans voted to declare the seat vacant.)

*The  
Call to  
Genoa*

All close observers of the Washington Conference agree in urging that the most valuable thing achieved there was in the sphere of international friendship. Men of cool judgment and wide learning declare that no previous conference of nations in all history has done so much to promote harmony. As our readers will note, Mr. Simonds in his survey of the Conference does not dissent from these happy conclusions. It was some weeks ago, while our Washington Conference was not even approaching its successful adjournment, that Mr. Lloyd George, as guiding spirit in a meeting with the French and Italian Prime Ministers at Cannes, determined to hold a European Economic Conference at Genoa in early March. It was at once announced that invitations to this august

gathering would be extended to Germany, Austria and Hungary, that Russia also would be invited, and that the official presence of the United States of America was particularly desired. Afterward the formal invitations were sent out by the Italian Government. Almost immediately, however, the French Ministry under Briand was in retirement and a new Cabinet headed by Poincaré took office. Only a little later there were political changes in Italy which overthrew the Ministry of Signor Bonomi. There were strenuous times also in German politics, but Chancellor Wirth continues to hold his place at least for the present. Meanwhile, the man who seems to have become Germany's foremost exponent, Dr. Walter Rathenau, has taken office as Foreign Minister.

*Reason  
for  
Delay*

There was much support in the United States for the view that this country should be represented at the Genoa Conference. But it was not difficult in the atmosphere of Washington to see why President Harding should delay. In the first place, the Washington Conference had its work to complete. In the second place, we could not appear at Genoa with any prestige or influence if the treaties



AFTER YOU, MY DEAR ALPHONSE  
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)

emerging from this Washington Conference were in the slightest danger of being rejected by the Senate. In the third place, the Refunding Bill (relating to the foreign debts) was pending in Congress, and it was desirable to have it finally acted upon. In the fourth place, the United States had to consider carefully all that might be involved in the presence of Lenin and his Bolshevik associates at the Genoa Conference table.

*America  
Might Take  
Part*

Unquestionably this country has a great and necessary part to play in helping to stabilize economic conditions and to restore the world's financial and commercial exchanges. It would seem, however, that the March date originally fixed for the Genoa Conference was a mistake. France, apparently, was advising a three months' postponement. As Mr. Simonds well states in this month's article, there are political preliminaries that ought to be settled in Europe before an economic conference could be expected to have large results. American opinion would heartily support a full, permanent, mutual alliance between Great Britain and France. If the Genoa Conference should be postponed for several months, the way might seem clearer to President Harding and his advisers for our full participation. Meanwhile, there are important preliminary steps, strictly European in their nature, that might be taken for improvement of financial conditions, and of business intercourse; and, if these should be undertaken without delay, it might be easier to persuade the Government at Washington to assume an important and responsible place in a world conference to be held at a later time.

*Canada  
Shoulders  
Responsibility*

The public affairs of our esteemed neighbor on the north grow steadily more important; and we in the United States cannot afford to be unmindful of the progress and the policies of Canada. Thus it was announced last month that the new Dominion Government under Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King as Prime Minister has decided that the Dominion should be represented in the Genoa Conference. While there are no official announcements, it is believed that the British Government is preparing to assume the full burden of the heavy advances made by Canada for war purposes to the British Treasury. The amount of this debt which the Dominion

Government is perhaps soon to refund is, in round figures, about \$450,000,000. The total war indebtedness of Canada is about \$2,500,000,000. At the end of the Civil War the United States had a debt of about \$2,700,000,000 and a population of 36,000,000. Canada has now about 9,000,000. Our neighbors will carry their heavy load without grumbling, and will meet every obligation without default.

*Common  
Interests with  
the Dominion*

There is no country more gallant than Canada—none with a better record in recent times. And there is no other that is bound to the United States by so many ties of mutual interest and of friendly association. Canada's place is now distinctly fixed in the group of peoples called the British Commonwealth, and it is henceforth understood that the Dominion is entirely independent in all that pertains to her own affairs. Thus she will be at liberty to send an Ambassador of her own to Washington whenever it may seem desirable. She has long made her own tariff arrangements without dictation or interference from London. As we have more than once remarked in these pages, it is high time that a seat was made for Canada in the council room of the Pan-American Union at Washington. At this stage in tariff discussion it should be strongly urged by those who look well into the future that the welfare of the two halves of North America are to be regarded as identical. To create ill-will by tariff legislation at Washington, when we are trying to create good-will by all other means, would be harmful in any direction—transatlantic, transpacific, or southward; but it would be especially mischievous and unsound as a policy directed against our Canadian friends, whose prosperity is only less vital to us than is that of our own States.

*Our  
Armed  
Forces*

Overshadowing everything else that concerns our navy and its affairs at this time must be the amazing fact that we are under agreement to scrap a great number of ships, including costly superdreadnoughts upon which we have spent several hundred million dollars. The President last month stopped construction in the shipyards, while work upon fortifications more remote in the Pacific than Hawaii was also sharply terminated. The practical process of "scrapping" the navy is a topic to which we shall revert in the near



THE THREE MEN NOW MOST INFLUENTIAL IN SHAPING MILITARY POLICY AND IN DETERMINING THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW ARMY

(From left to right: General Pershing, Chief of Staff; Hon. John W. Weeks, Secretary of War, and General James G. Harbord, Acting Chief of Staff)

future. Meanwhile, the extent to which the personnel of the Navy ought to be reduced is a question to be dealt with carefully by those who are best qualified to handle it. A similar remark might be made about the size and character of the new army. We are glad to publish in this number of the REVIEW an article on this subject that emanates from the highest authority. Secretary Weeks explains the plans that have been adopted for maintaining a small but efficient military establishment, that could in case of need be rapidly expanded in the most efficient and least burdensome way. To have reduced our army from 4,000,000 men to 150,000 in about three years, while still maintaining the technical organization with all the new branches that were created during the Great War, has been no small task. There are limits of reduction beyond which the wisest friends of peace and the sturdiest foes of militarism would not deem it advantageous that we should proceed at the present moment.

*England Meeting Economic Strains*  
The opportunity to economize in navy and army expenditures afforded by the success of the Washington Conference was eagerly embraced in Great Britain. Steps were at once taken last month greatly to reduce naval personnel and also to cut down the army. Sir Eric Geddes, who is one of the ablest administrators now in public life, boldly pro-

poses to bring the army, the navy, and the air service all together under one department of defense; and he has retrenchment plans that would save the British taxpayers several hundred million dollars a year. These proposals in England will tend to gain support for our reorganizers at Washington, who have for some time been advocating a similar merging of the civil administration of our armed forces. To understand the motives actuating British policy at the present time, it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that England is dependent upon foreign trade, and that the economic reconstruction of Europe is an urgent matter from the standpoint of British manufacturing centers where several million people are suffering from unemployment. Mr. Simonds, in his survey this month, shows the striking contrast between the French and the English economic systems. The economic life of France is for the most part well balanced and self-contained. England, on the contrary, derives the greater part of her food and the raw material of her industries from the outside, and must in return have markets for her commodities. Discussing the foreign debts, Mr. Simonds remarks that the British are preparing to meet their obligations to the United States without question or delay; but that other countries are not yet in such financial order as to begin interest payments. The new debt commission at Washington will of course recognize facts, as they bear

upon the differing cases of the several governments with which they will take up negotiations. Meanwhile the British have their own war-debt adjustments to make. Australia is taking up a debt of \$400,000,000 owed to Great Britain, while a similar amount is due to Canada.

*Royal Influence Growing* With the assembling of Parliament on February 7, the King appeared in person and expressed his satisfaction over the results of the Washington Conference. The royal influence has been exercised with such prudence and intelligence that it has been steadily increasing during recent years. King George has played an important part in bringing about the settlement of the Irish question. The journeyings of the Prince of Wales are not only training that popular young gentleman to succeed his father, but have been helping in practical ways at a time when the Empire is in the midst of its processes of post-war readjustment. With the approach of the wedding of the Princess Mary to Viscount Lascelles, the warm feeling of the British peoples toward the reigning family found new opportunity for expression. In a series of momentous situations; during recent years, King George has shown himself open-minded and capable of accepting new ideas without any of that reactionary instinct that was once supposed to belong essentially to the institution of monarchy.

*Recent British Adaptation* Thus Britain now sets up the Dominions as sovereign States, with the King's good-will. As rapidly as possible, Britain is reorganizing the Government of India on a home-rule basis; and King George, who is Emperor of India, is not worrying about his prerogatives. Britain has given up the supremacy of the sea, which she had held since the days of Queen Elizabeth; and the King congratulates everybody upon an arrangement that shows full confidence in the friendship of the United States. The King has helped the Irish people to gain their political freedom, and has cared very little about the exact kind of oath of allegiance to the Crown. It is not unlikely that in the immediate future his influence may help to restore a good understanding with France, and to establish a basis of permanent agreement with that country which may lead to final settlement of German reparations, and thus pave the way for Europe's economic reconstruction.



SIR ERIC GEDDES, HEAD OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL ECONOMY

(Sir Eric, who is a brother of the British Ambassador at Washington, filled various civil posts of the highest importance during the war, and has lately been working on the problem of reducing national expenditures. His proposals are even more sweeping than those of Gen. Charles G. Dawes' at Washington. The largest items of retrenchment relate to reductions in the personnel of the Army and Navy)

*Setting Up Ireland's "Free State"* As regards the Irish question, the British Parliament, as soon as it met in the second week of February, proceeded at once to pass the legislation necessary to give full force to the agreements which had been previously made by the Cabinet with the Irish leaders, and which had been ratified at Westminster before Parliament adjourned a few weeks earlier. This, of course, was merely a matter of formal detail. It was to be expected that the new order of things in Ireland would meet with difficulties. Mr. De Valera and his supporters far from being helpful to Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins were recklessly obstructive. The Ulster local government, under the leadership of Sir James Craig, found itself in an awkward predicament over the boundary question. Sir James was insisting upon keeping under the Belfast jurisdiction the two counties of Fermanagh and

Tyrone, which by large majorities preferred to attach themselves to the Irish Free State. Obviously, it was a poor rule which would not work both ways. Sir James's attempt to ride on both horns of the dilemma was more painful than heroic, and was evidently marked for failure.

*Border  
Troubles*

The British Government had acclaimed the Free State by opening the prisons and granting amnesty to many hundreds of men who had been detained on political grounds. Sir James Craig's authorities in the North had, apparently, not been so generous; and a good many Sinn Feiners had been kept in jail. Early in February there were border raids, by way of reprisal, which resulted in the kidnapping of a number of excellent Ulster Presbyterians; and this, indeed, was a very wrong course of procedure. The only thing that can bring Ulster into its ultimate and proper place as a political part of Ireland—as the Dublin leaders well understand—is an exhibition of practical good sense and patient forbearance, through the opening period in the management of the new Irish Free State.

*Jockeying  
Over  
"Genoa"*

The British Government was inclined to be insistent upon the March date for the Genoa Conference; but obviously, if France as well as the United States could not take part at that time, the Conference would be futile. Meanwhile, the King of Italy had been unable to find a man who could form a new ministry to replace that of Signor Bonomi. Thus, after the lapse of a week, the Popular and Democratic parties came together, and agreed to bring back Bonomi and his full Cabinet, the Socialists also concurring. A number of things were involved in this political episode. The death of the Pope, the selection of his successor, and the improving relationships between the Italian Government and the Vatican bore some relation to Bonomi's return to power. This return, moreover, was, as it would seem, simultaneous with certain communications between Paris and Washington relating to the Genoa Conference. President Harding, on his part, did not announce his foreshadowed declination to send delegates to the economic conference, while in London it was said that the British Government would agree to a postponement when Italy should officially announce it. The Italian Socialists were

hoping that a delay of the Conference would secure an understanding which would give Russia a seat, without the result of keeping France and America from taking part. It was generally expected, therefore, that Bonomi would soon proceed to suggest that the conference meet at a later date.

*The  
Papal  
Succession*

The death of Pope Benedict XV occurred on January 22, and the Cardinals were at once summoned to meet at the Vatican for the choice of his successor. The late Pope had been in a difficult position during the Great War, because the Roman Catholic peoples of Europe were arrayed against one another. The Vatican made unavailing efforts from time to time to bring about peace by negotiation. Pope Benedict had accomplished much toward healing the breach between Church and State in Italy. It is the rule of the College of Cardinals to elect a Pope by a two-thirds majority; and this has on numerous occasions in the past brought forward a man little known, as a compromise. Cardinals Gasparri, Maffi, and Merry del Val were conspicuous in the public mind. The outside world would have welcomed the choice of Cardinal Mercier, of Belgium. But it has long been the custom to choose an Italian; and, indeed, the Italian Cardinals outnumber those of other nationalities. The choice last month fell upon Cardinal Achille Ratti, who at once assumed the name of Pius XI. The new Pope is identified with the city of Milan, where he had recently been made Archbishop. For some years he represented the Vatican in Poland, and he had previously been known as a learned scholar and librarian. His selection has met with wide favor in Italy and throughout the Roman Catholic world. We are publishing in this issue a well-informed article from the pen of Dr. Maurice Francis Egan on certain aspects of the Papacy and its relation to the Italian monarchy. Dr. Egan's long services as a Professor in the Catholic University at Washington, and his many years as an American diplomatist in Europe, have qualified him to write with exceptional knowledge.

*Threats  
of a  
Coal Strike*

The long-term agreements between the coal operators and the miners expire on the last day of March of this year. In February it seemed certain that there was no acceptable basis at hand for new agreements and that



there would be general strikes in the unionized mines of both the bituminous and anthracite coal fields. The anthracite miners have been demanding an increase of 20 per cent. in wages, with one dollar added to the pay of day workers, time-and-a-half for overtime, and double pay for Sundays and holidays. The bituminous coal miners are not asking an increase in wages, but have given notice of their intention to refuse the wage reductions which have been announced or which are about to be announced by the operators. The anthracite mine owners have given public notice that the price of coal to the consumer would be increased about \$1.30 a ton if the increased wages are granted.

*A Bad Outlook  
for the  
Householder*

The spokesmen for the unions have denied that the 20 per cent. increase in wages demanded should result in any such increase in the price of coal as \$1.30 per ton, and have given figures to show that such an increase in price is out of proportion to former calculations and statements of the operators themselves. The latter explain, however, that only 60 per cent. of the shipments of anthracite are of the prepared domestic sizes, and that the balance consists of so-called "steam sizes" which sell customarily below production cost and which are now in such hopeless competition with an overproduction of bituminous coal that they cannot bear any part of the suggested increase in wage costs. This must all be piled onto the 60 per cent. of anthracite production, consisting of coal for domestic uses. In this way, an actual increase in labor cost on the whole production of hard coal amounting to 78.4 cents a ton, when applied to the prepared sizes alone, would bring the increase to \$1.30. The average total mine cost per ton of anthracite is given as \$5.55 (of which \$3.92 is labor) and the luckless consumer is paying in New England and nearby States between \$15 and \$18, or nearly three times pre-war prices.

*Viscious Circle  
of Wages  
and Prices*

The inevitable result of these abnormally high prices for domestic fuel coal is that many of the poorer people who used it when it cost \$5 or \$6 a ton cannot use it at all now, and thousands of others are forced to restrict their consumption in greater or less degree. With this slackening of demand, the coal miners find themselves working, on the aver-

age, fewer and fewer days out of a year, so that even with the present rates of wages looking very high indeed, as compared with pre-war rates—and high as compared with any increased cost of living—the workers in the mines are individually earning each year much less than they should have on any basis of reasonably continuous employment. Feeling the pinch of their inadequate incomes, they insist on still higher wages, which tend to give a further push to retail prices of coal and, perhaps, by a new cut in consumption, make the miner's yearly income still more meager. There is no doubt of real suffering of the workers in many of the coal fields to-day. In some, the miners are averaging less than two days' work a week.

*Will Industry  
Be  
Held Up?*

If no way is found to reconcile the differences between the operators and the miners, the country may then look forward to a cessation of work by all union coal miners on April 1. This does not mean that the wheels of industry must, beginning with that date, stand still, or even after the supplies laid up by manufacturing concerns in anticipation of this event are used up. The present normal consumption of bituminous coal in the United States is about 7,000,000 tons weekly. Under the drive of war-time needs this production was increased for a short time to 15,000,000 tons weekly. About 30 per cent. of the bituminous miners are non-unionized, and it is expected that they will keep at work even in the event of a general strike and that they may produce as much as 4,000,000 tons per week. Such an amount of new production, when reinforced by the enormous accumulations of coal already mined—a result of the past year of acute industrial depression—should keep the wheels of industry moving fairly well, although there will be vast waste and confusion in the redistribution of transportation facilities following the closing down of more than half of the mines. It has been announced that the American Federation of Labor will support the coal miners in their strike, and in February they were attempting to make an active alliance with the railway labor unions.

*The  
Larger  
View*

Whether the situation is temporarily patched up with some new compromise wage agreements, or whether the strike runs its demoralizing course and is won or lost by

the miners, the real and great trouble will be untouched until there is a complete revolution in the industry of coal-mining in America. At present the productive capacity of our coal mines and their equipment is much greater than the normal consumption of the country. The multitude of operators, large and small, are attempting to make money in spite of that fact by digging out the richest and most accessible seams, with all the waste inherent in such a system or lack of system; the miners are only averaging from two to four days a week, and the plan of distribution and transportation is hopelessly confused. The industry is in position to follow the experience of Great Britain's coal mines. There the rich seams near the surface have been exhausted, and the deeper and poorer workings now reached are producing scarcely one-half as much coal as was produced ten years ago with a cost per ton several times as great.

*A New System Absolutely Necessary* Something must be done to change the whole system. No more tremendous and worthy task could be imagined for a man like Mr. Hoover. One set of men looks to an extension of government control, or even to government ownership, for a solution of the problem. A greater number, mindful of our experience in government operation of the railroads and government operation of its shipping industry, feel that this would be jumping out of the frying pan into the fire, and believe that the only hope for the American nation to get plenty of reasonably cheap coal, with scientific conservation of this great natural resource, lies in the control and operation of the industry by a small number of well-financed and more or less monopolistic corporations. They see the obvious dangers from such a development, but believe they are less to be feared than the almost certain disaster of government ownership with its killing of initiative, morale, and centralized responsibility. They point to the oil, steel, and other basic industries which have been developed more or less monopolistically, and show that the genius and ambition of the American captains of industry have in these fields measurably solved the problems as yet unsolved in coal mines, and that, in all, the dangers of monopoly have been endured and American people are furnished with good steel and good oil at prices which tend to decrease rather than to grow out of all reason.

*Oil for Only Twenty Years*

The chief competitor of coal in industrial development—petroleum—may within the generation immediately ahead of us become less of a competitor. The recently completed estimate of the oil reserves of the United States made by the United States Geological Survey gives the available supply as 9,150,000,000 barrels, sufficient to meet the requirements of the country, at the present rate of consumption, for only twenty years. It is true, of course, that the oil cannot be taken out of the ground so fast as this, and that there will be producing oil wells long after the twenty years have elapsed, not to speak of the new supplies from shale deposits, when processes for extracting these have been further perfected. But what this does mean is that an increasing proportion of oil needed for American industry must be brought in from other countries, and with the rapid exhaustion of the enormous Mexican wells, through the inrush of salt water, it is not at present demonstrable just where we will get all the oil needed, at the present rate of increase in demand, twenty years from now.

*Distribution of Oil Reserves*

The United States is already using over 500,000,000 barrels a year and has an annual production of nearly 500,000,000 barrels. Petroleum engineers hope for a much less wasteful utilization of our oil reserves through new and improved methods of recovery, and their figures show very conclusively the overwhelming need of such methods of conservation. Of the estimated reserves of oil at present existing, it is striking to find the great petroleum producing State of Pennsylvania down to 260,000,000 million barrels—as compared, for instance, with 1,850,000,000 barrels in California, 1,340,000,000 in Oklahoma, and 2,100,000,000 in the Gulf Coast region of Texas and Louisiana. The Geological Survey divides the reserves into oil "in sight," estimated at 5,000,000,000 barrels, and "prospective and possible" oil something like 4,000,000,000 barrels.

*Stirrings in the Copper Industry*

After struggling for a time with the post-war industrial depression that began in 1920, the copper industry virtually gave up and shut down. At the beginning of last year, there were well over a billion pounds of copper already mined and on hand, with demand far below the normal and a price for copper that did not begin to cover, in the average

mine, the cost of production. To cope with this situation, the copper mines simply stopped producing. The output in March, 1921, was 91,000,000 pounds and in April it was only 47,000,000. The remaining months of the year saw production come down to amounts ranging between 22,000,000 and 28,000,000 pounds. Now there are intimations that the mines will soon begin work again. The huge Anaconda Copper Mining Company has begun preliminary operations and the Calumet and Hecla has announced that some of its mines will begin work on April 1. During the shut-down period, the supply on hand had been reduced from 1,124,000,000 to 793,000,000 pounds of crude copper while the refined metal has been brought from 659,000,000 to 496,000,000 pounds. In order to take care of the situation facing them at the beginning of 1921, with this enormous stock of metal on hand and no current earnings in sight, the producers formed an Export Association and borrowed \$40,000,000 against 400,000,000 pounds of refined copper on hand, issuing 8 per cent. gold notes which were redeemed as the stock of copper was marketed abroad. At the beginning of the present year, something more than one-quarter of this export copper had actually been sold in Europe. Another incident which has helped to instil some life in the industry was the recent novel merger of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company with the American Brass Company, through the purchase of the stock of the brass company by Anaconda. Copper produced by the Anaconda Company will thus be manufactured and sold in finished form by its own factories. The American Brass Company was the largest consumer of the metal in the world.

*Huge Business Losses of 1921*

The reports for the year 1921 of the great industrial units of America are being published in the first quarter of this year. They reveal the full meaning of the depression we have been passing through. The losses suffered by the great packing, sugar, leather, and mail-order houses are measured by the tens of millions for single concerns. Armour & Co., the largest food products business, reports a deficit of \$31,000,000—more than the net earnings of its most profitable year. Sears, Roebuck & Co., the leading mail-order business in the world, had a deficit in 1921 of \$16,000,000, and was only saved from an

impairment of its capital by a huge outright present to the corporation from its president, Julius Rosenwald. Montgomery, Ward & Co., the second largest concern in this business of selling direct to the farmers and other rural and small-town dwellers, was in even worse case; in February it was proposing to save its capital position by valuing its stock liability at \$10 per share instead of \$30, the figure used before. The banks have had a hard time tiding over their customers, and most of the State systems for guaranteeing bank deposits have gone out of business for the time. In the State of Washington, every bank has left the guarantee system. A business that closed the year with no profit at all, but no loss, was considered fortunate. There is scarcely a doubt that the year was the most difficult, financially, of our generation. Naturally the almost fantastic losses of the larger concerns were caused chiefly by the sudden drop in the value of inventories.

*The Turn of the Tide*

There has been a wholesome disposition on the part of American business men to face the music, to acknowledge that their stocks of goods and supplies were worth only one-half or two-thirds of their cost, to mark them down in spite of the startlingly bad results on their balance sheets, and to start out afresh with confidence that the tide would turn. While in some lines of business it is probable that the low point has not even yet been reached, in most fields it certainly has been reached and a slow and hesitant movement for the better has started in. This is indicated strongly by the stock market, which has been rising, not rapidly, but with fair consistency, with the leading industrial securities quoted now fifteen to twenty points higher, on the average, than the low levels of June and August of last year. In the meantime, the underlying healthy state of American finance has been strikingly shown by a very strong demand for bonds and other of the best classes of investment securities. Not only have the old issues been rising rapidly in price; new issues of very large amounts have been easily and even eagerly absorbed. In December last, more than half a billion of new securities were floated by the industrial companies and the railroads with no difficulty whatever, the largest month's output of investment securities, save two, in history, if Liberty Bond flotations be disregarded.



SIR ERNEST SHACKLETON

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E. H. SHAUGHNESSY

JOHN KENDRICK BANGS

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A. BARTON HEPBURN

*World Figures  
Who Have  
Passed Away*

Besides the name of Pope Benedict, our obituary record contains the name of another world figure, Lord Bryce of England. We are publishing some reminiscences of James Bryce elsewhere in this issue. He belonged almost as truly to this country as to Great Britain. If he had been associated with several Prime Ministers, he had also known almost equally well several American Presidents, and a host of our Cabinet officers, judges, and members of both houses of Congress. He had known the United States well in the periods of Garfield and Arthur, Grover Cleveland, Benjamin Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, and he had met Mr. Harding both as Senator and as President. Another Briton of world fame was Sir Ernest Shackleton. This intrepid explorer died at sea on January 5 in Antarctic waters while upon another of his voyages which was intended to add to our scientific knowledge of the regions about the South Pole. A statesman and soldier alike eminent in Orient and Occident was Field Marshal Prince Yamagata, who had outlived most of his famous associates of the "Genro" or Elder Statesmen of Japan. He had always been a warm friend of the United States. He and Lord Bryce were born in 1838.

*Some  
Americans of  
Worth*

Mr. A. Barton Hepburn of New York was a citizen of public spirit and a banker of great knowledge and wide influence. Mrs. George Foster Peabody (known throughout the country as Katrina Trask) had contributed much by her pen and her influence to elevate American sentiment and give true direction to social effort and sympathy. Her writings both in prose and verse were exquisite in form and spirit. Her beautiful estate at Saratoga has been bequeathed for public uses, and will benefit American art and letters. Mr. John Kendrick Bangs, so widely popular as a genial humorist, was a typical American of the sturdiest principles. He had in recent years lectured in every part of the country, and in his death we lose a true leader and teacher. Colonel Edward H. Shaughnessy, who was Second Assistant Postmaster General, was one of the victims of a disaster at Washington at the end of January which resulted in the death of about a hundred people and the injury of many more. Mr. Shaughnessy was doing conspicuously good work in the Post-Office Department. He had served with similar energy and ability with our troops in France in the transportation department. He was not yet forty years of age.

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MRS. GEO. FOSTER PEABODY  
("KATRINA TRASK")

# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From January 15 to February 13, 1922)

## THE CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON

[The Conference had held its first plenary session on November 12, after acceptance of invitations issued by President Harding on August 11, 1921, with delegates from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, Holland, Belgium, and Portugal. Mr. Hughes had made his famous 5-5-3 naval reduction proposal immediately after being chosen presiding officer (see p. 646, December, 1921). By December 10, the old Anglo-Japanese Alliance had been superseded by the new Four Power Treaty on the Pacific; and on December 12 Secretary Hughes had announced settlement of the Yap controversy with Japan by treaty. The 5-5-3 naval ratio had been accepted December 15 by the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, contingent on fixing ratios for France and Italy.]

January 16.—The Committee on Far Eastern questions agrees to table discussion of the "Twenty-one Demands"—which Japan forced upon China—until the Shantung issue is settled.

January 18.—The Committee on Far Eastern Questions adopts Mr. Hughes' resolution designed to make China's "open door" a fact, but it eliminates at Japan's request a retroactive provision permitting either party to existing concessions to submit them to a board of reference when inconsistent with other concessions or the principles of the open door resolution; the powers agree to apply jointly the open door and provide a board of reference to determine practical methods.

January 21.—The Far Eastern Committee adopts the Hughes resolution for publishing Chinese concession agreements, Japan amending it to require China to publish agreements with foreign nationals on other than public-utility matters.

January 23.—Baron Shidehara, Japanese Ambassador, declares a policy of non-intervention in Russia and respect for her territorial integrity, not however, announcing the date for withdrawal of troops.

January 25.—President Harding and Mr. Hughes confer with Dr. Sze of China on a Shantung settlement; 10,000 students at Peking parade in protest against direct negotiations with Japan on Shantung.

January 30.—The Shantung deadlock, after two months of discussion, ends with a settlement in which China agrees to pay 53,000,000 gold marks for the railway in notes redeemable in five years and expiring in fifteen.

February 1.—The Conference in its fifth plenary session formally ratifies agreements shaped by its committees—the Five Power (United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy) Naval Treaty, limiting the numbers of capital ships, the Five Power treaty prohibiting submarines as

commerce destroyers, and resolutions regarding China as follows: Removal of foreign post offices before January 1, 1923, diplomatic inquiry to fix date for troop withdrawals, the radio agreement, the promise to file lists of all treaties with China, the "earnest hope" that China will reduce her military forces, and China's agreement not to discriminate in rates on railroads operated by Chinese.

February 2.—Japan withdraws Group 5 of her Twenty-one Demands, which were alleged to deprive China of her own Government.

February 4.—The Shantung treaty is signed by which Japan returns the former German leasehold on the province to China; China regains complete control over the province and the Shantung railroad.

The sixth plenary session adopts the "open door" treaty with China, including the Root resolutions pledging the powers to give China a chance to get on her feet, and the treaty on Chinese tariff providing a commission to revise the rates and abolish the likin (a sort of interstate tax or duty).

February 6.—The Washington Conference comes to an end with the signing of five treaties and a laudatory address by President Harding on the work of the delegates.

A five power conference is to be held after eight years on naval armament, and a five power commission is to revise rules of warfare; as to China, the tariff will be revised by a separate commission, an international commission will study extraterritorial rights, and a board of reference will consider questions relating to railways and economics.

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 16.—The Senate Finance Committee, after five months consideration, reports the Foreign Debt Refunding bill; the features of the House bill objected to by Secretary Mellon are removed.

January 17.—The Senate, voting 63 to 9, passes a bill increasing the Federal Reserve Board membership to six instead of five to permit appointment of a farmer member.

January 18.—The Senate passes a bill extending time to build the proposed Hudson River Bridge another fifteen years; construction must begin within five years.

The Senate agrees to House changes in the joint resolution authorizing the President to prohibit arms exports to any American country, or any country in which domestic violence exists where the United States exercises extraterritorial jurisdiction.

The House Military Committee hears General Pershing recommend retention of nine main army training posts, and seven additional guard and reserve camps, and the reduction of personnel to 14,000 efficient officers.

January 20.—The Senate adopts the Smoot resolution inquiring into conditions precedent to farm loans, the number of applications, and the amount of funds on hand.

January 21.—The Senate passes the Interchangeable Mileage Book bill authorizing books of from 1000 to 5000 miles at "just and reasonable rates" to be fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

January 26.—The House passes the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill, voting 230 to 119; the bill provides penalties, makes lynching a federal crime, and defines three or more persons as a mob; the county from the jail of which a lynched prisoner is taken and the county in which one is mobbed are penalized.

January 27.—The Senate Labor Committee reports through Mr. Kenyon (Rep., Iowa) on the West Virginia-Kentucky coal strike.

January 30.—The House passes the Independent Offices appropriation bill, 167 to 41, carrying a total of \$503,833,713; the Emergency Fleet Corporation gets \$100,000,000 and high salaries are reduced; the Veteran's Bureau receives \$377,474,622.

January 31.—The Senate, in open session, unanimously confirms the appointment of William S. Kenyon (Rep., Iowa) as Judge of the Eighth District Federal court; Mr. Kenyon had led the so-called "Farm Bloc" in the Senate.

In the Senate, the Foreign Debt Refunding bill is passed, 39 to 26, efforts to attach a soldiers' bonus rider failing; a commission of five is to be appointed by the President for three years; refunding securities will bear not less than 4½ per cent. interest and mature in not more than twenty-five years; the commission has no authority to cancel any debt.

February 3.—The House passes the Foreign Debt Refunding bill.

February 7.—In the Senate, Henry Ford's offer to purchase the Government's nitrate and power development at Muscle Shoals, Ala., is referred to the Committee on Agriculture.

February 8.—The Senate passes the House Co-operative Marketing bill, voting 58 to 1; it permits co-operative buying and selling by farmers; dividends are limited to 8 per cent.; and deals by non-members may not exceed in value those by members.

February 10.—In the Senate, President Harding in person presents for ratification the treaties formulated by the Washington Conference; he submits also full minutes of all meetings, and forcefully urges ratification.

#### AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 16.—President Harding sends the report of the Joint Commission on the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes Canal to Congress, which is expected to act on it before the session ends.

January 19.—The housing investigation committee in New York hears testimony that ten landlords filed 20,000 suits for increased rents, and received raises amounting to \$1,350,000.

January 22.—Samuel Untermyer, counsel for the New York housing investigation, announces a plan to build 1500 apartments to rent for eight dollars a room, housing 225,000 persons at a cost of \$100,000,000 to be advanced by insurance

companies; there is a reported shortage of homes for 400,000 persons.

January 23.—A National Agricultural Congress is opened by President Harding and Secretary Wallace, at Washington, D. C., to determine policies for the relief of the crisis in the agricultural industry (see page 271).

January 24.—The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon, announces his opposition to soldier bonus legislation, which he thinks would postpone industrial revival and interfere with refunding the public debt.

January 27.—The Agricultural Conference ends at Washington, demanding that labor and capital share in the deflation of prices suffered by farmers, and calling upon railroads to reduce wages and rates; crop acreage limitation is favored, both here and abroad, until conditions improve, Henry Ford's Muscle Shoals project and the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes Canal are endorsed, and an international conference on reconstruction in Europe is urged.

January 28.—The Interstate Commerce Commission requires railroads which earned over 6 per cent. between September 1, 1920, and January 1, 1921, to pay half of the excess to the Government.

January 30.—The United States Supreme Court decides that intoxicating liquor stored in Government bonded warehouses cannot be withdrawn by owners for private use, but can only be transported to wholesale druggists; under a previous decision, owners could withdraw their stocks of liquor from *private* warehouses for personal use.

February 2.—New Jersey's highest court holds the State prohibition enforcement law (the Van Ness act) unconstitutional, because it denied trial by jury.

February 3.—At a meeting of the Business Organization of the Government, President Harding announces a direct saving of \$38,000,000, and an indirect saving of \$104,000,000 in four months as a result of the operation of the new Bureau of the Budget.

Governor McRae of Arkansas proclaims March 22 as "no tobacco day" throughout the State, claiming use of the weed is "contributing to unmistakable and certain degeneracy."

February 5.—The United States Employment Service reports an increase in employment in forty of sixty-five cities under survey.

February 6.—President Harding orders all work stopped on naval construction, without waiting for ratification of the international Five Power agreement to limit navies, and he halts fortification work at Guam, the Philippines, and other Pacific islands.

February 8.—The Labor Department requests an appropriation by Congress of \$1,240,000 to carry out the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner maternity law.

Secretary Mellon announces that the tax-exempt 3¾ per cent. Victory notes (\$400,000,000 outstanding) have been called for redemption at par on June 15; conversion privileges are suspended.

February 9.—Mayor Thompson of Chicago appoints a Methodist minister, Rev. John H. Williamson, to supervise the moral welfare of the city.



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HON. ALANSON B. HOUGHTON,  
AMBASSADOR TO GERMANYHON. THEODORE BRENTANO,  
MINISTER TO HUNGARY

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HON. ALBERT HENRY WASHBURN,  
MINISTER TO AUSTRIA

(The resumption of full diplomatic relations with our three principal enemies in the recent war is now evidenced by the selection of a highly competent Ambassador to Germany and similarly well-qualified Ministers to Austria and Hungary. Mr. Houghton is a fine type of the scholar in business and the business man in politics. After graduation from Harvard he studied in German and French universities, and then helped to build up the great glass industry at Corning, N. Y., with which he has been identified for more than thirty years. For the past three years he has served his New York district in Congress. A better man to represent America abroad it would be hard to find. Judge Brentano, who goes to Budapest, was born in Michigan, but has been at home in Chicago for more than sixty years. During the past twenty years he has been Judge of the Superior Court of Cook County. A part of his schooling was obtained in Germany and Switzerland. Mr. Washburn, who will go to Vienna, was private secretary of Hon. Andrew D. White during his college work at Cornell University, was a consul in Germany for several years, then secretary to Senator Lodge, United States Attorney in Massachusetts, and later a customs lawyer in New York. At present he holds the chair of political science and international law at Dartmouth College. In experience, knowledge and character he is qualified for any diplomatic post, however responsible. Seldom in history have three such conspicuously fine appointments, at the same time, been made to our diplomatic service.)

President Harding signs the Foreign Debt Refunding bill providing for conversion of \$11,000,000,000 owed by foreign Governments.

#### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 16.—At Dublin Castle, Lord Lieutenant Fitzalan turns over to the Provisional Government all official powers upon presentation by Michael Collins of a copy of the treaty endorsed by himself and his colleagues.

January 18.—The Irish Free State negotiates a short-term loan of £1,000,000 from the Bank of Ireland.

January 19.—Premier Poincaré receives a vote of confidence (472 to 107) in the French Chamber of Deputies on a pledge to make Germany pay in full her reparation debts.

January 21.—Michael Collins and Sir James Craig confer at London regarding the Ulster boundary; boycotts are dropped by both sides.

January 23.—The Malabar uprising of native Moplahs in India is declared under control, with 3891 casualties, 5688 captured, and 38,256 surrendered; there are 1,000,000 of these Moplahs descendants of Arab traders, who tried forcibly to convert Hindus to Mohammedanism while in revolt.

In China, President Hsu-Shih-Chi'ang announces that Premier Liang has been granted a leave of absence, and that Dr. W. W. Yen, the Foreign Minister, will take his place.

January 24.—In Egypt, a group of Nationalists is arrested immediately following a boycott proclamation along "non-coöperation" lines in a newspaper promptly suppressed by Lord Allenby.

January 26.—Chancellor Wirth notifies the German Reichstag of the new tax program; he proposes a compulsory loan of 1,000,000,000 gold marks, a 2 per cent. business tax, and a 40 per cent. duty on coal.

January 30.—In a Calcutta suburb, 4000 rioting native workmen are fired on by the police, and there are casualties.

January 31.—It is announced that 12,000 British troops and "Black and Tan" police auxiliaries have evacuated Ireland.

Dr. Walter Rathenau is appointed German Minister of Foreign Affairs.

February 1.—The Italian Cabinet under Premier Bonomi resigns upon failure of support, largely because of cordiality to the Vatican.

February 2.—A national railway strike completely stops German transportation by rail; airplane companies advertise "flights anywhere at any time."

February 5.—At Berlin, the public utilities services are cut off by strikes, in sympathy with the railroad strike for higher wages, which the Government claims it cannot pay without bankruptcy.

February 6.—Irish leaders of North and South



confer on the Ulster boundary with Lloyd George, but they fail to agree.

Portugal's eighth Cabinet since February 24, 1921, takes hold with Premier Antonio Maria Silva at the helm.

At Chauri, British India, native rioters numbering 2000 kill 17 police; at Bareilly, a small police force puts another mob to flight.

February 7.—The British Parliament convenes and is addressed by King George and the Prime Minister.

The German railway strike ends on condition that there will be no wholesale discharges.

At Tokio, Viscount Keiso Kiyoura succeeds the late Prince Yamagata as President of the Privy Council.

February 8.—Along the Ulster border, raiders from South Ireland kill two men, wound 15, and capture nearly 200 Unionist leaders; the trouble is laid to preparations to execute Sinn Feiners whose death warrant had been canceled but delayed in transmission.

February 9.—The British Indian government orders the immediate arrest of Mahatma K. Gandhi, leader of the non-coöperation movement among the natives.

February 10.—The King of Italy refuses Premier Bonomi's resignation, and he returns to power with his full Cabinet upon readjustment of political difficulties among his former supporting parties.

At London, the Committee on National Economy

reports means for saving expenditures of £75,061,875, reducing army and navy personnel 85,000.

February 12.—Irish Republicans make a public demonstration at Dublin, headed by De Valera, who is attempting to organize opposition to the ratification of the treaty creating the Irish Free State.

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

January 18.—Enver Pasha, former Turkish Minister of War, wanted for Armenian massacres and theft of large Turkish funds, is reported captured and handed over to Nationalists at Angora.

General Henry T. Allen honors Italy's "unknown soldier" by placing the American Congressional Medal on the tomb at Rome.

January 21.—Mexico publishes a Presidential decree abolishing passports for United States citizens effective February 1.

A Congress of Oppressed Far Eastern Peoples opens at the Kremlin, Moscow, with 200 delegates, largely Communists, Japan and India being represented.

January 22.—Foreign Minister Count Uchida tells the Japanese Diet that Japan will use no time withdrawing troops from Siberia upon establishment of political stability and protection of lives and property of her nationals, security of general traffic, removal of menace to Japan, and safeguarding of industry.

The Four-Power Consortium agrees to let China float a 14,000,000 tael domestic loan secured by the salt revenues at 83.5 with interest at 1.2 per cent. monthly; the overdue Japanese loan of 20,000,000 yen is to be reduced \$700,000 a month from the salt surplus.

January 24.—Chile's Foreign Minister, Barros Jarpa, announces his government will not participate in a conference at Washington with Peru on the Tacna-Arica dispute if Bolivia is admitted.

January 26.—The 375 American Marines at Camaguey, Cuba, are ordered withdrawn by Secretary Denby.

January 28.—President Harding refuses to take the initiative in settling the Tacna-Arica dispute in a note replying to a Bolivian proposal, but sees no objection to Bolivia joining with Chile and Peru if satisfactory to those countries.

Germany asks the Reparations Commission to relieve her of making any 1922 cash payments, for a reduction of cash payments, and for an increase in payments in kind.

February 2.—William C. Cook is received at Caracas as the new American Minister to Venezuela.

The Central American Federation breaks up on the eve of the expected birth of the proposed union; Honduras takes steps to resume her sovereignty (Guatemala repudiated the arrangement last December upon the fall of the Herrera régime).

Premier Poincaré suggests to the other Allies that all war indemnity questions be referred back to the Reparations Commission.

February 3.—Dr. B. T. C. Loder, of Holland, is elected President of the International Court of Justice, in its first session at The Hague.

February 6.—At the Vatican, Cardinal Achille



MRS. ASQUITH, NOW LECTURING IN THE UNITED STATES

Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, is elected Pope, choosing the name Pius XI (see page 258).

February 7.—President Harding nominates Alanson B. Houghton of New York as Ambassador to Germany, Albert Henry Washburn of Massachusetts as Minister to Austria, and Theodore Brentano of Illinois as Minister to Hungary.

February 8.—France suggests in a note to Britain that, unless they can agree in advance on problems to be covered at Genoa, the economic conference should be postponed.

February 9.—France in a note to America and the Allies says that unless the conditions of January 6 (not covered in the Russian official acceptance) are accepted entirely by every participating Government, France cannot send delegates to Genoa.

### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

January 16.—Secretary Denby announces that the Navy is 99.7 per cent. American, there being only 352 aliens among 119,205 men in the service; only 6.8 per cent. of discharges are dishonorable and there are 6000 good conduct medals; there are 5545 Filipinos, 2385 negroes, 139 Samoans, 296 Hawaiians, 197 Porto Ricans, and 86 American Indians in the service.

January 22.—The Atlantic Fleet begins annual maneuvers under Admiral Hilary P. Jones at Guantanamo, Cuba, where the fleet has practised every year since 1903.

January 29.—A terrific snowstorm sweeps the Atlantic seaboard with a fall of from one to two feet throughout the Middle Atlantic section; The Knickerbocker moving picture theatre at Washington collapses with the weight of snow on the roof, nearly 100 persons being killed and many others seriously injured.

January 30.—The General Education Board announces release by Mr. Rockefeller of the obligation to hold funds in perpetuity; \$126,788,094 has been donated, of which the interest has been used, and \$42,132,442 has been distributed from the principal; the Board last year gave \$11,859,513.25 for medical education.

February 2.—At Newport, Ky., State guardsmen with seven tanks arrive to maintain order in a strike at the rolling mills, where there has been serious trouble.

February 3.—The New York Federation of Women's Clubs defeats an anti-vivisection resolution by an overwhelming vote after an explanatory talk by Dr. Simon Flexner.

February 6.—New York State reports 55,516 convictions of crime in 1921 compared with 40,691 in 1920; 62 more females were convicted, and intoxication convictions rose from 5287 to 10,291; there were 26,791 misdemeanor cases.

February 13.—Nearly 75,000 organized textile workers in New England go on strike against a reduction of 20 per cent. in wages.

### OBITUARY

January 5.—Sir Ernest Shackleton, noted British explorer of the Antarctic region, 47.

January 17.—George Baldwin Selden, of Rochester, N. Y., inventor of the first gasoline propelled vehicle, 77.

January 18.—Everett Yeaw, of South Orange, N. J., schoolbook publisher, 52.

January 19.—Austin Willard Lord, long a prominent New York architect, 52. . . . Archbishop Charles Hugh Gauthier of Ottawa, 78.

January 20.—James M. Craig, well known actuary, 74.

January 21.—John Kendrick Bangs, humorous author and lecturer, 60. . . . Dr. Charles Henry Miller, of New York, landscape painter, 79.

January 22.—Pope Benedict XV, 68. . . . Viscount James Bryce, historian and diplomatist, former British Ambassador to the United States, and political economist, scholar, and author of renown, 84 (see page 277).

January 23.—Col. Francis Edwin Elwell, sculptor, of Stamford, Conn. 63. . . . Cardinal Almaraz y Santos, Archbishop of Toledo, 75.

January 24.—Arthur Nikisch, the noted Hungarian orchestra conductor, 66.

January 25.—Alonzo Barton Hepburn, of New York, lawyer, financier, and philanthropist, 75.

January 27.—Giovanni Verga, Italian novelist and poet, 82. . . . Mrs. Elizabeth Cochran Seaman ("Nellie Bly"), journalist, 56. . . . Dr. Walter Van Vleet, noted plant breeder, 64. . . . Frank Weston, actor, 72.

January 28.—Prof. Charles Baskerville, of the College of the City of New York, an authority in chemistry, 51. . . . Carl H. A. Bjerregaard, of N. Y. Public Library, authority on mysticism, 76.

January 30.—Colgate Hoyt, New York, banker and railroad man, 73.

January 31.—Solon Hannibal Borglum, sculptor and teacher, 53.

February 2.—Field Marshal Prince Yamagata, Japanese publicist and Elder Statesman, 83. . . . Evarts Tracy, architect and camouflage expert, 53.

February 3.—Col. Edward H. Shaughnessy, Second Assistant Postmaster General, 39. . . . Charles Lewis Taylor, president of the Carnegie Hero Fund, 65. . . . Bartow Sumter Weeks, New York Supreme Court Justice, 61. . . . John Butler Yeats, Irish essayist and painter, 83.

February 4.—Brig.-Gen. Frederick Appleton Smith, U. S. A., retired, 72.

February 5.—Francis Markoe Scott, former New York Supreme Court Justice and chairman of the Charter Division Commission, 74. . . . General Christian De Wet, famous Boer commander, 68. . . . Annie T. Allen, of Auburndale, Mass., Near East Relief Director at Angora. . . . James William Tate, composer and actor, 47. . . . Paul Durand-Ruel, noted French art dealer, 90.

February 6.—Alessandro Fabbri, New York naturalist and inventor, 44.

February 8.—Count Admiral Sukenori Kabayama, former Japanese Minister of War, 85. . . . Josiah Taylor Marean, former Justice of New York Supreme Court, 80. . . . Thomas S. Weaver, journalist and educator, of Hartford, Conn.

February 9.—Peter Butler Olney, noted New York lawyer, 79. . . . Robert Forsyth, actor, 76.

February 11.—Dr. Pearce Bailey, of New York, distinguished neurologist and originator of the Army psychiatric tests, 57. . . . Tudor Jenks, author of books for young people, 64. . . . Alexander Archibald, Mayor of Newark, N. J., 52.

# CONFERENCE—BONUS—IRELAND

VARIOUS TOPICS AS PRESENTED IN CARTOONS



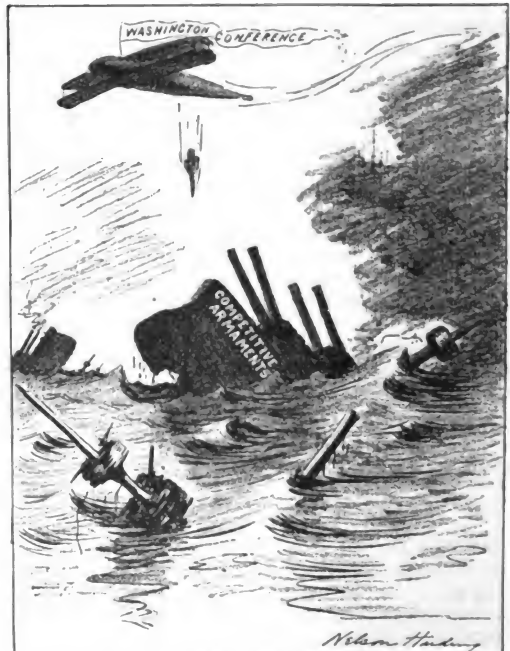
THE DOXOLOGY AT THE CLOSE OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT  
From the *News* (Rome, Ga.)



GIVE ME A TICKET TO GENOA  
From the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)  
[With the Washington Conference ended, the world looks forward to the economic conference called to meet at Genoa early in March—which, however, seemed certain last month to be postponed.]



THE FINAL ACT AND THE CURTAIN CALL OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE  
From the *Record* (Stockton, Cal.)



OUR GREATEST NAVAL VICTORY  
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

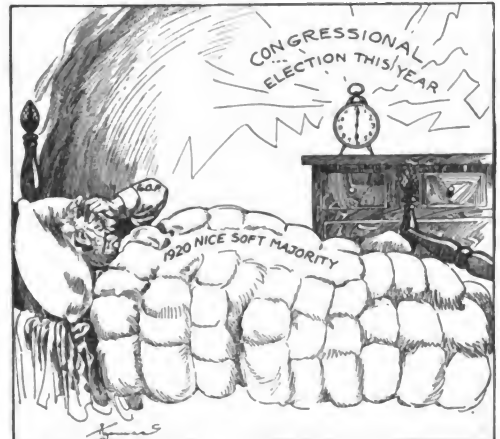


IF WE CAN ONLY GET THE WASHING HOME  
From the *Tribune* © (New York)

The treaties formulated by the Washington Conference are now before the Senate. As the leaders of both political parties, Mr. Lodge and Mr. Underwood, were negotiators for America, it is believed that the treaties will be ratified.



INTRODUCTIONS ARE NOW IN ORDER  
From the *News* (Rome, Ga.)



TIME TO GO TO WORK  
From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)



THE DOVE HUNTERS  
From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)



BREAKING FOND TIES  
From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)



YOU'VE GOT TO TREAT 'EM ROUGH NOWADAYS!  
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)



TRYING TO PRY IT OPEN  
From the *World* (New York)



SEARCHING FOR A LITTLE MORE TAX MONEY  
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

[A majority of our Congressmen are declared to be in favor of the proposal to present a bonus to veterans of the recent war—but how is the money to be raised?]



OLD MOTHER HUBBARD  
From the *National Republican* (Washington, D. C.)



THE CONGRESSMAN—FACING A REELECTION CAMPAIGN—SEES TROUBLE IN BOTH DIRECTIONS  
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)







THE WORLD ECONOMIC CLINIC AT GENOA  
(From the *Daily Star* (Montreal, Canada))



"WHEN DOCTORS DISAGREE"

Fritz: "I think they've given him up!"

From the *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, Eng.)

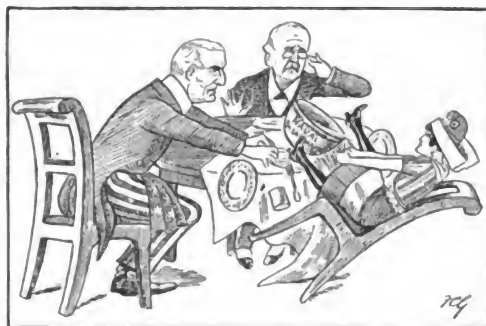
[Premier Lloyd George, of England, and Poincaré, new Prime Minister of France, being the doctors, with the Entente as the patient]



LLOYD GEORGE AND DISCONTENT IN INDIA,  
EGYPT, AND IRELAND

(How will he manage to keep them in check?)

From *Tyrihans* (Christiania, Norway)



FIDGETY FRANCE

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE WASHINGTON AND GENOA CONFERENCES: "WHAT CAN I CATCH IF THEY  
DRAG THE WATER?"—From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



"SO! IT IS AGREED. WE CONTINUE TO DISARM UNTIL ONLY ONE OF US IS ALIVE!"

From *Wiener Caricaturen* (Vienna, Austria)



THE MEISTERSINGER OF WASHINGTON

HARDING: "Well, it's hardly harmony."

From *Il Travaso* (Rome, Italy)



WORLD PROBLEMS CONFERENCE

"Gentlemen, we shall never agree on this question. There is only one solution. We disperse, inform the world that we are agreed on all points and then call a conference in another place."

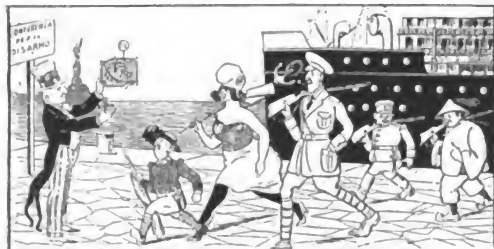
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



THE BARBER SHOP IN THE PACIFIC

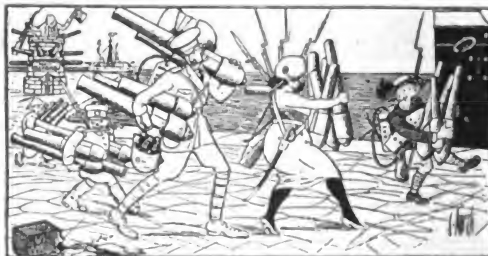
(The Japanese sought for long a cheap barber—whom he finally found in the United States, by whom he is shaved and manicured free of charge)

From *Wahre Jakob* (Stuttgart, Germany)



HOW THE NATIONS ARRIVED FOR THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE—AND HOW THEY DEPARTED FOR HOME

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)







MOTHER ERIN: "ARRAH! IT'S FOR THE MOON YE ARE CRYIN'.  
AVICK! TAKE YOUR CAKE AN' ATE IT!"  
From *News of the World* (London, England)



GEORGE WASHINGTON DE VALERA  
"I saw a chance to fell the tree,  
And so I thought I'd snatch it.  
I did my best, but now I see,  
I've got too small a hatchet."  
From *Reynold's Newspaper* (London, England)



**THE LAST STRAW**  
MR. BULL: "This is more than Parnell or Redmond  
ever asked for!"  
DE VALERA: "The tyrant would rob us even of our  
grievances!"  
From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)

Mar.—3



**DE VALERA'S DECISION**  
"If I can't be President, Captain and  
Referee, I ain't going to play."  
From the *Mail* (Birmingham, England)

English newspapers now arriving in this country are not overkind toward De Valera, whose opposition to the Sinn Fein agreement with the British Government—creating an Irish Free State—brought about De Valera's downfall and the substitution of Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith as spokesmen for the Irish people.



**THE GENERAL ELECTION FARCE**  
CHORUS OF MANAGERS (to Premier Lloyd George):  
"You can't go on yet—it's not your cue!"  
IRREPRESSIBLE DAVID: "Don't bother me about cues:  
I'll go on when I'm ready!"  
From the *Passing Show* (London, England)

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© Ewing Galloway  
ST. PETER'S CHURCH IN ROME, WITH THE PAPAL RESIDENCE IN THE CENTRAL BACKGROUND, OVERLOOKING THE GREAT COLONNADE

# THE NEW POPE AND THE WORLD

BY MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN

[Dr. Egan, who has long been eminent as an American scholar, editor, university teacher, and diplomatist in Europe, is a Catholic layman who writes with exceptional knowledge on the Papacy in its relation to the Italian Government and in its wider affairs. With the approach of the world conference at Genoa, the better understanding between Quirinal and Vatican obtains an importance that is recognized everywhere.—THE EDITOR.]

THE newly elected Pope, Pius XI, enters a new world. It is true that he has had some training in diplomacy; but he has had a greater training in the things of the mind. Probably if there is one thing he delights in, outside of books, it is the practice of mountain-climbing. Unless a *rapprochement* takes place between the Vatican and the Quirinal, he will long in vain for mountains to climb, for he is at present technically a prisoner in his own palace.

The period that began for the Papacy in 1870, when the troops of the King of Sardinia broke through the Porta Pia and took possession of the city of Rome, has passed. It was predicted then that the loss of the temporal power of the Pope would mean a tremendous loss to the Church and to the Catholics of the world. It was not well understood outside of Catholic circles that the temporal power was never looked on as a necessity to the permanence and growth of a church whose essential existence depended entirely on its spiritual qualities; but, while the loss of the territories of the Papacy outside of Rome was an advantage to the Popes, that of Rome itself broke their traditions and rendered their position less independent. The crux of the present situation of the Pope is this very question of independence.

It is probable that if the former possessions of the Popes in France, which were absorbed at the time of the French Revolution, and the territories which they held during the Renaissance, were offered to them, they would find themselves greatly embarrassed; but, as the Pope was acknowledged by the powers, including Italy, as an independent sovereign, it is considered necessary that, in addition to the Vatican, the Lateran, and the Castel Gandolfo, he should have St. Peter's, space enough for necessary ecclesiastical buildings, absolute liberty of intercourse with the nations of the earth, and entire freedom from the jurisdiction of any government. In a phrase, a territorial position somewhat similar to that occupied by the District of Columbia ought to be his.

Catholics have no intention whatever of proposing or of demanding that the city of Rome should be returned to the Pope; in spite of the dislike of Italy for the term "international," where the Papacy is concerned, there is an international question. Cavour himself so recognized it in 1870, and the sanction which Count Corti endeavored to obtain for the Italian occupation of Rome was not granted at the Congress of Berlin.

Arrangements which ought to have settled the Roman question before the "spoliation" of 1870 might have been made; but Pius IX was influenced by extremists as bigoted as the Radical advisers of King Victor Emanuel. The King himself would have preferred Florence as the capital of Italy; indeed, he was never quite sure that he had not committed sacrilege, and that some dreadful blow might not fall from heaven upon him! There were Catholics, of the type called Ultramontanes, who seemed really to believe that when Christ had appointed St. Peter as the rock on which the church was to stand, He had tacitly included the temporal gift of Constantine as part of the spiritual heritage. On the other side there was the *montagnard enragé*; whose fight was not against the church in particular, but against it as a symbol of Christianity.

Catholics everywhere had begun to admit, with Dante, that the possession of any temporal estate, municipal, local, or territorial, which implied secular activities, was a detriment to the spiritual influence of the Church. This belief has been steadily growing. When Pius IX said "*non possumus*" to all negotiations proposed for the diminution of the territory of the Church, he showed himself as a part of that old world which has



From the Times, New York

POPE PIUS XI, ELECTED BY THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS ON FEBRUARY 6

(The new Pope was Cardinal Achille Ratti, Archbishop of Milan. He is sixty-four years old, and had been a Cardinal less than a year)



THE LATE POPE BENEDICT XV

(From an autographed photograph presented to Bishop Dunn, of New York)

disappeared, and the disappearance of which the late Pope acknowledged and the present Pope will acknowledge.

The principles and dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church never change; but its policies change with the times. When, during the war, the Germans tried to use the Vatican by promising that in case of a German victory the Roman question would be rudely settled as against the Italian Government, Cardinal Gasparri officially wrote, "not by foreign arms but by the triumph of those sentiments of justice which the Holy See hopes will spread more and more among the Italian people in conformity with their true interests."

The present King of Italy is very much in favor of a reasonable arrangement. It has never been well understood in the United States or England that a man might be a devout Catholic without accepting the necessity of the temporal power of the Papacy. The late Pope, Benedict XV, was gracious to the amiable overtures of the Italian Government. The horrible disaster at Caporetto drew all Italy together. As a great official

of the Italian Government wrote to me, in Copenhagen, after that disaster: "All Italy is united at last!" A great step forward was made when Pope Benedict XV permitted the visits of sovereigns who had acknowledged the existence of the King of Italy by making official calls at the Quirinal, without the annoying ceremonies which had formerly preceded such visits. The King of Spain and the King of the Belgians may now, while in Rome, treat the Pope and the King as equally sovereign.

The King of Italy is on excellent terms with the Pope. "I am a good Catholic," he once said. "I see the difficulty that comes to Italy and to the world from the Pope's unusual position; but one must consider the political difficulties." And one must admit that political difficulties have not been entirely on the side of the Quirinal, though a more sectarian, destructive and bolshevist group of detrimentals does not exist anywhere more destructively than on the fringe of the Italian electorate. The Ultramontanes have learned their lesson; they have learned, too, that the mixture of religion and politics, which was so detrimental to the interest of the Catholic Church in France—at one time a Catholic was looked on as worthy of excommunication, if he did not love the Bourbons!—is absolutely impossible to-day. That great statesman, Leo XIII, made it so; and Cardinal Ratti, now Pope Pius XI, finally realizes this; but although he and the Italian Government are anxious to come to terms, the details of the arrangements are still unsettled.

The Pope himself does not settle questions of diplomatic policy alone; he always consults his Cabinet—the *curia*—and very seldom makes a merely personal decision. It would seem improbable that any cultivated person to-day believes for a moment that the Pope is accepted as infallible in all his decisions—the doctrine of his infallibility applying only to *dicta* in matters of faith and morals, the principles of which have been already accepted; yet this hazy conception of the Pope's prerogatives still exists in some quarters. I cannot help recalling an instance where a lady, a guest at the White House at luncheon, asked the late Cardinal Gibbons whether he really believed that the Pope was infallible in all he said. The Cardinal smiled and answered: "I can only respond to that, Madame, by saying that when the Pope bade me good-by the last time, he said, 'Addio, Cardinale Jibbones!'"

Another great question which will probably occupy Pius XI is the understanding as to a reunion with the Greek Orthodox Church. Russia has hitherto been the implacable enemy of Rome; the Russian Church was essentially a state church; but now that state and church have separated, there is a party in Russia, including one of the most important of the Patriarchs, anxious to join the Roman Catholic Church as the most stable organization ecclesiastically in the world. The question of the celibacy of the clergy would not be an invincible barrier. It did not prove to be so in the case of the Lithuanians and other schismatics; and the monastic orders, in the Russian Church, are solemnly vowed to celibacy.

The diplomatic position of the Vatican has been much strengthened by the results of the war. Great Britain, which broke off relations with Rome in the reign of Henry VIII, and never resumed them until she sent Sir Henry Howard and Count Salis to represent her diplomatically at the Vatican.

In fact, there is no nation in the world; that is, no great nation, except our own, which does not contemplate the resumption of diplomatic relations. These relations have nothing whatever to do with the religious point of view of the countries sending envoys. It is merely a matter of expediency—an expediency which the war has made very plain. Nobody imagines, for instance, that M. Briand, and still less M. Viviani, was actuated by religious predilections when he supported the motion to interchange an Ambassador from France for a Nuncio from the Vatican.

Pius X was purely an ecclesiastical Pope. He is looked on to-day by Catholics as having greatly increased spiritual fervor in the Church; Benedict XV saw the opportunity for the restoration of Roman diplomacy, which had for a time failed in nearly every respect; and Pius XI, in accepting so cordially the results of the Conference at Washington, has ranged himself, as Beaconsfield once put it, "on the side of the angels," where every Pope ought to be.

As to diplomatic relations with the United States there is no indication that the Vatican desires them; and there is no sign on the part of either the Catholics or non-Catholics in the United States that they would be considered desirable, for, since the Philippine matter has been settled, there is no religious-political question in which the Vatican is concerned of any domestic interest to us.

# WHAT WAS GAINED AT WASHINGTON

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. A SUCCESSFUL ENDING

SINCE I closed my last article the Washington Conference has ended its sessions. After weeks of delay, of debate, and of some disappointment, the final public sessions were marked by a degree of success and by a measure of public applause and approval which recalled not a little of the enthusiasm of the first days.

What, then, shall we say of the service and of the achievement of the first conference of great powers held on American soil? Before turning to an examination of the larger aspects of the Washington decisions, I shall try to discuss briefly the specific questions and the settlement which was reached in each.

A month ago I discussed the Four Power Treaty, which was the first of the agreements to be reached. Since that time the only change to be noted in this undertaking, which, as I pointed out, represented the political settlement which necessarily preceded the limitation of armaments, has been the signing of a protocol between the four nations signatory to the original treaty. This protocol excludes from its purview the main islands of Japan. This agreement, foreshadowed on all sides, eliminates an objection which threatened to render difficult the progress of the treaty through the United States Senate.

Thus amended, the Four Power Pact provides for peace in the Pacific, guaranteed by a mutual pledge of all the signatory powers to respect the integrity of the territory of each, and in case of difference between the signatory nations to confer. In the case of difficulties between a signatory power and a non-signatory nation the four powers are to exchange notes as among the four, explaining the situation and looking to a common policy.

With the ratification of this Four Power Treaty, then, there will disappear any real cause or opportunity for war between the four great sea powers in the Pacific. Ar-

rangements have also been made for separate agreements between the signatory powers and Holland to extend to the Dutch East Indian possessions that same guarantee of protection and recognition of integrity which the Four Power Treaty bestows upon the signatory nations. This agreement removes one of the gravest criticisms leveled at the Four Power Treaty, and it is an act of signal justice to Holland, whose participation in the Conference was distinguished, and whose interests in the region of the Pacific, at least on the material side, are more considerable than those of any other Western nation.

In sum, then, we have as a result of the Four Power Treaty and the extension of this Treaty to the Dutch East Indies a solid basis for peace between Japan, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States. It is inconceivable hereafter during the life of the Treaty that any difference of opinion or conflict of interests can lead to war. A regional agreement has been made, satisfactory and honorable to all concerned, entered into in full peace, representing no infringements of the rights or alienation of the territories of any signatory nation, which must hereafter serve as a model for all regional agreements.

That this Four Power Treaty will be opposed in the United States Senate has already been made clear. The opposition, however, must now be confined to a single circumstance. The fact that Siberia, which means Russia, and China have been excluded from membership in this new association of nations, and the further fact that Japanese occupation of Chinese and Russian territory has not been terminated, make possible future conflict. That the United States should enter into a special agreement with one of the parties to a possible conflict in the future while the others are excluded, will be regretted on all sides and may supply a basis for attack upon the Treaty.

For myself, I believe the objections can

be met by such a reservation as the United States sought to append to Article X of the League of Nations Covenant. In so far as the Treaty carries with it no other obligation than to discuss possible causes of conflict and no commitment, moral or otherwise, to support Japan against China or against Russia, its other purposes and possibilities recommend it. No one can fail to perceive that at the moment the condition of China and the condition of Russia make it impossible to arrive at a satisfactory agreement with the other two potential great powers of the Pacific. On the other hand, nothing is more certain than that the sentiment of the people of the United States would favor the inclusion of China and Russia in the Pacific agreement precisely as soon as either of these countries should regain political unity and order.

Until that time arrives it is plain that the Pacific Agreement, while insuring peace between the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Holland, does not and cannot insure peace between Japan and China or Russia. Therefore, the Washington Conference, for reasons which are perfectly obvious, has been unable to establish a rule of peace covering all the shores of the Pacific. The limitation was imposed by the circumstances. Provided that the American position is made clear by a reservation only good and no harm can come from the Treaty. But it is essential to recognize that peace in the Pacific will ultimately depend upon the policy pursued by Japan toward China and toward Russia, and the fulfilment of pledges made here, while the Japanese policy will in no small degree be influenced by the success or failure of the Chinese and Russian people in reestablishing order and regaining stability by their own efforts.

## II. THE NAVAL AGREEMENT

As was logical and natural, the Four Power Treaty, directed at the political conditions in the Pacific, was supplemented by a naval treaty signed by the five great sea powers of the world. This treaty does two things: It establishes for fifteen years a standard of strength in capital ships as between the five signatory powers. In addition it insures that ten-years' naval holiday which was predicted in Mr. Hughes' opening proposal. At the end of the fifteen years the strength of the five powers in capital

ships will be represented by the ratio 5-5-3-1.75-1.75, for Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France and Italy, respectively. In addition, while no limitation has been fixed upon the number of auxiliary ships, their tonnage has been restricted to 10,000 and the caliber of their guns to eight inches. As to submarines, no limit in tonnage has been agreed upon, but international law has been reaffirmed and the law respecting the use of submarines now stands as it stood before Germany destroyed it, and the same is true approximately in the matter of poison gas.

Accompanying the agreement covering naval tonnage are those other agreements dealing with fortifications in the Pacific. Japan, in consenting to accept with minor changes the original program of Mr. Hughes in the matter of capital tonnage, has insisted that the United States should agree not to extend the fortifications of the Philippines, and not to begin land works in Guam, in Samoa, in the Aleutian Islands, nor in any other Pacific possession of ours with the exception of the Hawaiian Islands.

Translated into terms of naval strategy, this means that the Japanese have asked the United States to refrain from the fortification of precisely those islands which might serve as bases for a fleet operating against the Japanese homeland. Since all of these islands are covered by the political agreement in the Four Power Treaty no occasion for fortifying them exists. Japan, on her part, has agreed not to extend the fortifications which she has in her own islands, of which the Kurile, the Bonin, the Pescadores and Formosa are the most considerable. Great Britain, on her part, has similarly agreed not to fortify Hongkong further.

It will be seen that the United States has made by all odds the largest sacrifice in the matter of non-fortification, as she did in the matter of the scrapping of new and old tonnage. Surprise has been and doubtless will be expressed over the fact that the Aleutian Islands have been included in the area covered by the non-fortifying agreement. This was unexpected and represents a concession out of all proportion to any made by any other signatory power. It represents a sacrifice of sovereignty which could only be defended by complete satisfaction in the terms of the Four Power Treaty. Yet it remains true that the United States never has fortified the Aleutian Islands and that there is

no reason to believe that fortifications would have been erected during the period covered by the present treaty.

Criticism of the Five Power Treaty there will be, but such criticism it seems to me is, on the whole, idle. The fact is that the United States is seeking not war but peace in the Pacific. Our Pacific policy has been dominated by the necessity of protecting the Philippine Islands against possible aggression, and we can now say quite frankly that such aggression could only have come from Japan. If we were to defend the Philippine Islands it was essential that we should fortify Guam and expand the fortifications of Corregidor. But the Four Power Treaty has removed all possible menace and therefore all possible reason for fortifications.

We have retired our naval frontier behind the Hawaiian Islands, but before doing this we have entered into solemn engagements with all the Pacific powers, which constitute a guarantee for our islands at least as strong as any which could be found in the few fortifications Congress would be likely to permit in the near future. Actually our insular dominions west of Hawaii are indefensible. The choice the United States had was between expending vast sums to make them defensible and negotiating precisely the kind of treaty we have negotiated. It seems to me that no one can question the fact that we have chosen the wiser way and have obtained at the price of sacrifices which are not incommensurate greater security than could have been obtained in any other way.

### III. CHINA AND SIBERIA

A month ago I refrained from any comment on the work of the Conference with respect to the mainland of Asia. It remains, therefore, now to deal briefly both with the question of Siberia and that of China.

As to Siberia, it would be idle to pretend that any settlement has been reached at Washington. In advance of a discussion of this subject, there came from Tokio a definite statement, made by Baron Uchida, that Japan would not discuss in Washington the date or conditions for the evacuation of Siberia. This declaration of policy was carried out to the letter in the subsequent days. It follows, therefore, that Siberia remains for the future.

The limit of attainment and of possible attainment was touched when Baron Kato and Mr. Shidahara renewed in the most

solemn manner the pledges that Japan would retire from Siberia at the moment when such retirement would not risk the lives or property of Japanese nationals. Beside this declaration in the Washington Conference was placed the statement of the American Secretary of State indicating what American policy had been and still was with respect of Siberia.

Patently this was the sum total that could be achieved, since Japan was not prepared to retire and the United States was bound in the nature of things to accept the formal and categorical assurance of Japan. It is clear that if Japan does not retire, sooner or later we shall see war in the Far East, and that war will follow logically the reintegration of Russia. Japan remains in Siberia under pledge to quit. As long as she stays no one can regard the Far Eastern question as settled or believe that in this respect the Washington Conference has done more than state without modifying an unsatisfactory condition.

The same remains true in the matter of Manchuria. Japan has avoided a discussion of her occupation of the Manchurian territory acquired from Russia. She has agreed to certain modifications with respect of certain portions of Manchuria, such as permitting the investment of foreign capital and the waiving of exclusive commercial privileges. But she has not in any degree consented to weaken her hold upon the great Manchurian Province. Here, then, too, the Washington Conference has necessarily failed to produce satisfactory results. It has failed because Japan was neither willing nor ready to evacuate.

Precisely the same position was taken by Mr. Balfour for Great Britain in the matter of Kowloon, which is the mainland shore facing Hongkong. The declaration of Mr. Balfour, on December 3, that Great Britain felt it necessary to retain this territory foreshadowed a similar statement by Japan in regard to Manchuria, and destroyed all hope of complete evacuation of the mainland of China by foreign nations. By contrast, Great Britain has agreed to evacuate Weihai-wei forthwith, and France has promised to begin negotiations at once for a similar retirement from Kwang-chau-wan.

Territorially speaking, the great gain for China is in the Shantung agreement. After more than thirty sessions, after delays which were exasperating and deadlocks which at



moments seemed hopeless, China and Japan in direct conversations, through the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour, and finally by the intervention of the President of the United States himself, arrived at a basis of settlement.

By the terms of the Shantung settlement the territory returns immediately to China. Evacuation by Japanese troops must be completed within six months. China is permitted under reasonable terms to acquire ownership of the Shantung Railway and to operate it, while Japan retains only two highly placed officials—an assistant traffic manager and a financial accountant, and these only for the period of time during which Chinese payments are completed in accordance with the stipulated terms.

It will be seen that Japan still retains a string on the Shantung Railway. She has not completely separated herself from the power to interfere and time must elapse before the completion of her evacuation. This Shantung settlement depends in the last analysis upon Japanese good faith and upon the preservation of order in China. A little more generosity on the Japanese part would have contributed much to a heightening of the prestige of Japan with the Western nations, but on the other hand, provided the terms that have been agreed upon are exactly carried out, China's benefit will assuredly be very great.

A Shantung settlement was the irreducible minimum which the American delegation had to obtain on behalf of China to satisfy public sentiment and the political situation in the United States. This fact was demonstrated by the unmistakable restiveness in the Senate over the long delays in the Shantung discussions. The fact that China and Japan did ultimately agree, that the agreement was marked with considerable friendliness, probably, eliminates Shantung as a political issue in the United States and closes a somewhat inglorious chapter opened three years ago in Paris.

In addition to the territorial agreement there were many declarations of policy on behalf of the Western powers represented in the four Root principles which were designed to establish the Open Door in China. All the signatory powers resigned all policies involving special political or economic privileges for the future. It was regretted that the effort to provide for a review of privileges in the past was blocked, leaving many

long-standing abuses without practicable remedy.

But from the beginning to the end, the Washington Conference was hampered by the fact that China herself, like Siberia for that matter, was in a state of disorder. There were conflicting factions, even opposing governments. China was ably represented in the men who came here, but there was grave question as to what they actually did represent so far as China itself was concerned. For a united, orderly China, Mr. Hughes and his American associates might have been able to do much more, but that they were hampered by the Chinese facts no one can question. That they did sincerely, loyally and laboriously endeavor to aid China cannot be denied.

Fundamentally it is necessary to recognize that the Far Eastern part of the work of the Conference was actually and necessarily the least satisfactory. If all resolutions, declarations and agreements embodied in several treaties and affirmations should be translated into fact no one can mistake that a new and better time would be insured in the Far East and the dangers of war would be abolished. But in point of fact practically every nation in the Far East has already made and broken pledges as solemn as those to be found in the Washington harvest. China remains weak, and Chinese weakness, unless it shall be remedied, will not only be a temptation to aggression, but may even necessitate intervention. The United States was not prepared to undertake the rôle of protector of China, with the moral certainty of war in the future. China itself was and remains incapable of fulfilling the most elementary duties of an independent state.

Two things are still essential to the stabilizing of conditions in the Far East. The first is the return of China to order; the second is the complete renunciation by Japan of a policy of aggression on the mainland of Asia. Neither condition was open to decisive treatment at Washington. The effect of our various treaties, as I have pointed out, is to eliminate us as a naval and military force in the Western Pacific. Henceforth we could not if we would interfere on behalf of China by force. But one may doubt whether the United States ever had the smallest intention of taking such a course, and it is after all wiser to get down to realities in all our international relations.

Many months ago, in advance of the

Washington Conference, I told my readers here that we were drifting toward a war with Japan; that we were undertaking almost unconsciously the task of restraining Japanese expansion on the mainland of Asia and adopting toward Japan a policy which when followed by Great Britain in the case of Germany led inevitably to the World War. It was clear then that the United States did not want such a war; it was plain that we should come to it without purpose and without foresight.

Now, as a result of the agreements signed here, we have done what we could for China, and we have demonstrated to Japan an entire absence of any purpose by force to interfere with her policies, even when these policies conflict with our own conceptions of right and of justice. As a result of the present Conference Japan is left with hands free to deal as she will with the mainland of Asia. While her fleet is inferior to ours, renunciation by us of the right to fortify Guam and the Philippines deprives us of the power to employ our superior naval strength in Japanese or Chinese waters.

But short of a long, expensive, and perhaps indecisive war, no other course was possible, and Mr. Hughes correctly interpreted the sentiment of the country as totally opposed to undertaking any mission to regulate Asiatic affairs. In the long run Japan will have to change her recent policy with respect of China and of Russia or fight both of those countries. If she does not change her policy, she will steadily lose prestige and respect among the Western nations.

To-day as a partner of the United States, Great Britain and France, in the Four Power Entente made in Washington, Japan has increased very greatly her position in the world. The recognition she received as an ally of Great Britain has been expanded into a recognition by the three great nations of the West. The success of the Washington Conference diplomatically and strategically speaking is Japanese. There remains now the question of which direction Japanese policy will take. Here is the question of war or of peace for the future in Asia. But in such a war as may result we shall not be entangled. The most that the Washington Conference could do was to lay down a basis of peace and justice in the Far East. Substantially that it has done. For the rest, it is for the Japanese people to decide what course to take.

#### IV. SUMMING IT UP

I come now to a final question on which it seems to me necessary to be very clear. One heard and one hears much about the fact that success in Washington marks a new method and opens a new era. For wars, conferences are to be substituted; and rule of reason is to replace the rule of the sword. Yet it is essential to note at once how precise were the limits of the success in Washington, and how unmistakable the explanation for that success.

We had, at the moment when President Harding called the Conference, an abnormal situation in the world. Three great naval powers were stolidly building ships for which there was no explanation in the policies of the three countries, and the building programs were staggering burdens to all three countries. They promised bankruptcy for Japan, ultimate loss of equality at sea for Britain and made undesired supremacy inevitable for the United States at an incredible price.

British policy did not contemplate any aggression against the United States, nor did Japanese. The United States had not the smallest idea of attacking Britain or Japan, which were allies and thus without reason to fear each other and without temptation to compete in naval construction.

We had still another striking and peculiar situation. The battleship had long been the standard of sea strength. But our own Admirals Sims and Fiske; the British naval authority, Sir Percy Scott, who had guessed right about the submarine before the World War, and Admiral De Bon of the French Navy all agreed that the day of the battleship was over. The best experts in all navies were of the opinion that money put into battleships was wasted, even from the point of view of war strength, as a consequence of the development of aircraft and possible expansion of submarine warfare.

Now the fusion of all these reasons explained the success of the Hughes program in naval limitation. But they were all unusual reasons. I mean by that, reasons which existed with respect of a single engine of warfare. The proof lies in the fact that when the conference passed from battleship to submarine, agreement disappeared. Britain wanted to abolish, America to limit. France was willing to limit, but asked the maximum allotment granted any nation, while Italy,

wanting submarines but not claiming the maximum, felt called upon to demand equality with France. As a result we had deadlock and failure both as to submarines and as to those auxiliary cruisers which are the defensive answer to submarines.

The same was true in another field, namely, land armaments. Here France as the supreme land power confronted the conference with the declaration that her people saw the question in one way, and had based their land strength upon this view. As a consequence, land armaments were dropped from the discussion of limitation of armaments.

Now it follows, quite logically, both from the successes and the failures of the Washington Conference that it is not correct to conclude that there is a new spirit abroad in the world or a new era at hand. Both may be facts, but there is nothing in the evidence to show that either exists. A conference between Britain and Germany on naval limitation before the war would not have changed the situation which survived the futile efforts of Lord Haldane to promote a naval holiday in his visits to Berlin. A conference on land armaments would not have availed as between France and Germany while Alsace-Lorraine remained open.

The international conference is not a means to promote international amity between nations whose policies are in direct collision and whose publics are mutually hostile, suspicious and resentful. But when two or more nations make up their minds that they do not want war, that they have no reason to fear attack, when they are equally agreed that further competition in arms means bankruptcy or approximate bankruptcy, then a conference is an admirable place in which to achieve that general liquidation for which public opinion in all countries concerned is totally prepared.

It is putting the cart before the horse to seek appeasement in the conference. The stream will not mount higher than its source and, in this case the source is the public sentiment in each country concerned. Because the United States, Japan and Great Britain could agree in conference about capital ships and islands in the Pacific, it is not reasonable to argue that, in conference, France, Britain and Germany could agree about reparations or Britain, France and the United States about land armaments. In both cases there would have to be recognition in each country

in advance of the conference of the national advantage accruing from such agreement.

The really novel and striking thing about our Washington affair was the recognition by President Harding and his advisers that the moment had arrived when a conference could succeed, could register the agreement already discoverable in the public sentiments of the three great naval powers. The moment might have passed, the concord might have been changed by competition into actual rivalry. In seizing it the President rendered very real service.

Sometime, sooner or later, one must believe, a similar situation will develop in the matter of economic reconstruction in Europe. The pressure of industrial and financial events will bring German, Frenchman, Briton, Italian, Pole and perhaps American as well to a common ground. It may be hastened by agreements between conflicting nations. Then, and only then, the conference method will succeed, if someone acts as wisely and gauges the situation as accurately as did President Harding.

But he who advocates a conference must necessarily demonstrate that those who are to be invited share the views which must prevail, if there is to be any result attained. The Washington Conference did not persuade Japan or Great Britain to agree to naval limitation. They came prepared to join in limiting capital ships. And it could not persuade the French in the case of submarines because they came unprepared, because the national sentiment behind the French delegates was unprepared.

The conference, then, our own Washington Conference, was not a remedy, it was not a cure, but so far as it succeeded it was a sign of health. No national policy was changed or even modified by the Conference, but it was demonstrated just how much and how little national policies agreed. And it was useful in the extreme to know where the agreements lay and to turn them into solid advantage alike in money saving in the fortification of peace and in the elimination of perils not present but prospective. You will not promote peace between nations which are hostile by a conference, but a conference is an admirable place in which nations actually friendly can give proof of their friendliness—such proof as is registered in the limitation of armaments agreements made in Washington.

In sum, the Washington Conference suc-

ceeded in establishing relations between friendly nations on a permanent basis. Armament must invariably be accommodated to policy. If you have a purpose to carry out which involves collision with other nations, then you must arm yourself against those nations. If another country has obviously a purpose to attack you, you must then arm yourself against that attack. But if the policy of all naval powers is purely defensive then it is the simplest matter in the world to agree to restrict the number of offensive weapons. The Washington Conference was a final demonstration not of the way to insure peace between enemies, but to establish it between friends. It proved that wherever political adjustment is possible restraint of armament follows logically. The appeal to the land powers of Europe to disarm because the sea powers have agreed measurably to disarm at Washington, is illogical. What Europe must do is to seek those political adjustments such as the sea powers entered into in the Pacific; thereafter, demobilization, reduction of land forces and elimination of excessive expenses will follow naturally.

## V. THE AFTERMATH

And now it remains briefly to turn to that European situation which I have been obliged to neglect in recent months because of the Washington Conference. At the moment when I closed my last article, Briand had fallen and Poincaré had returned to power. Those who remember the first Poincaré Ministry, following the Agadir Crisis a decade ago, will see many parallels between the present and the past accession of the French statesman, who in the interim has been President of the French Republic during the full period of the war and the years immediately following.

The coming of Poincaré has been variously interpreted, and Poincaré himself has been variously represented in the press of the world. It has been asserted that his arrival meant an intensification of French chauvinism, foreshadowed some extreme act in the case of Germany, and generally promised the postponement of the reconstruction of Europe. And in addition there have been many forecasts that Poincaré would remain in power but a brief time.

All of these assertions seem to me to rest upon an imperfect appreciation of the situa-

tion in France. Poincaré is a reasonably strong man, but, far from being a fire-eater, he is a methodical, rather slow, tenacious man, a typical product of the frontier Province of Lorraine. He represents French views as to all the political maneuvers of the past three years, and the French desire for a solid basis of agreement and adjustment both with Great Britain and with the rest of the world. France feels herself to have been worsted in a series of temporary bargains with Lloyd George, which, in fact, have settled nothing, but avoided clashes by postponing decisions.

Poincaré's mission avowedly is primarily to seek to put the foreign relations of France on a business basis. We have had in the Washington Conference a striking example of the discomfort, and worse, incident to Anglo-French disagreements. Had France and Great Britain been able to adjust their differences of opinion before they came to Washington, nothing is more certain than that we should have had complete accord, not alone in the matter of capital ships, but all the way down the line. The submarine controversy grew out of the fact that France desired, first, to know whether she had to confront the future as an ally of Great Britain or as an isolated nation. As an ally of Great Britain she would need few ships and fewer submarines. Isolated, her sole defense would be a submarine fleet.

Poincaré, in all his writings and in all his recent public utterances, so far from favoring a break with Great Britain, has steadily urged that Anglo-French affairs should be liquidated, that there should be a general settlement based upon exactly that kind of recognition of mutual interest which was disclosed in the 1904 adjustment following the Fashoda episode—an adjustment which gave France and Great Britain ten years of utmost friendliness and perfect coöperation.

But Poincaré believes that the foundation of Anglo-French friendship must be a fixed alliance, not a guarantee by Great Britain of French frontiers which would amount in fact to making France, in a measure, a British protectorate, and therefore place French foreign policy under the tutelage of Great Britain. After all, it is a fact that if it was the British navy which patrolled the seas for the Grand Alliance that defeated Germany, it was the French army which bore the brunt of the war from the earliest skirmish up to the opening of the Battle of the Somme in

July, 1916. If the British fleet guarded the lanes of sea communication by which France obtained the supplies and materials which made resistance possible, it was the French armies which held the Germans back from the English Channel and the Straits of Dover.

Poincaré, therefore, demands not a one-sided guarantee from Great Britain, but a treaty of alliance between equals. He asks that this alliance shall be extended, not for ten years—a period during which everyone knows Germany will be incapable of military action—but for a period of thirty years; that is, until a new generation shall arrive in Germany which has been educated in the recognition that a war of revenge upon France means a new conflict with Great Britain, a new destruction of Germany's seaborne commerce, a repetition of the horrors of the blockade and the isolations of the World War.

It is quite obvious that such an alliance goes far beyond the present or the traditional policy of Great Britain. It may well be that it will take much time to persuade the British to march far along the path of Poincaré. But, on the other hand, one must recognize that the French position is infinitely stronger than that of the British because, while Britain has two millions unemployed, France has less than twenty thousand; and, second, whereas the restoration of the European markets of Germany and Russia, alike, is a matter of life and death to Britain, it is a matter of comparative indifference to France, who sells little, whose foreign trade is a relatively insignificant item, whose land suffices to feed its population.

To persuade France to agree to postponement of German reparations, to waive her unquestioned right to use her armies if Germany fails to comply with the agreement made last May in London, to enlist France in the great task of reconstruction in the economic sense in Europe, the British will obviously have to meet many of the French terms. Short of force, short of war which is unthinkable, Great Britain can neither coerce nor overpersuade France under the leadership of Poincaré.

At the moment that I write this article Anglo-French relations are obviously at a difficult stage. Lloyd George's proposal for an Anglo-French alliance, made to Briand, has been received coldly in the House of Commons. All efforts for a settlement of

Anglo-French difficulties in the Near East have broken down. The French attitude toward the Genoa Conference, which is a British project, is patently unsympathetic at present.

Yet it seems to me that in the long run nothing is more certain than that there will be an adjustment between Great Britain and France. It is a fact that there is no economic recovery conceivable for Great Britain until there is a new situation on the Continent of Europe. It is equally clear that France will consent to no change of policy in conformity with British interests until France is assured of security for the future. Therefore, although the path is likely to be difficult and we are destined to have many unpleasant moments, it seems to me that one can with reasonable confidence look forward to an eventful adjustment of Anglo-French relations.

## VI. ALLIED DEBTS AND CONGRESS

In discussing European adjustments and reconstruction, moreover, one has to revert to the American phase. Congress has recently, in defiance of the wish of the President and without regard to the advice of the Secretary of the Treasury, passed a bill dealing with allied debts and providing that they shall be repaid within a period of twenty-five years, and that during that time  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest shall be collected. The sum total of these debts now passes eleven billions of dollars. The British share amounts to approximately five billions.

In dealing with this question of the allied debts, one must see, first, how injurious has been the Anglo-French quarrel here in Washington. The action of Congress, which represents approximate futility, is a direct consequence of the uproar over the French army and the French submarine program, most of which had its origin in the declarations of the British press representatives here in Washington. Congress, eager for an excuse for proceeding not generously, but vigorously, in the matter of the foreign debts, has found therein its warrant, and has taken full advantage of the opportunity thus placed in its hands.

The fact, however, in the matter of the foreign debts is already pretty generally appreciated in the financial as well as the governmental circles of this country. Great Britain can and will pay the five billions

which she owes us. Roughly speaking, this means that she will begin promptly and pay us regularly more than \$300,000,000 annually for the next twenty-five years. But actually this enormous payment will be made by the increase in British exports to the United States and the decreases of British imports from the United States. The total British gold reserve would not suffice to pay more than two annual instalments. Moreover, we have recently had warning from the Federal Board of Reserve of the dangers incident to the already too great concentration of gold in the vaults of the United States treasury.

So far as the British are concerned, then, their payments will conceivably add immediately to our embarrassment in the matter of gold, and certainly for a long period of time reduce the amount of the sales of our products to the British Empire, as it will tend to increase the amount which we buy from Great Britain, thus adding to unemployment—already a serious evil—in the United States.

Now as to France, Italy, and Belgium, the fact is that no one of these countries can, or will, undertake to pay us except as Germany pays them. At the present time, as everyone knows, Germany cannot pay, and her European creditors are about to extend to her a period of grace. All that France, Belgium, or Italy can say to us is: "When Germany pays, we will pay." The French can also say, and doubtless will: "You see, we must keep our army. It is the only means of compelling the Germans to pay." Therefore, the effect of the course of the American Congress will be to give new arguments to the French for the maintenance of their armies as a means of collecting the German debt, and new reasons for using the army rather than permitting the German to have a period of postponement in making reparation under the treaty terms.

Here, again, the action of Congress means in the end the postponement of the recovery of the European market and, therefore, a further diminution in the American foreign trade. Because of the action of Congress the American farmer, cotton-grower, cattle-raiser, will find his market still further restricted, and the return of prosperity in the United States will be thereby still further delayed.

Had it not been for the unfortunate uproar over the submarine, my judgment is that

it might have been possible at least to have persuaded Congress to postpone the collection, or the attempt to collect, the European debts. It might have been possible for the United States Government to have coöperated in making the Genoa Conference immediately successful and a prompt aid to the restoration of the European markets. Thus, once more, as at Paris, it has been demonstrated that quarrels between European nations before an American audience are in the end disastrous to all participants. If the British were more successful than the French here in enlisting approval, it is no less true that the British are going to suffer materially more than the French, since the British will have to begin to pay the allied debts, while the French cannot, and therefore will not attempt anything of the kind.

The passage of a measure affecting the European debts has aroused a storm of indignation and protest in France. This was inevitable. France, unable to collect anything from Germany so far, sees herself at one time asked by the United States to display leniency in the matter of German reparations and display the last energy in the repayment of American loans. The suggestion made in some quarters that France discharge her obligation to us by ceding us her West Indian islands only adds to the sense of injury. These French islands are represented in the French Parliament; they are as much a part of France politically as a Department on the mainland of Europe. They could only be taken against the will of their inhabitants, and it seems incredible that the United States, which resolutely opposed the French desire to annex German territory, to annex the Sarre Basin to set off German devastations in the French coal regions, should in the same breath demand that France cede French citizens to repay American loans. It is a singularly unfortunate thing, moreover, that the Washington Conference, successful as it was in dealing with questions affecting the Pacific and those affecting the three great sea powers, should have led to the present profound misapprehension and coldness between the United States and France. Doubtless this will pass away, but in the meantime American effort to coerce the French, to use the power, or the imaginary power, of the creditor to influence the domestic policy of the debtor, can only lead to further bitterness and postpone real adjustment of the matters at issue.

## VII. GENOA

As I close this article word comes from abroad of the probable postponement of the Genoa Conference until summer. The recent fall of the Italian Ministry, due in part at least to Italian disappointment over the results achieved by the Italian representatives in Washington, and in part, too, to Italian apprehension growing out of the invitation to Lenine to attend the Genoa Conference, in some degree explains the proposed postponement. But at bottom one must trace it to a reluctance on the part of France to enter into an international conference until there has been a preliminary adjustment of Franco-British differences.

On our side of the ocean there is no mistaking the opposition in Congress to American participation in an international conference now, and the widespread distaste in this country for any association with Lenine or with any representatives of the present Bolshevik government. Any real temptation, such as President Harding and his advisers might have found in the Italian invitation, is removed by the course of Congress in dealing with the allied loans. Once more, too, the Anglo-French quarrel over the submarine has served to embitter American opinion and create a prejudice against American participation in European affairs until Europe settles certain questions for itself—questions like those of reparations and land armaments.

Moreover, it is clear that the American position in any international conference will be weakened precisely as long as the treaties which we negotiated at the Washington Conference remain unratified. It is equally clear that arguments against ratification might not impossibly be deduced from what might happen if a Genoa Conference and a Senate debate were proceeding concomitantly. Europe, moreover, after its experience with the Senate in the matter of the Treaty of Versailles, will doubtless desire to know whether it is possible to negotiate a treaty with the United States and see that treaty subsequently ratified.

All things considered, one may say that whether there will be a Genoa Conference in March or not, the European situation and the American situation combine to warrant the forecast that little but preliminary work can be done there and that time is still required before Europe or the United States is ready for that general settlement which must

inevitably come and perhaps is nearer than anyone can see at the moment. If France and Great Britain were able in the next three months to adjust their differences, and the United States Senate in the meantime would have ratified the Washington Treaties, no one can mistake that the prospects of success for an international conference then would be far greater.

Looking at the European situation generally, it seems to me that one must detect everywhere signs of improvement. If the fiscal situation of many countries remains disturbed, the economic conditions are improving, that is to say, more people are working, more countries are becoming self-supporting in the matter of food, most of the larger political problems, like that of Upper Silesia, have been settled, there has been an enormous deflation of mistaken ideas about reparations, and there has been a very great reduction in the rivalries which grew out of super-heated nationalism, and were the striking circumstances of the Paris Conference.

All things considered and aside from the Russian conditions, which are due to special causes, the winter which is now drawing to a close has been marked by less disorder, less suffering and by a larger measure of "normalcy" than any winter since the outbreak of the war. It is true that everywhere the world is beginning to see that there is going to be no sudden or swift recovery from the effects of the war and the destructions and disturbances incident to it and consequent upon it. Yet there is sound reason for optimism when we contrast the conditions of the winter of 1921-22 with that of 1918-19. If a general international conference to stabilize economic and financial conditions still seems premature, one is bound after all to recognize that such a liquidation is now not far off. The Anglo-French bitterness of the moment, from its very intensity, forecasts an adjustment rather than continued hostility.

But once more I would remind my readers that political adjustments must precede economic, and we shall not demobilize armies or reduce military expenditures until we arrive at political understandings between interested nations, the world over. And we shall not restore markets, or relieve the present American depression, until the two great questions of reparations and allied debts are removed. Europe has already been partially educated in the matter of reparations. But for the existence of the allied debt question



one might expect to see the reparations reduced to limits which would represent the possible instead of the fantastic.

The recent action of Congress does, however, postpone this settlement. It will probably postpone the return of prosperity to the United States. Until the mass of the people in this country perceive that the present policy in the matter of allied debts prevents the reopening of European markets, continues to diminish the volume of our foreign

trade, means that the farmer must keep his grain, the planter his cotton, the stockmen their cattle, we are not likely to get extensive relief. The single advantage of the present Congressional experiment lies in the fact that it tends to clarify the situation. When the President appoints his commission to collect the allied debts and they set out upon their painful task, no one will have any further reason for failing to recognize the fundamental facts.

# THE NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE

BY RICHARD T. ELY

(Professor of Political Economy, University of Wisconsin)

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS has already mentioned the National Agricultural Conference called by President Harding, which met in Washington during the five days January 23-27, and in advance of the meeting has suggested its great possibilities in determining policies of relief and reconstruction. The reader of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will now naturally want to know what was actually accomplished. Has the conference helped us forward in traveling the road to normalcy and prosperity?

I am very glad to respond to the request of the Editor, and state the impressions which I formed as a participant, giving careful attention to the proceedings and reviewing them in my mind subsequently in order to estimate properly the real significance of this gathering. A full report, which it is hoped will be published, would make a book of very respectable proportions, and in the two or three magazine pages allotted to me all that I can hope to do is to give the most outstanding features of the deliberations and resolutions.

## *High Character of the Personnel*

First of all, attention should be called to the delegates in attendance, three hundred and thirty-six in number. They represented the great farm organizations of the country, the departments of agriculture in the various States, agricultural colleges and the agricultural press; also businesses closely connected with agriculture. There were also eighteen

women delegates to represent the home and any other special interests of women. In addition, a few economists and other scholars were individually invited. When looking upon the faces of these delegates, of representative American men and women, one could not help feeling optimistic not only about the future of the great basic industry of agriculture, but about the future of our country. Intelligence of the delegates and honesty of purpose impressed themselves on all observers.

## *Advance in Sound Thinking*

To one who is familiar with the history of farmers' organizations and with the conventions and meetings of various sorts held during the past twenty to thirty years, the most outstanding feature of this conference is the progress that has been made in right feeling and sound thought. A conference such as this which has just been held would have been an impossibility ten years ago and even five years ago. The progress which has been made is beyond all question due mainly to general enlightenment, and this general enlightenment is the result of quiet, educational work that has been in progress during the past generation. It is a splendid vindication of those who have preached the doctrine that education is the essential, indispensable feature of Americanism.

The conference was dealing with economic questions, and in our agricultural colleges and universities no feature of their growth

has perhaps been so marked during recent years as the enlargement and enrichment of the departments of economics and the increase in the number of students taking this work. Twenty years ago economics was scarcely recognized in the agricultural colleges of the country; now it is probably without exception the most rapidly growing department in these colleges. A generation ago a Secretary of Agriculture said that he wanted no economics in the United States Department of Agriculture; whereas to-day Secretary Wallace has stated repeatedly that the various branches of economic research in the Department of Agriculture are felt by him to be at least equal in importance to any other work that is being carried on by this vast governmental agency.

### *Retirement of the "Freaks"*

Next in importance to the improvements seen in the grasp of the economic questions involved, as shown especially in the resolutions adopted, we may mention the general display of manly courage in facing the future and good-will toward other social groups. To be sure, we heard the old-time oratory and exhortations to effect mighty combinations in order to smite the farmers' enemies "hip and thigh," to overthrow their evil machinations, and to press forward to achieve those things which would make the farmers prosperous, the implication being that there could be no doubt about measures which would restore prosperity, and that only selfish and evil-minded groups of powerful "interests" prevented the achievement of the desired ends. We heard the old familiar talk that the farmer does not fix his prices, while those with whom he deals fix their prices, and there were too many whose economics had not got beyond fallacies in that science corresponding to the ideas of perpetual motion in the realm of physics. The thing to be remembered is, however, that those who voiced these old-time views and sentiments were obviously a diminishing group. Their day belonged to the past.

Also we saw here and there that bird of prey, the demagogue in politics, attempting to capitalize for his own sinister ends the distress of the farmer, but he evidently failed to reap any considerable harvest from this conference.

The assertion has been made that the delegates to the conference were "hand-picked." In his remarks at the closing session of the conference, Secretary Wallace

referred to this unfounded allegation, and by an analysis of the delegations showed clearly that there had been a carefully selected representation of all groups of significance. The following is a quotation from the Secretary's remarks:

In the early hours of the conference I was told that here and there were whispers that this was a hand-picked conference. It was. And the figures I have just read to you, I think, prove it. It was not a hand-picked conference in the sense that there was any purpose to choose delegates with reference to their views. On the contrary, as your discussions here have revealed, you have delegates representing the widest divergence of views, and they have been extended the utmost freedom of debate. Extraordinary courtesy has been extended to men whose views have met with the strong disapproval of nine-tenths of the delegates.

### *The Conference as a Working Body*

The work of the conference was assigned to the following twelve committees:

#### **Agriculture and Price Relations—**

Chairman: E. B. Cornwall, Vt.

Secretary: F. A. Pearson.

#### **Agricultural Credit and Insurance—**

Chairman: S. P. Houston, Mo.

Secretary: V. N. Valgren.

#### **Transportation—**

Chairman: H. J. Waters, Mo.

Secretary: Thos. H. McDonald.

#### **Foreign Competition and Demand—**

Chairman: Harvey J. Sconce, Ill.

Secretary: W. F. Callander.

#### **Costs, Prices and Readjustments—**

Chairman: H. L. Russell, Wis.

Secretary: E. G. Nourse.

#### **Crop and Market Statistics—**

Chairman: C. S. Barrett, Ga.

Secretary: L. M. Estabrook.

#### **Marketing of Farm Products—**

Chairman: G. Harold Powell, Calif.

Secretary: Asher Hobson.

#### **Agricultural Research and Education—**

Chairman: O. E. Bradfute, Ohio.

Secretary: K. F. Kellerman.

#### **A National Forest Policy—**

Chairman: Gifford Pinchot, Penn.

Secretary: Raphaël Zon.

#### **National Land Policies—**

Chairman: R. A. Pearson, Iowa.

Secretary: B. H. Hibbard.

#### **Farm Population and Farm Home—**

Chairman: S. J. Lowell, N. Y.

Secretary: C. J. Galpin.

#### **Coördination of State and Federal Legislation—**

Chairman: E. S. Prigham, Vt.

Secretary: Chester Morrill.

The resolutions adopted by the committees were framed with reference to the present distress and measures to alleviate this, and, second, to the more permanent policies for the years to come. It was generally recog-

nized that the present distress will happily soon be a thing belonging to history, and permanent policies to bring about improvement in the future received far more attention.

*President Harding's Recommendations Generally Accepted*

President Harding opened the conference with an impressive address, which met with sincere applause and which, in the discussions of groups during the conference, was referred to with warm approval. President Harding made several recommendations in his address and these were considered by the twelve committees of the conference. Each committee made a report containing resolutions and these were in general harmony with the recommendations of the President. The following is a survey of the recommendations of the various committees:

*Recommendations for Congressional Action:*

- Investigate plans for stabilization of dollar—Com. 1.
- Provide short time agricultural credit—Com. 2.
- Continue War Finance Corporation if necessary—Com. 2.
- Amend Federal Reserve Act providing agricultural representative—Com. 2.
- Investigate Crop Insurance—Com. 2.
- Prohibit tax-free securities except farm loan bonds—Com. 2.
- Repeal of Section 15a of Interstate Commerce Act—Com. 3.
- Restore powers state railway commissions—Com. 3.
- Provide for completion of Muscle Shoals project—Com. 3.
- Provide for development of St. Lawrence-Great Lakes waterway—Com. 3.
- Retain tolls on Panama Canal—Com. 3.
- Urge continued Federal aid for highways—Com. 3.
- Adequate support of International Institute of Agriculture at Rome—Com. 4.
- Amend the Webb-Pomerene Act on export trade—Com. 4.
- Recommends tariff adjustment board and tariff legislation permitting adjustment of rates within limitations—Com. 4.
- Provide for agricultural attachés abroad—Com. 4.
- Enactment coöperative legislation—Com. 7.
- Legislation on price statements by coöperative associations—Com. 7.
- Federal cold storage legislation—Com. 7.
- Credit for warehouse certificates—Com. 7.
- Legislation to prevent destruction of forests, fire protection on private and public lands, increase of forest acreage—Com. 9.
- Establish national land commission to classify land, providing for protection of settlers, intelligent development as present acute conditions are adjusted—Com. 10.
- Commends health conservation for rural people—Com. 11.
- Provision for circulating libraries; instruction

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in coöperation in schools; expansion of extension work among farm homes—Com. 11.

Coöperation in administration between State and Federal Government of regulatory laws—Com. 12.

Recommends discontinuance of free seed distribution—Com. 12.

*Recommendations to Farmers:*

Continue to reduce overhead expenses by efficiency in crop production—Com. 3.

Urge diversification—Com. 3.

Adjust farm operations to market demands—Com. 5.

Organization of farmers strongly emphasized.

*Recommendations to President*

Establish a national agricultural council—Com. 12.

*Readjustments*

No national prosperity until both wages and capital bear just share in readjustment—Com. 5.

Congress and the President take steps to immediately reestablish a fair exchange value for all farm products with that of all other commodities—Com. 7.

Expansion of support in work of research education and extension facilities—Com. 8.

*Expansion of Agriculture Department*

Agricultural census every five years—Com. 6.

Expansion of crop reporting service to include livestock and greater details on crops, etc.—Com. 6.

More statistics on market, stocks, and movement—Com. 6.

Studies on cost of marketing—Com. 7.

*Emphasis on Forestry*

Evidently in each committee there must have been one or more men wise as Socrates was wise; in other words, they had the beginning of wisdom with fruitful promise for the future, because they recognized their own ignorance. What was most impressive in all the resolutions is the educational program. Again and again the thought is expressed that we need light, ever more light, and diffusion of light. Nothing could be more hopeful than this emphasis upon research and the demand that the results of research should be made available, and available quickly. While some demands, wholly or partially unsound, were made, they were relatively of small importance in the entire program as endorsed in the resolutions; and past progress gives us every reason to hope that when another conference is held these will be mostly eliminated. The day of formulas and panaceas evidently belongs to the past. We live in a very complex world and we need accurate knowledge as a result of careful, scientific work along every line of activity.

It is hard to select for special treatment

any recommendations out of the many that were made. Only one or two may be mentioned in this article, which has already gone beyond the assigned limits. Gifford Pinchot's plea for forestry was one of the impressive features of the conference, and the resolutions of the committee on a National Forest Policy were entirely sound. The result cannot fail to awaken the farmers to a greater extent than heretofore to the significance of forestry as a feature of our national life. It may also be mentioned that Mr. Pinchot's protest against changing the location of the work in forestry so as to take it out of the Department of Agriculture received enthusiastic applause. Evidently the conference supported the fact that forestry is agriculture and that in the long run a forest is simply one of many agricultural crops.

#### *Opposed to Price-Fixing*

The conference very evidently disapproved of the proposed transfer of the Bureau of Markets from the Department of Agriculture to another department, feeling that the work of the Bureau of Markets was first of all an affair of agriculture. Price-fixing met with little encouragement and the emphatic statement that it could never make the farmer prosperous was warmly applauded, as well as the presentation of the view that the printing press could not supply the farmer with credit; that on the contrary the lowest rates of interest had been found only where thrift had been practised and where there was confidence in the faith-keeping of government, while every breath of suspicion in regard to repayment in cheap money raised the farmer's rate of interest.

Especially noteworthy was the attitude with respect to the wage-earner and his wages. While there was most evident sympathy with the wage-earner it was obviously the opinion of the conference that in the interests of the wage-earner, as of all others, there must be a readjustment of wages and that in some cases they were out of adjustment with general conditions and would have to be lowered as a condition to restore prosperity.

Coöperation was emphasized and the demand was made that all legal obstacles to

proper farmers' combinations be removed. As nearly as I can gather, the best thought of the conference was that farmers' combinations are indispensable if the farmer is to be prosperous and to have a prosperity in which all may participate. On the other hand, it is recognized that farmers' combinations, as well as others, may under certain circumstances and in certain places be guilty of anti-social practices. Consequently it is coming to be conceded that there should be some social control of these combinations, as of all others. Probably the outcome is that legal obstacles to coöperation through combination will be removed, but that these combinations will have to operate under general supervision of the Department of Agriculture, or other agencies representing impartially general, social interests.

#### *Service of the Department of Agriculture*

The country is under great debt of gratitude to President Harding for calling this conference, to Secretary Wallace for the initiative which he took, and to Congressman Sidney Anderson, chairman of the conference, under whose leadership the work of the Congressional Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry has been conducted. One other name should be mentioned, however. Secretary Wallace spoke about the devotion of various members of his staff and mentioned one name. This article may be well closed with the following quotation from Secretary Wallace's remarks at the concluding session of the National Agricultural Conference:

Now, just one further word. Something has been said of the service of the Department of Agriculture. We have been glad for the opportunity to render that service. I want to say to you that there is a group of devoted men in the Department of Agriculture who are all too little known, and all too little appreciated by the country at large. They are men thoroughly devoted, you might almost say consecrated, to the service of the farmers of this country and to the service of the nation at large. And let me say, in speaking of those who contributed to the making of a success of this great conference, that the omission of the name of Dr. H. C. Taylor would be an injustice for which we could not forgive ourselves. Much of the credit for the preliminary arrangements and the orderly way in which they were carried out belongs to him.



# LORD BRYCE: BRITISH SCHOLAR AND STATESMAN

BY P. W. WILSON

IF one would understand the peculiar influence of James Bryce, one must unlearn the common error that he was "an Englishman" and must see him, not as "English" but as one of England's conquerors—namely, a Scot. Bryce belonged to a race and a generation that bred Strathcona and the railroad kings of Canada, Carnegie and the steel kings of Pittsburgh, Kelvin and the chemistry kings of Glasgow, John Burns, the first wage-earner to enter a British Cabinet, with Campbell-Bannerman, Prime Minister, his rival, Arthur Balfour, both Archbishops of the Anglican Church, several recent Lord High Chancellors and, indeed, President Wilson himself. Of this great fraternity—eager, ambitious, acquisitive—was James Bryce. He was an aristocrat with them, not of birth but of brain. Where Europe enrolled armies and built navies, Scotland did neither, but in science, in banking, in commerce, in religion, in the arts, made it her aim to rule by knowledge. Not by emotions, not by prejudices, not by wealth or by brute force, but by accurately ascertained information, has the Scot been guided. He is "canny." He knows.

What Bryce displayed was a consecrated avarice for the wealth that is vested in truth. From every man whom he met, from every book that he read, he claimed a dividend on his time which should be forever all his own. As others have amassed riches, so he gathered facts, impressions, memories, jottings, making them his fortune which accumulated with the years by compound interest. Not Alexander the Great himself, not Napoleon, not Victoria on her throne, reigned so securely over so comprehensive an Empire. The countries which Bryce visited, the mountains which he climbed, the rivers where he fished, the valleys where he searched for ferns, became, one by one, his by right of the stronger.

Nor was he at any time an absentee landlord. In the thoughts of each day as it came, he inscribed afresh the title deeds of

his vast estates. Even nations, foreign to his own, acknowledged his sway. It might be Greece—it might be Armenia—it might be the Tyrolese—it might even be the citizenry of the United States, but the spell was the same. Where others had gone their way unheeding, this man had taken the trouble to find out how the other half of the world really lived. Other saints had tended the lepers, had secluded themselves in the silence of the cloister, had thundered forth gospels. For Bryce, godliness meant omniscience. His piety was to see mankind. Not a village anywhere could be in distress without Bryce being aware of it. His was the infinite labor which counts the sparrows as they fall. To be good meant for him just this. Where healing had been attempted so cruelly by treatment without diagnosis, Bryce made diagnosis his life-work. Others found democracy. Bryce found it out.

In capacity of mind, he had in Britain only two rivals, Gladstone and Lord Acton. Both these men amassed great libraries and sat in them. Neither of them, however, approached Bryce in what I may call the humilities of travel. Acton and Gladstone were overcome by books. Printed pages mastered their imaginations. They became spectators of literature. But Bryce was satisfied only when his brain included his bookshelf. Ambassador Jusserand asked him if he had subscribed for the "Encyclopædia Britannica" and he answered, "What's the use?" On what he knew, he could have pointed out the Encyclopædia's omissions. And had he wished to learn, the Encyclopædia would not have told him half enough. When coming to this country, I asked Dr. Page, then American Ambassador in London, where I should live. "Under your hat," was his answer. It was under his hat that Bryce lived. The world was his home and he had none other. A pilgrim and a sojourner, he was like Abraham complete in himself wherever he might pitch his tent. And like Abraham, his hospitality was

magnificent. Whatever he had acquired, that he shared. Like Carnegie, it was his aim to give all.

As Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman made him Chief Secretary for Ireland. I heard the speech in which he raised again the tattered flag of Gladstonian Home Rule. Yet as Chief Secretary, he was curiously unpopular. He loved Ireland. He believed in her. But he saw her not in her own green light but as he saw every country in his own white light of serene mid-day. Burrell, who followed Bryce, became absorbed in Ireland, but Bryce never. It needed mankind to absorb Bryce, and Ireland had her appointed place, secure indeed, but neither more nor less. Hence doubtless his hold on the opinion of the United States. The nation here is, after all, mankind in the making. It is Europe, transplanted. And there was no section of Americans about whose origins Bryce did not know more than most of them knew themselves. By study, he achieved a right prescriptive to enter Congresses, Parliaments, Legislatures, Executives, not because anyone elected him but because he possessed the key of knowledge. Few Cardinals were as intimately acquainted with the Papacy, as was he. Let the Hapsburg Dynasty collapse, in the "Holy Roman Empire" of Bryce, it still survives.

To know all is to forgive all, and Bryce has been, perhaps, the only living man of his day who could tell the truth to nations other than his own without causing offense. Until he wrote his "American Commonwealth," none in Great Britain had seriously studied the United States. We read Mark Twain and Edgar Allan Poe. We had our Dickens and our Thackeray. We sauntered when young into "Uncle Tom's Cabin." But in our universities there was not one professor qualified either to study or to teach that phenomenon called the new world. What mattered was not Milwaukee and Minneapolis, but Mycenæ; not St. Louis,

but Sparta. And in this fit of absence of mind, none the less, was Great Britain facing the birth of Australia and South Africa as sovereign and united states. Cecil Rhodes knew better. His copy of Bryce's "American Commonwealth" is scored throughout with cross-references, is stained with tobacco, and bears all the traces of the trek. On the veldt, it was for Cecil Rhodes, as the Bible.

Thus it was that Bryce founded Anglo-American relations on a new basis. Before his day, it had been either flattery or ridicule—the Englishman's alleged eyeglass, the American's alleged twang—but Bryce would have neither. He told of Tammany Hall, but he told of it seriously. If he criticized Congress, it was because Congress involves human destiny. In his style, there was little charm. He was seldom "clever." Few were his epigrams and most of them quoted. But, on the other hand, he was never obscure and seldom verbose. He wasted neither his own time nor yours. He was content to be simply plain. If Providence thought it worth while to create plain people, then it was worth while for a plain person to write of them in plain paragraphs. And out of it all there emerged something greater than knowledge, however profound, which thing was faith. In Bryce lived a man who faced the worst in history—the wars, the atrocities, the secret treaties, the oppression—and yet dared still to believe, not in a dogma merely, but in mankind. He endured the war. He investigated the Armenian massacres. He

pronounced judgment on Germany's conduct in Belgium, yet he died confident. The earth might be without form and void and darkness might be on the face of the deep, but, to this apostle of the genuine, the need was not for cynicism, not for pessimism, not even for sympathy. Over the chaos, Bryce still flung the watchword by which he lived—"Let there be light." His final work on the democracies of the world is indeed a clear shining, even amid the storm.



TO ONE OF HIS BEST FRIENDS  
From the *World* (New York)

# JAMES BRYCE, AS WE KNEW HIM IN AMERICA

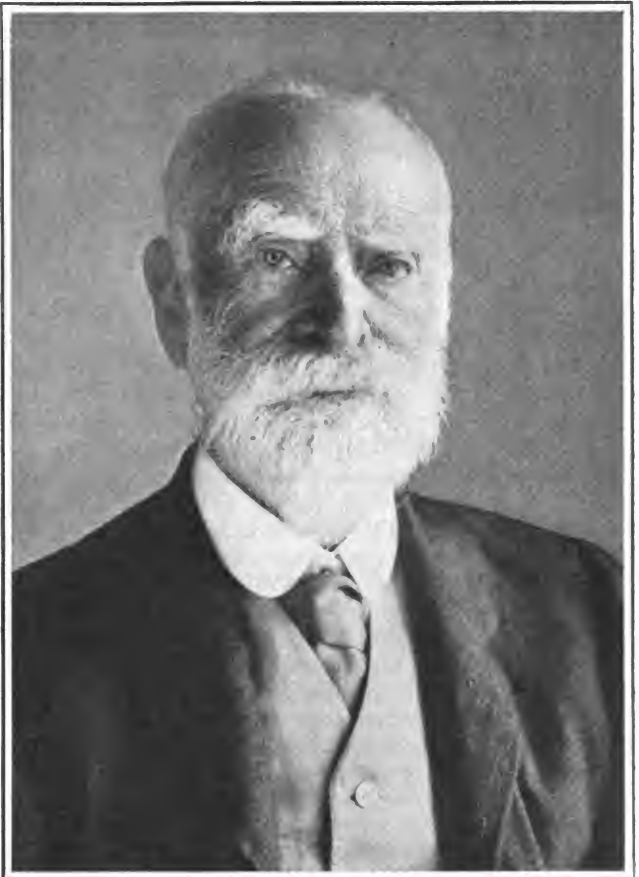
BY ALBERT SHAW

NO man of our times was more generous in friendship and appreciation than Lord Bryce. He knew men in all countries, and it was a part of his life work to help mankind to find its own true relationships. His was a spirit of broad understanding, which did not shrink from sacrifices of time and strength whenever he might have a share in achieving something worth while for the common objects of human progress. For obvious reasons, there were more Americans who knew him well than there were Frenchmen or Italians, Germans or Russians, South Americans or people of the Balkan States. But everywhere he had friends and correspondents who contributed steadily to his stores of information, and who were equally accustomed to receive the benefit of his wise and sympathetic counsel.

Numbers of Americans, since his death on January 22, have found some opportunity to express the high regard in which James Bryce was held on this side of the Atlantic. There are indeed, many in this country who are competent to characterize his great career, as that of a man whose business it was to know all things, and to teach the men of different nations how to understand one another and how to study the conditions and tendencies of their times. But in the midst of our American appreciations, there is a special satisfaction in having an estimate of

Lord Bryce from a representative Englishman. Mr. P. W. Wilson, the well-known London journalist, now residing in this country, who has contributed so often to our pages, and who was himself for a number of years in the House of Commons, as a

Liberal member, writes for us a finely phrased and well-rounded sketch of Lord Bryce's character as a public man. It is not my habit in editing this REVIEW to write of men and affairs from the personal standpoint, or to indulge in reminiscences. Yet I have been



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A RECENT PORTRAIT OF VISCOUNT BRYCE (1838-1922)

reminded by more than one friend that a long period of acquaintance with Lord Bryce, and a deeply grateful regard for his memory, might justify some casual remarks suggested by memories covering full forty years.



It was as a post-graduate student in history, political science and economics at the Johns Hopkins University, a few months more than two-score years ago, that I first saw, heard, and came to know the British scholar whose hold upon American public opinion was destined to become stronger than that of any other of his countrymen. As recently as 1917, when in his eightieth year, James Bryce accepted his title of Viscount, in order to render public service in the House of Lords. He continued to sign himself "James Bryce," and was glad rather than sorry when his American friends forgot to use his title. We had always called him Mr. Bryce; and as Mr. Bryce he had been known as a great scholar, teacher, barrister, historian, man of letters, parliamentarian, Cabinet officer, and Ambassador. When we made notes on his lectures in those student days, he was in his forty-fourth year, had long held a professorship in Roman Law at the University of Oxford, and had only the year before been elected to the House of Commons.

#### *As a Young Scotch Student*

James Bryce's father was a Scotchman and an educator, who had taught in Belfast but belonged in Glasgow. His mother was from County Antrim, Ireland; and I shall allude to her again in the course of these remarks, for I came in after years to know her well. While still a student in the University of Glasgow, although pursuing classical courses, with marked attention to history and philosophy, Bryce—like Theodore Roosevelt, at Harvard—showed a strong boyish taste for natural history and out-of-door things. He was a great walker, a close observer of natural phenomena, and a devoted botanist. Thus his first book told about the Flora of the Island of Arran; and he published this when he was twenty-one years old in 1859. These early tastes followed him through life, and they greatly enriched almost everything of importance that he wrote and published during the subsequent sixty-two years of continuous literary activity.

Leaving the University of Glasgow as a very promising young student, Mr. Bryce went to Oxford, where in 1862 at the age of twenty-four three things happened to him, practically at the same moment, which launched him on his career as a scholar of maturity and of recognized achievement. In that year, 1862, as a scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, (1) he was given a B. A.

degree with the highest honors; (2) he wrote a prize essay, later published as a famous book, entitled, "The Holy Roman Empire," and (3) he was chosen a Fellow of Oriel College. Holding a fellowship in an Oxford college gives a young man a home, an academic status, and certain desirable emoluments, but it does not necessarily tie him down. It gave James Bryce the opportunity to proceed at once to the Continent, where he pursued studies in Heidelberg University. He could not, of course, have written his book on German history, called "The Holy Roman Empire," to which I have referred, if he had not already mastered German and other modern languages for purposes of research.

#### *Admission to the Legal Profession*

For several years he pursued a career of study and travel with Oxford as his base, and with jurisprudence (ancient and modern) as the most definite and consecutive of his lines of inquiry. This wide reading of Roman law, comparative jurisprudence, and the English common law, resulted in his admission to the bar, and he found himself in 1867 a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, London, still, however, keeping his Oxford connections. In that same year 1867—as an illustration of his industry, and of that method of work which always associated direct observation of places and things with study of books—he wrote and published a volume in the form of a report upon the Condition of Education in Lancashire. All these things will duly appear in biographies of Mr. Bryce, and it will be worth while to know of them in detail. Yet this swift summary may help some readers to consider in better perspective the long and fortunate career of a man so admired and beloved in this country.

#### *Oxford Professor, Barrister, M. P., and Man of Letters All at Once*

His work in the science of law led in 1870 to double honors at Oxford: (1) He was given the degree of D. C. L. (Doctor of Civil Law), and (2) he was made a full University Professor, with the title of "Regius Professor of Civil Law." He held that professorship for almost a quarter of a century, resigning it in 1893, although during most of that long period he was also occupied with the duties of his political and parliamentary career.

In some way not easily understandable to those Americans who are familiar only with the customs of public and professional

life in the United States, Mr. Bryce managed for a certain period to hold all at the same time a professorship at Oxford, the position of a practicing barrister in London, and a seat in the House of Commons with very active political duties, to which there was added a fourth occupation, namely, that of a man of letters always engaged upon some task of productive authorship. He was able to do these things by virtue of methodical industry; and he pursued his affairs calmly though with quick energy, and somehow held them all in harmonious relations, meanwhile keeping up his health-giving and ever-broadening recreations as mountain climber and traveler, accurate observer of nature, and inquisitive friend of men, women, and children of various races and colors.

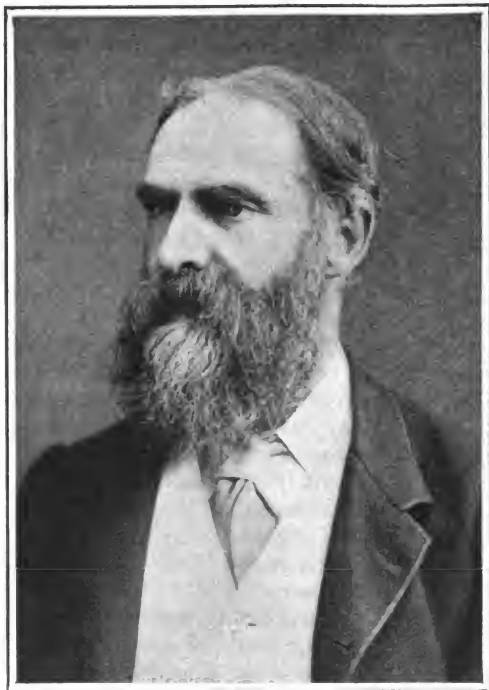
Thus he came to produce in 1877, practically at the same time, a valuable book on Trade Mark Law in the field of his legal studies, and a most fascinating book of travel and adventure called "*Transcaucasia and Ararat*"—for Mr. Bryce was one of the few human beings who had ever climbed that great peak in Asia Minor. In 1880 he was elected to the House of Commons for an East London constituency (Tower Hamlets). It was five years later that he began to represent the Scotch constituency (South Aberdeen), which kept him in Parliament by reflections for considerably more than twenty years.

His position in politics, as our older readers will remember, and as our younger readers should be told, was always that of a Gladstonian Liberal; and although he was not an ambitious politician or a spell-binding campaigner, he was invariably to be reckoned with as a member of the inner councils of the party and a wise and scholarly adviser.

#### *Welcomed at Johns Hopkins University*

Thus it was that when Mr. Bryce visited this country in 1881 he was eagerly welcomed in our universities; and it was in the nature of things that he should apply his trained powers of observation to a study of all that he saw about him in the United States. We who were studying history had read his "*Holy Roman Empire*," and it was my privilege to be one of a group who took his lectures in a brief course on Roman Law.

More memorable, however, than the admirable exposition of the principles of the Civil Law was a long evening that a few



MR. BRYCE AS HE APPEARED IN MIDDLE LIFE  
(From a photograph taken shortly after the publication of the "*American Commonwealth*")

of us spent with Mr. Bryce in a round-table discussion of a famous book on America by a great French writer. Alexis de Tocqueville had come to the United States exactly fifty years previous to the visit of James Bryce—primarily to study the penitentiary system. He had made his report in due form upon what were then regarded in Europe as marvelous innovations in the field of penology. But the young Frenchman had conceived a great admiration for the American people in their local and general institutions; and he had written a book, which in my youth it was incumbent upon all of us to read, namely, "*Democracy in America*." It was the one outstanding work by a foreigner which attempted to analyze, describe, and also appreciate American life.

De Tocqueville had praised the enlightened and virtuous communities of New England, and had found in the little democracies that functioned through the town-meeting the key to our hierarchy of institutions and to our great collective national life. But it was in 1831 that the Frenchman had come to this country; and our life had in many ways expanded and changed. New Englanders had gone West and peopled the prairies.

Millions of immigrants had arrived, and the comparatively small cities of the Frenchman's day had become populous, while many new problems of politics and society had emerged.

What had fifty years done to De Tocqueville? In our historical group at Baltimore, headed by the lamented Herbert B. Adams, we had men from different parts of the country. One from New England, for instance, besides Dr. Herbert Adams, was John Franklin Jameson, himself destined to become a high authority in American history. There was John Dewey and his brother Davis from Vermont, both to become famous scholars. There was Arthur Yager from Kentucky, afterward known as educator and economist, and recently Governor of Porto Rico. There was the late Dr. E. R. L. Gould, an eager Canadian student of history, and afterward an eminent publicist and a citizen of New York. Mr. Rose, now a distinguished judge at Baltimore, was one of the company; Professor Richard T. Ely, head of the Economics Department, joined in the meeting; and there was Levermore who had come from Yale, afterward President of Adelphi College, and now an active worker in the field of international law and diplomatic history. And there were various others who have since played their part in historical scholarship and in public affairs.

#### *An Eager Questioner*

We had been given due notice; and the evening, as directed by Professor James Bryce, with the assistance of Professor Herbert Adams, was stimulating in the highest degree to this group of young men, all of whom took a deep interest in the past, the present, and the future of American politics. We were analyzing the picture painted by the Frenchman, and we were at the same time, going back almost a half a century earlier, to the predictions of Alexander Hamilton; for we had all studied "The Federalist" and other writings of that constructive American statesman.

Mr. Bryce asked many questions of those of us who had come from different parts of the country. We had one or two men from California, and others who like myself had already taken some part as youthful citizens in political affairs of the Middle Western States.

Not many years after this meeting, Mr. Bryce had painted a picture of American institutions as they were in the latter part

of the Nineteenth Century; and his was a much larger canvas than the one painted by the brilliant young Frenchman who portrayed American life in the middle of the first half of that century. I think that the subsequent researches of Mr. Bryce in the United States were at least to some extent stimulated by his determination to find answers for the many questions that he asked on that evening in 1881. Somewhat later, there was published in the series of brochures known as the "Johns Hopkins Studies in History and Political Science" a paper by Mr. Bryce on the "Predictions of Hamilton and De Tocqueville."

#### *How the "American Commonwealth" Was Written*

Professor Bryce at that time, and on subsequent visits, made the acquaintance of educators and scholars in various other American universities, and met men in numerous States and cities. Everywhere he asked questions, kept his eyes and ears open, made notes constantly, accumulated documents and reports. With his industrious and highly trained mind, he was constantly classifying and assimilating material relating to local, State, and federal institutions, to economic life, to social customs and, indeed, to all phases of the growth of an American nationality and its adaptations to soil, topography, and climate, as our population had spread out across the continent, subduing forests, peopling the prairies, creating the railroad system, building cities, adopting new foreign ingredients of population, and meeting the countless problems of a new country and a new kind of organized life.

It was not until 1888 that the "American Commonwealth" was published in two large volumes. It had been the good fortune of some of our young men to have the opportunity to help Mr. Bryce in collecting material, or in studying and digesting particular topics that were assigned to us. Two or three such topics for instance were given to me, one of them being that of the development of local government as the people of New England and of Virginia carried their dissimilar systems farther West. When I had completed my study of this subject, working hard in Washington and Baltimore, it was sent to England by Professor Adams. Mr. Bryce found the study to be what he had wanted on that subject, and his way of dealing with it I may venture to describe,

not in the least because it concerns me, but because it so well illustrates the thoughtfulness and the generosity that always characterized Mr. Bryce in his relations to young men. It was honor enough to have prepared a paper that was of some use to Mr. Bryce; but he did not stop with a complimentary letter. He handed the essay to his friend John Morley (now Lord Morley, dean of British letters), who was then editing the *Fortnightly Review*. Morley immediately accepted and published it, and the reaction at the Johns Hopkins University was highly fortunate for a certain young student from the West who had come very recently to do post-graduate work, and who had yet to make his place.

#### *How Bryce Was Aided by Americans*

Subsequently I was given the opportunity to study other topics for Mr. Bryce, one of them being that of the work of the American State legislatures. Again the same thoughtfulness was shown, and this paper was published in the *Contemporary Review* (John Morley having left the *Fortnightly* and Mr. Bryce being now a regular supporter of the late Sir Percy William Bunting of the *Contemporary*). There were various others whose assistance to Mr. Bryce in that period was far greater and more conspicuous than mine; but nearly all of them were well-known writers and publicists, while I was an unknown student. I would not have anyone infer for a moment that the "American Commonwealth" was not in every sense the product of James Bryce's own study, observation, and industrious authorship. But he was wise enough to know how to avail himself of the knowledge of experts, or of the research work of as many competent students as could be found to give their help.

Not only in the preparation of his chapters did he thus enlist the coöperation of many admiring and willing helpers, but he was also very careful to have his proof-sheets read by experienced Americans in order that those slips that a foreigner might easily make should be detected and avoided. It happened, as the work was passing through the last stages of page proof and soon to be printed in 1888, that I was spending a good many months in England. Thus I had opportunity to do my share in reading proofs; and as respects one part of the book Mr. Bryce allowed me to make suggestions which resulted in material changes. These had

to do with his chapters on education, and concerned especially his remarks upon colleges and universities in the West.

#### *Open-Minded on American Universities*

There is no lack to-day in our Eastern universities of full appreciation of good work done in Western and Southern colleges. But forty years ago this could hardly have been said. Undoubtedly Mr. Bryce had been somewhat influenced by a certain habit of disparagement that was not confined to Harvard, but that also existed generally in the East, as respects the young State universities and the small and shabby denominational colleges, particularly those West of the Mississippi. I knew how unselfish and scholarly were many of the Western teachers, and what appreciative readers they would be of Mr. Bryce's great work. I also knew that his book would stand as an authority and a permanent treasure on all their shelves, and that meanwhile their institutions would steadily and rapidly develop. It took some courage for so young a man to make suggestions of this kind to so eminent an author, when the book was virtually on the presses. It is enough to say that the suggestions were accepted; and, while the truth was told about American universities and colleges, there was nothing left that might hurt the feelings of pioneer workers in education.

In later years Mr. Bryce came to know these institutions as well as he knew those of the East; and it was a professor who had spent his life west of the Mississippi (the late Professor Jesse Macy of Grinnell College, Iowa), who was chosen in due time by Mr. Bryce to prepare a one-volume edition of the "American Commonwealth" for use in schools and colleges.

#### *Arranging a Meeting with Gladstone*

It was a heavy task to put the "American Commonwealth" through the presses, because it was not merely the record of a visitor's experiences, but a profound work which involved the whole range of American political, economic and social history, with hundreds of statements requiring technical accuracy having to do with all the parts of our governmental mechanism, local and general. There was no page that could be dismissed without critical care. Yet, in this period, great responsibilities in English politics and government were resting upon the shoulders of our slight but vigorous professor and author. When Mr. Gladstone became

Prime Minister in 1886, Bryce had been made Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It was in that year that Gladstone had introduced his first Irish Home Rule bill; and party strife was intense. Bryce was especially an authority on the Balkans and the peoples of Turkey, while he was also well versed in all that concerned British policy throughout the world.

He was as busy as a man could well be; yet he was finishing the great book, and he always found time to be of service in the most fruitful ways to his American friends. Armed with frequent passes from him (with similar favors obtained through Mr. Henry White, who was then our popular First Secretary of Legation at London) it was possible for me to attend the sessions of the House of Commons night after night, and thus to become familiar with the faces and the debating of the leaders of that epoch. Mr. Bryce, no longer in the Foreign Office, was in his place on the Opposition bench; while on the front Ministerial bench—already conspicuous among the older men—was Arthur Balfour, called by Irishmen in those days "Bloody Balfour" because it had fallen to him as Chief Secretary for Ireland to enforce the Coercion acts. Balfour was ten years younger than Bryce. Parties had changed, and Lord Salisbury was now Prime Minister.

Mr. Wilson, in the article that precedes this, compares Mr. Bryce's erudition with that of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Acton. And this reminds me of an evening that was made memorable by another of Mr. Bryce's innumerable acts of thoughtfulness and courtesy. Lord Acton, a profound bookman and scholar who had assembled the most noteworthy private historical library in England, was a close friend of the Gladstones. (Mr. Andrew Carnegie, after Lord Acton's death, purchased this library and bestowed it upon John Morley, who had become Gladstone's biographer and who was an intimate associate of Acton and Bryce and a friend of Mr. Carnegie.) Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone and Lord and Lady Acton were dining with Mr. Bryce. The venerable Liberal leader had important affairs of state to discuss; and young strangers could not have been asked to join this strictly limited party. But, wholly of his own motion, Mr. Bryce sent word to me and to another American friend that there would be a fine opportunity for us to have an hour with Mr. Gladstone and Lord Acton if we would manage to make

an opportune call at a certain hour later in the evening, possibly half-past nine or ten. We ourselves were not strangers to his hospitable dinner table, yet it was like him to explain carefully why he could not invite us on that occasion to dine with the ex-Prime Minister. I had heard Mr. Gladstone in parliamentary debates, and as an orator on various occasions; but Mr. Bryce wished to give me the opportunity to remember the "Grand Old Man" as he appeared at his best in private, and to have a chat with Lord Acton.

#### *Mr. Bryce's Irish Mother*

Mr. Bryce's widowed mother was living happily in a London suburb. She was of keen mentality, intensely interested in politics and affairs, and a convinced Home Ruler, although herself a North-of-Ireland Protestant. In that year, I visited all parts of Ireland; was present at certain notorious and violent eviction scenes on the West Coast near the mouth of the Shannon, and looked into things all the way from Dublin to Limerick, and from Queenstown to Giant's Causeway. No one else was so interested in what I had seen and learned in Ireland as Madam Bryce; who loved to serve tea to her young American friends in the pleasant suburban London home. James Bryce owed much to this vivacious, high-spirited, Irish mother as well as to his learned Scotch father.

#### *A Friend of William T. Stead*

The story of Mr. Bryce's further political services in Parliament and in different ministerial posts (he was in the Cabinets of three Prime Ministers) is a long one, and it is not my purpose to relate it. Rather, I am venturing to recall some memories from the American and the personal standpoint. Mr. Morley, always closely associated with Mr. Bryce, had gone from the editorship of the *Fortnightly Review* to the editorship of a daily paper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*; and with Mr. Morley as Assistant Editor was William T. Stead, of whom Mr. Bryce and other leaders of the Liberal party remarked to me that he was the most brilliant and promising of all English journalists. Through Mr. Bryce, and at his repeated suggestion, I became acquainted with Mr. Stead and occasionally wrote for the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Mr. Morley, meanwhile, had gone into the House of Commons and had given up journalism, and Mr. Stead had succeeded him as editor. Subsequently Mr. Stead left daily

journalism to found the (London) *Review of Reviews* at the beginning of 1890, and at his urgent instance the present Editor established the AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS just one year later. Mr. Bryce's friendly interest through that period was shown in various ways. Mr. Stead wrote a character-sketch of Mr. Bryce for our pages in 1907.

*Mr. Bryce's Political Interests—Ireland and South Africa*

On subsequent visits to England, I was indebted to Mr. Bryce for suggestions and help in studies that resulted in my publication of a volume entitled "Municipal Government in Great Britain"—a book which in its day was read by municipal reformers in the United States, and which has still some vogue in England. One found him as President of the Board of Trade—a Cabinet office concerned with commerce—absorbed in the economic problems of England and the British Empire. Or one found him, as Secretary for Ireland, giving conscientious hearings to delegations from all parts of Erin, who came to London to air their grievances or to advocate changes. Or one was quite likely to find him with some anxious visitor from the Balkan States, who wished to consult him about the affairs of the Near East.

In 1897, as a result of a voyage of inquiry, and of extensive inland travels from Cape Town, he published a volume called "Impressions of South Africa." This of course was not so extensive a work as the "American Commonwealth," but it was produced by similar methods of observation and acquisition. I have always thought it the best book ever written about the beginnings and the progress of the British-Dutch civilization at the southern end of the Dark Continent. Soon afterward the Boer War was precipitated—one of the most bitter struggles in which the British Empire was ever engaged. Mr. Bryce's party had split upon the rock of Irish Home Rule; and the Unionists were in office again, with Salisbury as Prime Minister. Mr. Chamberlain had left the Liberals and was Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Bryce was strongly opposed to what he regarded as the program of aggressive British imperialism which he deemed responsible for the conflict. In this position he was fully in accord with the views of Mr. Morley, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Lloyd George, and journalists like Mr. Stead. Through all this period he was a member of Parliament from his Aberdeen

constituency. When the Liberals came back into power with Mr. Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister, Mr. Bryce was one of those who was able, through his intimate knowledge of South Africa, to help in setting up the federal Union of the former Boer Republics with Cape Colony and Natal on a self-governing basis—a union which has produced such fortunate results, as shown in the magnificent coöperation of South Africa with Great Britain and the Allies during the recent war. It was at this time also that Mr. Bryce served as Secretary for Ireland.

*Ambassador to the United States*

Meanwhile he never ceased writing, and he had published two or three volumes of essays and studies, following the book on South Africa. Next came what we in America have regarded as an honor to both countries, namely, his appointment as Ambassador at Washington in 1907, a post which he continued to occupy for six years. Simultaneously with his coming to Washington, his long membership in the House of Commons came to an end; while almost immediately after his return to England in 1913, he was elevated to the peerage and took his seat in the House of Lords. He had remained unmarried until 1889, but he was destined to enjoy a third-of-a-century's companionship with Lady Bryce, to whose constant aid in his personal and official career he bore testimony in tactful and felicitous sentences several months ago in New York, at a dinner given in honor of Lord and Lady Bryce by the Sulgrave Institution as he was about to sail home from his last visit to America.

During his years as Ambassador at Washington, his knowledge of American life and affairs was constantly enriched by his fresh contacts and daily opportunities. In association with Secretary Root, he mastered all the intricacies of historical relationship between the United States and the British-American territories. There are no chapters in American diplomacy more worthy or more creditable than those which relate to the successful efforts of Ambassador Bryce and the Hon. Elihu Root to find solutions for a series of differences, some of them of long and stubborn duration, affecting the United States and the Dominion of Canada. Each of these two statesmen and diplomatists sought justice rather than advantage. Both of them realized that the essential interests of Canada and the United States were those of neighbors, friends and associates; and that

each was destined to profit by all that made for the welfare of the other.

### *Visits South America*

Mr. Bryce had always wished to see South America. His fruitful visit to Africa had been due to the advice of his physician, who instructed him to take a long voyage for complete rest. In similar fashion, his opportunity to see South America came with the need of a vacation trip, and the journey was immediately followed by publication in 1912 of his "South America: Observations and Impressions." He had avoided over-much exhausting land travel in South America, for he was now about seventy-two years old. But he knew so well how to add color from personal observation to the information that he could obtain from books and documents that he was able to give us a very valuable work, produced—like his previous studies of countries—by his own peculiar blend of the political scientist, the student of nature, and the traveler who asks questions and makes note of manners and customs.

### *His Work on "Modern Democracies" and the Williamstown Lectures*

Recently there appeared from his pen a work entitled "Modern Democracies," in two large volumes, which has been generally regarded as the final summing up of his life-long study of political progress throughout the world. He had entered the House of Lords in the year that saw the outbreak of the Great War. He was chairman of the

British Commission that made a report upon German atrocities in Belgium. He gave much effort to exposing the Armenian massacres. He was the constant helper and adviser in these last years—as through many decades—of American missionaries and teachers in the Turkish Empire. To the very end he served others with unslackened industry.

His points of view regarding world organization were more closely akin, perhaps, to those entertained in America than to those of certain British leaders. When last summer he lectured at Williams College he criticized many things in the Treaty of Versailles; but he strongly supported the policies—which Americans also favor—of a World Court, an accepted code of International Law, and practical steps for Disarmament. He had followed the progress of the Conference at Washington, and had been greatly cheered by the harmonious co-operation of the British and American delegates in providing for naval equality, and in adopting measures which seemed to make it reasonably certain that the United States and the British Empire henceforth would be found associated in many ways for bringing peace and stability to the world.

To the people of England, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, Canada, South Africa and Australasia, Lord Bryce seemed one of their own trusted leaders. The modest scholar had grown to the position of an international interpreter, and a recognized friend of all mankind.



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SIGNING OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ARBITRATION TREATY ON AUGUST 3, 1911—AMBASSADOR BRYCE AND THE HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX, SECRETARY OF STATE, PRESIDENT TAFT IN THE CENTER.



# OUR NEW ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY HON. JOHN W. WEEKS, SECRETARY OF WAR

[With the closing of the Conference on Limitation of Armament, it is well not to forget the fact that we have had to use armies and navies in several great national emergencies. The time has not yet come for neglect of means by which we may be prepared to defend our rights and to uphold the cause of order and justice in the world. A little more than three years ago we had an army of more than four million men in uniform and under strict discipline. We have demobilized, and are now maintaining an army of considerably less than two hundred thousand men. The War Department is facing the necessity of looking ahead in such a way that we could create again a large and efficient force in a short time. Secretary Weeks, with the expert planning of the General Staff and with the support of the Administration and of Congress, has adopted a plan for our New Army. In the following article the Secretary himself presents the outline of that plan.—THE EDITOR]

THE Army of the United States is a new organization in which the lessons of the World War are being crystallized. This organization does not depart from our traditional military policy. These two facts, in general, seem not to be readily understood. In the organization as planned we have attained a degree of elasticity which, I believe, will provide the means to meet any possible emergency. Washington said, "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace. A free people ought not only be armed, but disciplined; to which end a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite." For the first time in our history this advice has been followed without equivocation.

With the selection of General John J. Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Forces, as chief of staff, and Major-General James G. Harbord, who rose to eminence in command of our Service of Supply overseas, as deputy chief of staff, we are assured that the lessons of the war will not be lost, but that in the soundest military policy these lessons will be transmitted to oncoming generations. In the future, as in the past, our wars will be fought in the main by armies composed of citizen soldiers temporarily drawn into active military service. We still have the conception of a small Regular Army in time of peace, reinforced upon the outbreak of war by such additional citizen forces as the particular emergency may require. But, whereas in the past the citizen forces have been completely extemporized or materially organized upon the occurrence of an emer-

gency, the new plan provides that they shall be allocated territorially, that their officers and men shall be assigned to local units, and that as funds become available provision shall be made for the training of these officers and men.

## *National Guard and Organized Reserves*

In other words, the war force required for immediate mobilization in the event of emergency is to be constituted in time of peace and filled as far as practicable through the enrollment or enlistment of qualified volunteers. Now, under such a system it is reasonable to expect that the units of the National Guard will be maintained at sufficient strength to be effective as a first reinforcement for the Regular Army, and that the units of the Organized Reserves will at least include a corps of officers, non-commissioned officers, and enlisted specialists, organized and equipped to receive and train the recruits required in an emergency demanding large forces. It is with the requirements of this larger war establishment in view that the peace organization must be determined. The National Defense law provides a limited number of enlisted men and a number of officers in excess of the number required with the Regular Army proper. This provision of law shows clearly the intent of Congress that a portion of the officers authorized are to be employed in the organization, administration and development of the National Guard, the Organized Reserves, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and the Citizens' Training Corps. It was the President's desire that the Regular

Army be so organized as to carry out this intent of Congress to the fullest extent.

### *Reconstituting World War Units*

The Regular Army, therefore, is formed into a limited number of organizations, each at as effective military strength as the appropriations will allow. This will permit the detail of a maximum number of selected officers and enlisted men for service with these other components of the Army of the United States. While the basic plan for the development of the citizen components of the Army had been formulated by appropriate committees of the General Staff, composed in part of National Guard and Reserve Officers as provided for in the organic law, a vast amount of constructive work remains to be done. This work has been carried on with the greatest energy and with the result that considerable progress has been made in the development of these forces. The basis upon which the plans for the organization of both the National Guard and Organized Reserves have been drafted is the reconstruction, as far as practicable, of the great combat divisions which won such high distinction during the World War. With the reconstitution of these units, with their designating numbers, their flags and their history, it is believed that there will be a revival and continuation of the spirit and the traditions that led them to victory in the great conflict.

The basic plan for the National Guard provides for the organization of this component into eighteen divisions and a small proportion of Corps and Army troops, so, that when combined with the Regular Army, both together will be able to furnish on mobilization the essential combat elements of three field armies, one from the Regular Army and two from the National Guard. The basic idea underlying the plan was to provide for all of the necessary units required under the law for an immediate mobilization in an emergency declared by Congress, with a view to avoiding the necessity for reorganization on mobilization, which was such an unhappy feature of the mobilization of 1917. All the National Guard divisions, or their subordinate units, which participated in the World War, have been reconstituted, and three additional divisions have been organized. These divisions are numbered from 26 to 45, inclusive. It is believed that the development of the National Guard along sound tactical lines is

thus assured. An important feature of this development is the harmonious mutual support and coöperation now existing between the States and the War Department. For the training and instruction of the National Guard component it is estimated that a total of about 900 Regular Army officers will be required.

In order to forestall confusion in an emergency, a definite policy has been determined and announced, providing for bringing the National Guard officers into the Federal service in the event of that force being drafted. In time of peace the procurement of National Guard officers is largely in the hands of the States. On March 4, 1921, there were 3562 federally recognized National Guard officers. On September 30 there were 6251 such officers—a most substantial and satisfactory increase for so short a period.

### *The Reserves' Organization*

The development of the National Guard having been assured, initiation of the organization of the Organized Reserves was taken up about April 1, 1921. The Organized Reserves are a purely Federal force, raised, trained, supported and employed by the United States under the powers granted to Congress by the Constitution. In a war of any magnitude, they will constitute the major component of the Army of the United States. The members have a war obligation only. In time of peace, when funds are available, they may be called out for training, but not for more than fifteen days, except with their own consent. Under the basic plan, this component will provide the framework for three field armies of twenty-seven Infantry divisions and the required Corps, Army and General Headquarters reserve troops, and in addition for any deficiencies in the first three armies comprising the National Guard and the Regular Army. In order that the organization of this component might be effected in an orderly manner, a large amount of time and labor has been expended in the preparation of basic regulations. Special regulations published about June 1, 1921, set forth in a comprehensive manner the plan for the organization, training, administration and mobilization of units. Supplementary to these and of equal importance are special regulations for the Enlisted Reserve Corps and for the Officers' Reserve Corps. These regulations cover all matters relating to the enlisted and

commissioned components of the reserves.

As soon as the basic regulations were available, tables of allotments showing the units of the Organized Reserve were prepared. Based upon these tables, studies have been made in each of our nine Corps Areas covering the plans for organization and localization of units. These studies have been approved by the War Department, and Corps Area commanders and their assistants are actively engaged in making the plans effective. In this connection, groups of selected officers of the Regular Army and a small number of enlisted men have been recently placed at the disposal of Corps Area commanders to assist in the organization of these units. The total number of officers of the Regular Army eventually required for duty with the reserve is estimated at about 1200. During the year assemblies of reserve officers were held to discuss plans for their units and for instruction as to their organization. By the opening of the year 1923 it is expected that all of the National Guard and National Army divisions, and their subordinate units, which have served in the World War, will have been reconstituted. They will retain their names, numbers, and other designations, also their war records, and will preserve a measure of the military strength they developed at such great cost during the war.

The assignment of reserve officers is advancing toward completion. In the selection of general officers of the reserve forces, to insure uniformity, provision has been made for a board composed of general officers of the Regular Army, Officers' Reserve Corps and National Guard to make recommendations to the Secretary of War relative to all candidates for appointment or Federal recognition as general officers. An important policy has been developed and put into operation that each reserve officer be given an assignment in time of peace to an office he is to fill upon mobilization. With the exception of the officers reserved for War Department activities, the assignments are delegated to Corps Area and Department commanders. Data bearing on suitability for assignment are furnished these commanders by the War Department and the actual assignments are made as the units of the Organized Reserves are organized.

#### *Operation of a Draft Under the New Plan*

It will be seen that we have in the Army of the United States these three components:

Regular Army, a small force of professional soldiers; the National Guard, or State militia; the Organized Reserves, a war force of skeletonized units. It is in this reserve component especially that we are following the counsel of General Washington, and at practically no expense because for the setting up of the mere outline officers and men of the regular establishment are used, aided by voluntary service of reserve officers. From our experience in the last two great wars, we may assume that the United States is committed to selective service, or draft, in times of great emergency calling for the major effort. In place of the distressing, wasteful, inefficient method of 1917, when the drafted men were rushed helter-skelter into camps while great forces of workers were constructing these concentration centres, the passage of drafted men under the new plan will be orderly, prompt and efficient.

In every detail of organization these divisions and units will be complete, both for line and staff duty. The increments from the draft will simply fill out the existing skeletonized formations until all have reached war strength, when the units immediately will go into training under trained officers, who will command them thenceforth. Not only will the reserve officers, non-commissioned officers and enlisted specialists composing the skeleton organization have definite assignments, but every drafted man on passing his local board will be assigned to a definite unit in which will be gathered the young men of his immediate locality. Thus, the drafted man will have a place to go to and into an organization geographically his very own, and he will easily drop into his special niche among his civilian associates. There will be no confusion, a lessening of heart-burnings. And the elasticity of this plan for orderly expansion—and, inversely, contraction—will give us a potential military arm far greater because of its efficiency than our mere man power as a nation.

#### *Value of Preparedness*

Had the magnificent armies of General Grant and General Sherman at the close of the Civil War been preserved in outline, as we are preserving the armies of the World War, and had they brought down through the years the wonderful background of their war service and their history, as we are now planning to preserve the traditions of service in the World War, it is my belief that our constant state of preparedness would have

exerted a very great influence upon our national policies and upon recent world events. For it is true that those who have a penchant for "rattling the saber" do not indulge in this practice in the face of a nation prepared to resent it. We can never overtake our losses in men and treasure due to our traditional unpreparedness; but we can take steps to guard against repeating the errors of the past. And this is being done by adherence to the fundamental principles embodied in the National Defense Act of 1916, as amended by the Act approved by the President on June 4, 1920.

### *Effective Work of the R.O.T.C.*

The measures taken by the War Department to carry into effect the provisions of law relative to the training, particularly those relating to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, Citizens' Military Training Camps, the Organized Reserves and the Service Schools, are indicative of first steps toward realizing the conception of preparedness. The Reserve Officers' Training Corps has recently completed the most successful year of its operation and has established beyond all doubt that its graduates constitute one of the main sources of officer replacement for the Officers' Reserve Corps. The practice was established at the close of the school year, last June, of presenting the commissions in the Reserve Corps to the graduates during the commencement exercises. In the same manner certificates were presented graduates less than twenty-one years old. These certificates of qualification may be presented at any time in five years and will entitle the holder to a reserve commission. Approximately eleven hundred college graduates received commissions or certificates last year. It is the expectation that the Organized Reserve, with the actual assignment of officers to organizations, will appeal to the young men graduating from the colleges each year and that they will generally avail themselves of the privileges of their certificates.

The completion of the college year (1921) found the Reserve Officers' Training Corps more firmly established and more generally appreciated and esteemed than ever before. The summer camps conducted in the various sections of our country were highly satisfactory to the War Department and fulfilled their purpose most effectively. The students enrolled at the various colleges for the different branches of the reserve were segre-

gated in camps according to branches where they received specialized training. The variety of units has been extended so that young men are now specially instructed and trained as Infantry, Artillery, Cavalry, Engineer, Signal, Quartermaster, Ordnance, Air, Medical, Dental and Veterinary officers, and directly commissioned as such. Approximately 90,000 students completed the year's training in units located in every State and Territory, including Hawaii and Porto Rico. The detail of regular officers on R.O.T.C. duty at schools and colleges has not only supported that feature of the new national policy of preparedness, but it has brought the Army in close contact with the leading educational institutions of the country.

### *Citizens' Military Training Camps*

Under authority contained in the law, Citizens' Military Training Camps were established throughout the United States with one or two camps in each Corps Area. Our reports on those camps and the personal inspections indicate that their conduct and the success attending the efforts of the Government to provide military training for civilians, have been characterized generally by excellent results. Although the age limits established for the course are sixteen and thirty-five years, only a small percentage of men of mature age attended camps during the summer. In view of the fact that young men of high-school age have constituted the great majority in attendance, the War Department exercised special care to provide for correct conduct, wholesome recreation, profitable training, and the most productive use of time.

The number of candidates attending these citizens' camps was limited by the appropriations made by Congress for the purpose. The number authorized was 11,085, while the number of applicants was 40,589. It is seen, therefore, that only 27 per cent. of the total number of applicants could be accommodated. This oversubscription could not have been foreseen, however, and while it was necessary to deny attendance to approximately two-thirds of the applicants, it was made clear that those rejected would be placed on the preferred list for next year. This number, together with the number of new applicants as the result of the representations of enthusiastic candidates attending the camps, serves to indicate that a sound popularity attaches to the project of Citi-

zens' Military Training Camps, so wisely provided for by Congress.

#### *Correspondence Courses for Reserve Officers*

The training of reserve officers has been greatly facilitated by the spirit of coöperation and helpfulness which they have manifested, and especially their disposition in time of peace to volunteer for training and instruction without expense to the Government. In order that the limited appropriations for the training of the Organized Reserves may be supplemented, the War Department has provided for the formulation and conduct of correspondence courses in each Corps Area. These courses will have for their purpose the theoretical training of officers and non-commissioned officers during periods when field service cannot be provided, or is not desirable. It is believed that this provision for correspondence courses will serve to meet the demand of economy in many cases where active service is not absolutely necessary. Provisions have been made for opening in all territorial commands, correspondence schools for officers of the National Guard and Organized Reserves.

Work of the Army General Service Schools and Special Service Schools has carefully been coördinated to the end that all overlapping of instruction has been eliminated. Courses at the Special Service Schools, under instruction from the War Department, have been arranged to provide that officers will receive such special instruction as will eminently qualify them for duty with the Organized Reserves, National Guard, Reserve Officers' Training Corps units, and Citizens' Military Training Camps. Courses have been arranged to supply instructors, both commissioned and enlisted, to carry on the work of educational and vocational training in Army post schools.

#### *Industrial Mobilization*

In a general way I have outlined the measures that have been taken to carry out provisions of the National Defense Act relative to the mobilization of the man power of the nation. But the law also contains important provisions relative to the mobilization of supply. Under its provisions the Assistant Secretary of War is charged with the supervision of the procurement of all military supplies and the assurance of adequate provision for the mobilization of material and industrial organizations essential to war-time needs. This provision of law

has been made effective, and an exhaustive study is being made in the office of the Assistant Secretary of the records of the War Industries Board and the Council of National Defense in connection with the problems of industrial mobilization. This will form the basis of the plans for industrial mobilization to be worked out in detail by the supply branches of the War Department.

The problem in industrial mobilization has been divided into its elements—commodities, labor, power and transportation. A large group of officers in the various supply branches was assigned to the duty of preparing special reports in detail. In this work reserve officers are utilized to a great extent, and those engaged in industrial pursuits will be assigned to the study of their own specialties. Many reserve officers have volunteered their services in this connection, and their hearty response to the War Department's proposals indicates an appreciation of the importance of our industrial mobilization plans. An orderly, systematic method of determining the requirements of the War Department in all articles of supply was prepared and put into effect early last year. The working out of this plan will show just how much of every article will be required for a war reserve. When this plan is completed, we shall have, for the first time in American history, a definite mobilization policy for war, and, in so far as appropriations will permit, we shall have the reserve munitions necessary to sustain that mobilization until production can be relied upon to renew the stock.

On these computations, a definite statement can be presented to Congress showing just what reserves are deemed necessary in order that Congress may determine what degree of preparation for defense of the country it will provide. Meanwhile, these computations of requirements, made on a definite basis, disclosed new quantities of surplus articles of supply, which were promptly declared and disposed of. More than \$70,000,000 worth of surplus property has been disclosed directly by these computations, and it can now be seen that a still greater surplus will result therefrom. As soon as the eventual mobilization policy is arrived at, the requirements in reserves and the further disclosure of surplus that results therefrom will be quickly calculated, and within a few months the declaration and disposal of all surplus supplies of the War Department will be completed.

*Organization of the General Staff*

An important departure has been made in the reorganization of the General Staff. Up to the present time the organization of the War Department General Staff has been unscientific and dependent to a large extent upon the personalities of individual members. The faults of this organization were magnified tremendously on the entrance of the United States into the World War. The organization of the General Staff then built up within the War Department to meet the problems presented, though unavoidable and necessary to meet the demands of the moment, was nevertheless unwieldy and productive of many faults, particularly the assumption of administrative and operative duties that should have been performed solely by existing operating agencies. Hitherto the War Department General Staff has been constituted a single indivisible unit. The principle of General Staff organization has never been recognized that in the event of war one portion of the central control must take the field prepared to assist the commanding general in the conduct of military operations, while another portion must remain in the War Department prepared to conduct the equally important operations connected with mobilization.

In the past, and prior to the World War, the War Department General Staff was so absorbed in routine, peace-time administration that its military head has had no time for deliberate preparation for military operations. In our history, therefore, it has always been true that at the outbreak of hostilities there has been a sudden rupture of the peace-time organization resulting in an extemporized and unprepared field headquarters on the one hand, and on the other hand a mobilization machinery depleted and disorganized just at the time when full activity was demanded. An analysis of Section 5b of the National Defense Act, as amended, shows the duties of the War Department General Staff to be divided into two categories: first, the duty of mobilizing the manhood and the resources of the nation and their preparation, training, concentration and delivery to the field forces, and, second, the use of the military forces for the national defense, *i.e.*, actual employment of the armed forces against the enemy. It is a fundamental principle that if efficient execution of plans is to be expected those engaged in their formulation and preparation should also be charged with their execution. The applica-

tion of this principle is the basis for the new organization.

This new General Staff organization is in five divisions, the first four divisions to be known as G-1, G-2, G-3, G-4, dealing with such questions as personnel, intelligence, operations and training, and supply, duties of a routine and continuing nature necessary in peace and war. A fifth division, known as the War Plans Division, is charged with the formulation of plans for the actual employment of the armed forces in the national defense, this division constituting the nucleus of the General Headquarters of the Field Forces. The reorganization, therefore, contemplates that the Chief of Staff will be charged with the larger problems connected with the organization and training of the Army of the United States, including the National Guard and Organized Reserves as well as the Regular Army, and that portion of his staff known as the War Plans Division will be charged with the preparation of plans for actual field operation in the national defense and, upon the outbreak of war, will expand and take the field as General Staff at G. H. Q.

Another portion of the War Department General Staff, under the Deputy Chief of Staff, will be charged with the preparation of plans for mobilization in time of war, and with the routine business of the War Department in peace and war. It therefore permits the Chief of Staff, upon the outbreak of hostilities, to take the field with a headquarters consisting of a trained personnel which has prepared the plans of campaign, while his principal assistant (the Deputy Chief of Staff in time of peace), will become the chief of the War Department General Staff, retaining that portion of the personnel which has worked out the plan of mobilization of men and *materiel*.

I have only been able to outline in a general way the measures which the War Department has taken in the interests of economy, coöperation with Congress, and organization for national defense. Most of these projects are only in their initial stages and will require many years for their full development. In my opinion, we are assured in these measures that the lessons of the World War will not be lost, but that in the enlightened War Department policy they will be transmitted to future generations and make for permanent peace. And our country will be prepared for a major or minor defense at minimum cost in life and treasure.



EX-SERVICE MEN DRAWING LOTS FOR FARMS

(At Torrington, Wyoming, September 9, 1921, the Government allotted 244 irrigated farms. War veterans to the number of 3436, representing thirty-six States, the District of Columbia, and Canada, applied—convincing evidence of the land hunger of the people)

# A NEW HOMESTEAD POLICY FOR AMERICA

BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE

**F**IGHTING silently but stubbornly at Washington, a little band of devoted men is fashioning a new homestead policy which it believes will prove adequate to the future needs of America. These men—publicists, engineers, department officials, a few members of each branch of Congress—remember what most have forgotten. They remember that the homestead is the real foundation of America. They know that, while the old homestead policy is utterly outgrown, it is vital to the national welfare that its principles should be revived, and that it should be made to live again in all its tremendous significance.

They know, too, that the physical opportunity is still wide open; that in a sense it is even greater now than when the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts and the Cavaliers in Virginia, because of modern advantages in the way of transportation, machinery and the organized economic life of the nation. But they know that with the disappearance of the last large areas of free public land available for use without some sort of reclamation, new methods must be adopted to carry out the old policy which aims at the

steady conquest of natural resources, and the central object of which is to multiply independent homes in the land.

These devotees are familiar with the glacial drift of the population from country to town. They read its sinister meaning in the gradual disinheritance of the people from the land; in the growing dependence of the masses upon employment and wages for the means of subsistence; in the startling change that is coming over the face of American democracy in consequence of those influences. They know that wherever revolution has occurred or threatened it has had its root in the question of land ownership. They know the cause in which they have enlisted—not too late, they hope—is nothing less than the cause of an America that shall go on greating with the generations, as much the Land of Opportunity in the days of our children as in the days of our fathers.

These men find their opponents largely among organized agricultural interests that appear to want no new competitors on the soil, adopting an attitude almost amounting to advocacy of the "closed farm" to go with



the closed shop of trades-unionism. Such a view is comprehensible in a time of deep depression, but cannot be justified upon serious economic grounds. The real obstacle which the friends of the new homestead policy are facing is inertia—the indifference of statesmen, press and public. It is time their message was heard and the country aroused to a sense of its vital importance.

### *A Glance at the Past*

Few realize in how large a degree the homestead policy was responsible for the prosperity and greatness of the nation in the past. In speaking of the policy I am using the word "homestead" not in its narrow sense, as applied to a particular statute, but in its broadest implications as signifying the march of the American people from ocean to ocean and their gradual conquest of the natural resources of the continent. The pioneer is always the farmer and home-builder, but all the institutions of a complex civilization follow in his wake. When we come to a standstill in this policy of out-reaching development, as we have almost done during the past decade, we cease to grow, and for America to cease to grow is to cease to prosper.

In the half-century between 1850 and 1900 the nation added 301,465,873 acres to the area of improved farms. This was a growth of more than 6,000,000 acres, or 85,000 farms, every year. These new farms brought prosperity not only to the Middle West, but to every part of the United States. They compelled the building of great lines of transportation; they opened a new market for the products of Eastern factories, together with wide channels for the investment of the accumulated capital of the East; they enabled us to absorb millions of immigrants, who became the very bone and sinew of the growing nation; they brought forth every year a vast fund of new wealth which was distributed throughout all the channels of trade and commerce. It was the most remarkable development of agriculture in the entire history of the race. Who is so blind that he cannot see that this process of extending man's dominion over natural resources laid the broad foundations of national prosperity?

### *Reversing the Engine*

During the past twenty years the great engine of national progress has been reversed and stands almost idle on its tracks. As

late as the decade between 1900 and 1910 the number of farms increased 10.9 per cent. In the ten years following, 1910 to 1920, the figure fell to 1.4 per cent. During the last decade cities of 10,000 and upward grew seven and one-half times as fast as farm population. The tendency to farm abandonment, which began in New England many years ago, extended steadily westward and now involves every State of the Middle West, except Wisconsin and Minnesota. Facts of this kind could be multiplied almost indefinitely. If the downward trend continues, then the existing business depression must become a permanent condition.

### *Looking Twenty Years Ahead*

During the last seventy years the United States scored an average gain in population of 24 per cent. in each decade. Assuming a rate of increase of only 15 per cent. in each of the next two decades, the total population will be about 140,000,000 by 1940; and, if present tendencies continue, 85,000,000 of these will be living in towns and cities and only 55,000,000 in the country.

This is the estimate of Douglas W. Ross, C. E., one of the most valiant fighters engaged in the struggle for the new homestead policy. His deduction from these facts is as follows:

Such a situation brings us face to face with one of the greatest problems of our times, for no economic foundation exists, nor is one being developed, that will insure even a bare subsistence—to say nothing of comfort and plenty—for many of the millions who promise to further crowd already congested centers or that will protect our institutions against the evils incident to the abnormal distribution of population which we now appear bent upon establishing.

Mr. Ross estimates that, even to feed the increased rural population at its present slow rate of growth, the cultivated area must increase at the rate of 2,200,000 acres each year, or a total of 44,000,000 acres in the next twenty years, if the nation is to continue to be self-sustaining. This, however, is only one-third the land that will be required to supply the needs of the entire growth of the national population, urban and rural, during that period. His estimate of the total increased area that will be required is 130,000,000 acres, and this would call for an addition of about twenty million more people to the rural population, or an average increase on the soil of a million a year.

*Future Fields of Conquest*

The growth of American agriculture during the past seventy years has been sectional. The next great movement will be distinctly national. No part of the nation, and scarcely a single State, will fail to feel the new impulse toward the soil. The triumphant conquest of the Western desert will go on, at least for a few generations, but the abandoned farming districts of New England, the vast cut-over areas of the Northwest and the South, the drainage areas existing in many parts of the country, but more largely in the South than elsewhere, these will be the fields of future conquest. Everywhere it will be a work of reclamation instead of the easy settlement of fertile lands lying ready for the plow, as was the case in the Mississippi Valley. And for this reason it is a work that lies beyond the reach of the individual settler and calls for national action. The logical method, as we shall see, is the nationalization of the United States Reclamation Service, which has worked wonders in Arid America during the past eighteen years.

It is unvarying history, a principle written deep in human nature, that men prize most highly those things that have cost them most dearly. By this token the reclaimed lands of the North, the East, and the South will become as dear to men's hearts as the reclaimed lands of the West. For the same reason they will tend toward smaller and ever smaller holdings with the growth of scientific methods and intensive cultivation. More and more we are learning that the measure of success on the soil is not the size of the holding, but the size of the man—that is to say, the excellence of his workmanship. Accompanying diagrams indicate broadly, at least, the location of the various kinds of land that will be subdued to the highest uses in days to come.

*The New Life of the Land*

Old forms of rural life are dead or dying. They have failed absolutely to keep step with human progress and human needs. Considered from the standpoint of educa-

tion, of health, of earning capacity, of entertainment, of joy of living, rural life is poor and disheartening compared with life in town. It is not, then, merely rural expansion that is needed, but a quality of rural betterment amounting to a revolution in the life of the land.

The first American State to recognize this great fact is California. This is due in part to its climate, which makes it an outdoor country, but it is in large part due to the vision of its teachers, leaders, and statesmen, and foremost among these, Dr. Elwood Mead, head of the Department of Rural Institutions at the University of California, and chairman of the State Board of Land Settlement.

The beginnings of the fine rural life of California go back nearly half a century to the planting of irrigated colonies in the southern part of the State. Anaheim and Riverside were the seed of small farms, cooperative selling organizations, and highly developed social life. This seed has been widely scattered throughout the State. The distinction of Dr. Mead's work is the fact that he succeeded in making it the business of the State itself to do with scientific precision



HON. WILLIAM SPRY  
(Former Governor of Utah, now  
Commissioner of the General Land  
Office)

things which had hitherto been left to real-estate operators with varying degrees of knowledge and conscience. The keynote of the new homestead policy, that shall bless America with millions of happy, independent homes, lies right there in the recognition of the responsibility of the State and nation for the welfare of its people on the soil.

Utah is another State that illustrates the value of public leadership, though there it is the leadership of the church, but of a church so largely dominant that it constitutes a State within a State. There, too, we see the small, intensely cultivated farm, coöperation in buying and selling, and a degree of attention to the satisfaction of the social instinct not usually appreciated by those who take a superficial view of its institutions.

The men who are fighting for the new homestead policy, and praying that it may



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**HON. WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD**

(The one Southern Congressman who has made national reclamation a principal object of his public career)

**SENATOR MC NARY OF OREGON**

(One of the Western leaders, who has adopted the broad national view of reclamation)

**HON. ADDISON T. SMITH**

(Representative from Idaho, who introduced one of the first measures for nationalizing reclamation)

come into being in time to avert national disaster, take this principle of the leadership of the Government as the cornerstone on which the superstructure of homes and institutions shall be reared throughout future generations. They neither ask nor expect that the great sums of money which must ultimately be spent in carrying on the work of national development shall come out of the public treasury in the future any more than in the past. We shall presently see that they have devised a method by which natural resources shall become the basis of credit, and by which the vast sums needed shall be repaid through the patient toil of the people themselves.

### *Harnessing West and South*

One great thing has been accomplished during the past few years, and that is a working union between the Western and Southern friends of reclamation.

Among Western men who have exerted a powerful influence to this end are Senators Borah of Idaho, Jones of Washington, McNary of Oregon, and Smoot of Utah, ex-Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, Representative Mondell of Wyoming, Republican leader of the House; Representative Addison T. Smith of Idaho, former Governor Spry of Utah, now Commissioner of the General Land Office; George H. Maxwell of California, executive chairman of the National Reclamation Association, and

Douglas W. Ross, now of California, but former State Engineer of Idaho. Of Southern men who have sensed the vast significance of reclamation on a national scale, Congressman William B. Bankhead of Alabama, and Clement S. Ucker, vice-president of the Southern Settlement and Development Organization, are first and foremost. Frederick H. Newell, former director of the Reclamation Service, has borne a conspicuous part in the effort to unite the West and South on broad, national grounds.

### *A Dream of Billions*

The reclamation movement is a child of the West—a favorite child. When all the small things that could be done by individual and coöperative effort had been accomplished the men of the West turned their faces toward Washington and asked for help. They founded their appeal upon the fact that they were dealing largely with public lands, and they asked that the proceeds arising from the sale of such lands should be dedicated to a reclamation fund. Their hour of triumph came twenty years ago with the passage of the Reclamation Act of 1902. Under the operations of this act the most wonderful engineering works on the continent have been created, millions of acres reclaimed, tens of thousands of homes established. And all this has been done for less than the cost of three battleships—\$120,000,000.



C. J. BLANCHARD

(Statistician and lecturer of Reclamation Service, who has reached more people with the spoken word than any other advocate of the new Homestead policy)



ARTHUR P. DAVIS

(Director of U. S. Reclamation Service, who would become administrative head of the new Homestead policy under pending legislation)



© Bachrach

CLEMENT S. UCKER

(Who, as leader of the Southern Settlement and Development Organization, has exerted a powerful influence to unite the South and West on a great national policy)

The cash proceeds arising from the public domain have been absorbed by the reclamation fund as fast as realized. Has this source been exhausted? No, after 300 years of land settlement Uncle Sam still owns a public estate about equal to the entire cost of the World War. Secretary Fall, in his annual report, puts the figure at \$150,000,000,000! And he estimates that total future royalties from coal, oil, phosphate and potash alone should yield to the Treasury a sum in excess of the amount due the United States from European nations, as follows:

Coal royalties .....	\$5,900,000,000
Oil royalties .....	175,000,000
Oil shale royalties.....	5,060,000,000
Phosphate royalties .....	280,000,000
Potash royalties .....	30,000,000
Alaska coal royalties.....	1,000,000,000
Alaska oil royalties.....	2,500,000
	<hr/>
	\$12,387,500,000

All that we can spend, when we get it! These figures take no account of vacant lands subject to entry, national forest lands and mineral in Indian reservations, estimated to be worth another \$7,000,000,000; nor of an annual income from water power, estimated at \$1,550,000.

Properly conserved, developed and utilized, there is wealth enough sleeping to-day in the public domain to restore the old beneficent homestead policy in its original

vigor, and to buttress America against all the storms of the future. But this wealth is potential and only to be made available gradually over coming generations. In the meantime the work must be begun, and there has been much diversity of opinion as to how that may best be done.

### *The Borah-Bankhead Bill*

After three years of hard work, with innumerable conferences and committee hearings at Washington the minds of men have met in a concrete measure known as the Borah-Bankhead bill. While it calls for an initial appropriation from the Treasury to inaugurate the work, it looks for its large and permanent financial resources not to the Treasury, but to the sale of bonds issued by many reclamation districts in various parts of the United States. These district securities will be marketed by the Farm Loan Board, or some other governmental agency, after the districts have reached a certain stage of maturity, so that the value of the bonds will be unquestioned. The fund to be thus collected will in time take on huge proportions, as it is practically a revolving fund. It will be collected under the ordinary methods of taxation, and the bonds should be in all respects as good as municipal securities. Indeed, they should be better since they are secured by a kind of property



DOUGLAS W. ROSS, C. E.      GEORGE H. MAXWELL  
(Ardent advocate of the      (Executive Chairman, Na-  
new Homestead policy)      tional Reclamation Ass'n)  
TWO INFLUENTIAL LEADERS ON THE PACIFIC COAST

which has an annual productive power often equal to the entire amount of the issue in a single year. The bonds, however, run over a period of forty years.

The model of the proposed district organizations has been worked out by many years of Western experience, especially in California, where such securities rank high and are authorized collateral for loans of public funds. The Borah-Bankhead bill calls for an initial appropriation of \$500,000,000 to be expended over a period of ten years, beginning with \$30,000,000 in 1922, but to be repaid in full.

The bill commits the entire administrative work to the Secretary of the Interior, who will act through the United States Reclamation Service. The head of this service, Director Arthur P. Davis, one of the greatest of American engineers, will assume, under the terms of this act, the largest responsibility toward the homemakers of the future. This will be true because the bill contemplates not merely reclamation in the sense of irrigating the desert, draining swamps, clearing cut-over lands, and re-fertilizing the exhausted soil of abandoned districts, but building upon the California model it proposes the organization of communities and a large measure of assistance in making the settler's improvements and inaugurating his economic and social life.

It is just here that we get away from the old discredited and disintegrating forms of rural experience which have been sending the people away from the farms to the overcrowded cities and towns. The best models

of rural settlement not only in this, but in many foreign countries, are demonstrating that it is possible to create conditions which will attract people not "back," but "forward" to the land.

This measure is the logical development of the Soldier Settlement policy initiated by the late Franklin K. Lane when Secretary of the Interior. While not exclusively for the benefit of ex-service men, it gives them a preference in selecting farm allotments.

Another pending measure is popularly known as the Smoot "Rural Homes Bill." This is unique in the fact that it does not call for the appropriation of one single dollar from the Treasury, either now or at any future time. It asks the Government only to show the way, and would look entirely to private capital, or the sale of district reclamation bonds, to finance its operations. The work would be done by the Reclamation Service through the Secretary of the Interior. In its practical operations it would be much like the policy of reclamation and land settlement which has been in operation in Utah during the past seventy years, with the important difference that the leadership would be that of the Government instead of the church.

### *The Perils of Delay*

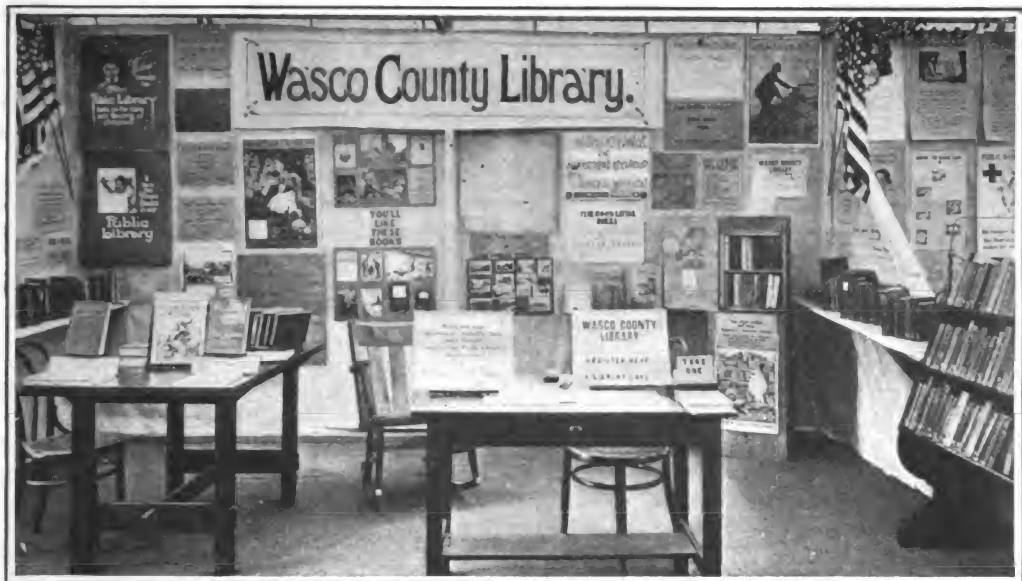
The present national Administration, like the one that preceded it, is strongly in favor of the new homestead policy. Secretary Fall, though far from an hysterical advocate of public ownership of any kind, recently said in a speech in Idaho:

It is the kind of work I like to see the Government engaged in. I feel we are getting something for the money we expend here. In this line—reclamation work—I believe the Government is greatly efficient.

President Harding, in his December message, acclaimed the success of the reclamation policy and advocated its prompt extension to swamp and cut-over lands.

Even so, there is grave danger of delay in getting the plan under way in time to meet the nation's need.

The men who have waged the battle for a new and greater homestead policy know what they are fighting for. It is not merely for a greater food supply when that shall be needed, nor for any form of material prosperity. It is for an America made invulnerable against her enemies within and without—an America forever free from the shadow of revolution.



THE WASCO COUNTY FAIR LIBRARY EXHIBIT AT THE DALLS, OREGON

# COMMUNITY CAMPAIGNS FOR BETTER BOOKS

BY MARJORIE SHULER

"THE people of this community must be given higher standards of values for book-buying. They have been over long at the too tender and too sentimental mercies of the itinerant book-agent. We must do something." So the women of Corvallis, Oregon, decided recently.

The "something" which they determined upon was a "book fair." They wrote to libraries for lists of good books. They scoured the surrounding country for first editions. They borrowed sets of volumes and good publications of every kind. The books which they secured they listed in twenty-six divisions, including history, travel, home economics, industry, fiction, poetry. Twenty-six committees of women were organized, one for each division. And each committee collected all of the information it could find in order to be able to talk intelligently upon the books in its division.

The books were displayed in the largest church in town during the week of the agricultural fair, and 9000 persons came to see them, townspeople and rural people, business men and housewives and children. The visitors saw the rows and rows of worthwhile publications. They listened to the

information given by the women in charge of the various divisions. And they went away with lists of books whose purchase will enrich that community throughout the years to come.

It had been said that Corvallis was "not a book-buying community." To-day the sale of books in the town has been quadrupled, and so much interest has been developed that the local newspaper has established a department of book review.

The Corvallis "book fair" is only one of many campaigns for better books, campaigns which are worth describing for the suggestions and encouragement they offer to other communities.

## *Women's Leadership*

Women occupy leading positions in most of these campaigns. It has been estimated that 80 per cent. of the libraries in New York State were started by women, and that every library in the State of Oklahoma save nine was begun through the efforts of women. Very simple have been the beginnings of most of these efforts. In one Kentucky town the women's club began to buy books for the use of its own members.



THE WASHINGTON COUNTY, MARYLAND, FREE LIBRARY IS ADDING LIBRARY PRIVILEGES TO THE JOYS OF COUNTRY LIVING

Gradually the club collected a bookcase full of volumes. The members of the club found that they were profiting greatly by reading these volumes, and they wanted to share what they were getting with the rest of the community. The club had no money, but it did what many another women's organization has done. It bought an old house on faith and proceeded to pay for it out of oyster suppers and holiday bazaars, and entertainments of all kinds. To-day that library has between eight and nine thousand volumes, and the building itself is a community center used for all sorts of activities.

Caney Creek Community Center, Pippa-pass, Knott County, Kentucky, has as its founder and resident executive a woman, Mrs. Alice Spencer Geddes Lloyd. The center, according to the American Library Association, is the sole and only supply for reading matter for several counties. Ten thousand volumes have been collected, and the Kentucky Library Commission, of which Miss Fannie C. Rawson is secretary, has sent organizers to put the collection in order and to install modern library methods of administration. Every bit of the work is done by the resident group of mountaineers. In addition to the main collection free libraries are maintained in thirty-eight schools and three community centers, and individual books are mailed to readers, each wrapper

having on one side the address of the reader and on the reverse side the address of the library, so that the book may be easily returned.

Thirteen years ago in Charlestown, West Virginia, the Kanawha Literary Club of twenty women collected books, secured a room and opened a library. The community became interested, and to-day nearly \$200,000 has been subscribed to make an adequate library a reality.

With no free public library in Altoona, Pennsylvania, the children in one of the most thickly populated districts formerly had little to amuse, interest or instruct them other than the schools. Their need for books, which by right belonged to them, was recognized by a woman, Mrs. Paul Kreutzpointer, who assembled a collection of books in her kitchen and invited the children of the neighborhood to use the room freely.

The history of the extension department of the New York City Public Library, of which Miss Mary Frank is chief, is interwoven with such stories of the work of women. In the outlying Williamsbridge section a few years ago a woman applied for one of the collections of a dozen books which the main institution was sending out as "home libraries." This woman, Mrs. Peterson, invited the members of her club



A DEPOSIT STATION AT A FARMHOUSE ON THE ROUTE OF THE WASHINGTON COUNTY, MARYLAND, FREE LIBRARY'S BOOK WAGON





THE FREE USE OF BOOKS AS STIMULATED AND PROMOTED BY THE EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, PUBLIC LIBRARY

to come into her home and read the books or take them away for circulation. Then she enlarged upon her invitation. She secured more books from the main library, and she invited the whole community to use her home as a branch library. There were books for boys in the kitchen, where muddy feet would do the least damage. There were books for girls in the dining-room. There were books for adults in the living-room. Then Mrs. Peterson started a petition to the city Board of Estimate for an appropriation to rent a store. The money was granted and to-day Williamsbridge has one of the most active branches of the New York City Public Library.

There are more than 400 such agencies served by the New York institution, including offices, factories, fire and police stations, and community centers. A policeman said recently, "You don't know how often a book has saved me a five-spot. If I have a good book, I don't need to hunt for amusement."

#### *Cleveland's Bond Issue*

The Cleveland Public Library, which is one of the very few large libraries to have at its head a woman, Miss Linda Eastman, has just gone through a community campaign of considerable size and interest. At the last municipal election the library asked the citizens to vote for a bond issue of

\$2,000,000. Men and women joined in a spirited four-weeks' campaign, during which a corps of volunteer speakers was trained and provided with material for speeches, 10,000 window cards were placed in shops, and thousands of circulars were placed by shopkeepers in packages. Films were shown in the moving-picture houses, publicity was furnished in the newspapers and the bulletins of churches and other organizations, posters were placed on buildings, and windshield stickers were put on automobiles. In addition there was a house-to-house canvass with the distribution of thousands of circulars. During the last week of the campaign there was driven through the city a truck carrying a huge book with campaign slogans in giant type. On Election Day sample ballots were distributed to the voters.

In spite of the fact that the city is close to the limit established for its bonded indebtedness, and in spite of the fact that the general slogan of the candidates in the election was retrenchment, the bond issue was carried by a majority of more than 20,000 votes. The votes cast on the issue were 140,484, the largest number in the entire election, save in the contest for mayor. The one other bond issue proposed at the same election, \$2,000,000 for the criminal courts and jail building, was overwhelmingly defeated for the fourth time.

*Underwriting Evanston's Library*

When the Evanston, Illinois, Public Library found that a 33⅓ per cent. reduction in the last tax levy would reduce its maintenance funds below the level of five years ago, although in that time the population of the city had increased 35 per cent. and the circulation of the library had almost doubled, it is significant that the first appeal to the public was made at a meeting of the Woman's Club.

The Evanston Commercial Association offered to underwrite the library for \$20,000 for two years, the money to be raised through a campaign, illustrating the co-operation between men's and women's organizations which results in the best type of community service.

A committee composed of representatives of forty local organizations was formed. Within a few weeks a house-to-house canvass and the contributions of organizations had yielded the sum needed for 1921 and pledges of \$3000 on the 1922 allotment. Every section in the community participated in the campaign. The various foreign groups gave dances and entertainments, and the negro church contributed one of its Sunday collections. Especially valuable publicity was given, one newspaper carrying sixty-eight columns of feature stories, news articles, editorials and advertisements.

*The Indianapolis Campaign*

There is another interesting story of community achievement through the co-operation of men and women voters in Indianapolis, where the Public Library conducted a campaign recently at a cost of \$200 and gained a \$10,000 emergency fund from the Board of School Commissioners, the official promise of an additional one cent for books in the next tax levy, the gift of 32,500 books, \$1250 in money, much publicity, an aroused sense of public responsibility for the library, new readers, the stimulation of individual book-giving between persons, several bequests of valuable collections and the promise of memorials and bequests of money.

The appeal of the library was made through organizations, in 140 newspaper articles and by letters, posters and leaflets. A clever scheme was devised for the letters, those sent to each organization stressing the need for books along the special lines in

which that group is interested. To patriotic organizations there was presented the need for Americanization books. Scientific societies were advised that technical books were much in demand. Women's clubs were reminded that books suitable for their own study courses and for the use of children were wanted.

A bookplate was designed and donors were advised that in each book given there would be pasted a bookplate bearing the name of the giver. This was said to have "aroused the giving instinct to a frenzy." A big waterproof box was placed in the library grounds for the receiving of books. There was a little "book house," each shingle of its roof representing a special children's book. Through the chimney of the house more than \$50 was dropped. A miniature well with a "bucket for ducats" was placed in the main delivery room of the library, and in it more than \$30 was collected. There were all sorts of community efforts, including a concert given by a musical organization, at which \$500 for books was raised, with the stipulation that part of the money be used for the purchase of music books.

*Libraries on Wheels*

Some of the most interesting community campaigns have been to secure transportation facilities by which to send books into the outlying districts. The Washington County Free Library at Hagerstown, Maryland, is an outstanding illustration of a successful library on wheels. Beginning with a horse and wagon, the service has been developed until to-day there is in use a great truck which carries 500 books, six cases for stations and a number of school-library collections.

The Stuntz Township Library Bus, which carries books from the mining town of Hibbing, over 160 miles of the Minnesota Iron Range, already has more than justified its original cost. The bus is watched for eagerly by the children, by the women, and by the men in camps or at home.

In one recent week the requests by miners at a camp included "Bolshevism" by Spargo, "Whistle Signals" for the craneman, "Tess of the d'Ubervilles," and a Serbian-English primer, in addition to the demands of a Thackeray enthusiast, and a man with a hobby for Dumas.

# THE OPIUM QUESTION

BY ELIZABETH WASHBURNE WRIGHT

[Since the death of her husband, Dr. Hamilton Wright, in 1917, Mrs. Wright has been the foremost American in the fight to rid the world of the opium evil. She is one of three experts attached to the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations.—THE EDITOR]

IT is to be regretted that the United States failed to take advantage of the recent international conference held at Washington to state specifically its position in regard to the opium question. It was impossible to deal fairly with the Chinese situation and omit opium, which touches China at every angle—morally, physically, and economically.

By eliminating the discussion of opium not only did the United States lose an opportunity of explaining its position, but the Chinese were likewise prevented from stating their case and placing the blame for the recrudescence of the poppy upon the shoulders of the lawless tuchuns who are directly responsible for the breaking of China's international pledges and for the consequent criticism leveled against her. It also robbed China of the chance of a direct appeal to the United States for international coöperation in putting the opium convention of 1912 into effect. This assistance was promised her by all the powers meeting at The Hague, but by their failure to ratify the convention China was left alone to fight the selfish interests that under cover of the war flooded the country with drugs.

The failure to introduce the opium question was due largely to fear on the part of the delegates that its presentation would create friction and ill-feeling—that it would mean the turning-back to unpleasant pages of past history—or to a free discussion of the present situation, which would lead to equal embarrassment. A further disinclination was disclosed on the part of certain European powers, which were opposed to the introduction of a question already entrusted to the League of Nations.

The introduction of the opium question would have resulted in neither conflict nor embarrassment. The world does not hold men of to-day responsible for the faults of their great-grandfathers.

As for the present situation, it was, as a matter of fact, superficially and on its outer edge approached by the Conference with the

giving back to the Chinese of their post-offices recently in control of Japan—and through which great quantities of drugs have been introduced into China. This touched, however, but the very fringe of the problem, though it gave an opportunity for wider discussion had the Conference so desired.

It was not the intention of those most intimate with the problem to burden the Conference with the past history or present complications of the opium question. It was felt, however, that such a gathering of the powers would afford the United States an admirable opportunity of reaffirming her interest in the question and of making clear her position in regard to its future direction.

The giving back of the post-offices was of minor importance, as this is but one channel through which drugs are pouring into China to-day. Drugs are smuggled from India across Yunnan, from Japan, through Manchuria, and over the Siberian border. Until recently—and it is still to be questioned if this trade has been entirely checked—they were brought from America and Great Britain. Also, while Hong Kong, Macao and Singapore are allowed to import opium without restraint, the whole world will be open to infection.

In 1905 the Philippine Government abolished its opium monopoly and passed a law to prevent the importation of the drug into the country. But as the Governor-General in a recent report states: "However zealously the insular government enforces this law, however successful the campaign, it is evident that international regulation of the traffic must be invoked and another Opium Congress convened. Each country should consider the laws and regulations of the other, and restrict the maintenance of moral nuisances detrimental to civilization, and certainly destined to bring about a reign of corruption and debasement in the territories of a neighbor."

America has passed more legislation than any other country, but is still without a law

to restrict the importation of raw opium—nor has she placed any restriction upon the quantity of the drug to be manufactured. To-day America consumes more drugs per capita than any other country. In 1908 it was discovered that while Germany, with a population of seventy-seven millions, was importing 16,000 pounds of opium a year and Italy, with a population of 33,000,000 was importing 6000 pounds a year, the United States was importing 400,000 pounds a year. This relative scale was very significant and restrictive laws were at once passed by the United States to check the traffic. But all the legislation in the world will not protect America or any country from the evil of drugs while the cultivation of the poppy is allowed to go unchecked. This question must be met at its source. The cultivation of the poppy must be restricted to its medical requirements, and the opium monopolies of the Far East must be abandoned. That a people should thrive on their own moral and physical degradation is a paradox and an untenable principle of taxation.

#### *Restriction of Production*

There is no desire ruthlessly to destroy the economic foundations of the East, but the public opinion of the world demands that some other measure of taxation be substituted for that which so long has offended the public conscience. There is no drug of greater value to humanity than opium when legitimately used—and for this drug there must ever be an honest need. It is obvious that as the cultivation of the poppy is suppressed the price of the drug will automatically ascend, and that opium will ever remain a large item of revenue to the countries best qualified to produce it.

India, Turkey, Persia, and once more China, are to-day the great poppy-growing countries of the world. All these countries are bound by international obligations to restrict their production. And international action alone can see that these obligations are enforced. Therefore the sooner some tangible machinery is set in motion with which the United States can associate itself, the sooner the world can hope for some solution to this hundred-year-old problem.

#### *International Coöperation*

The United States cannot shirk its responsibility in regard to the opium question. President Roosevelt in 1908 brought it to

the foreground of world discussion when he summoned an international commission to meet in Shanghai to study the question with the hope of arriving at some solution. This meeting was followed by three international conferences held at The Hague. By the leadership of the United States and the admirable coöperation of the rest of the world the problem was fast nearing its solution when it was abruptly checked by the outbreak of the war. In fact by 1914 every nation in the world save two had evinced its willingness to put the convention of 1912 into effect. This meant the simultaneous application of similar laws throughout the world, by which debasing drugs would have been subjected to world-wide restriction and ultimate suppression, save for legitimate purposes.

The war, which swept away the constructive efforts of generations, was responsible as well for the disintegration of the opium movement. Selfish nations and interests took advantage of the general chaos to enrich themselves at China's expense, thus nullifying much of that country's admirable effort to rid herself of the opium evil.

During the last year of the war the United States made an effort to bring the opium question again before the world, as the failure to enforce the convention of 1912 had reacted disastrously upon the health of the fighting men. The responsibility of nations to protect their armies from the menace of drugs became apparent and the signing of the Protocol at The Hague and the enforcement of the Opium Convention were taken up as war measures. But before definite results could accrue the armistice was called. It was then suggested that the matter be brought before the international conference about to be called in Paris, Great Britain quoting as precedent the Congress of Vienna in 1815, at which England had proposed the abolition of slavery.

#### *Opium and the League of Nations*

To understand the present situation it is necessary to sketch very briefly the steps that followed. The opium question was introduced into the Versailles Treaty under Article 295, by which the signing of the Treaty became equivalent to the signing of the Protocol opened at The Hague for the purpose of putting the opium convention of 1912 into effect. This was admirable. But under Article 23 of the Covenant the jurisdiction of the opium question was entrusted

to the League of Nations. This at once suggested complications. For although at that time it was felt that the United States would ultimately coöperate with the League so far as questions of health and matters free from political complications were concerned, her attitude was still problematical.

In May, 1921, the Opium Committee appointed by the League of Nations held its meeting in Geneva. On this committee were representatives of nations primarily interested in the opium trade—Great Britain, India, China, Japan, Siam, Portugal, France and Holland. To this committee were added three experts, or assessors, chosen because of their knowledge of the subject and irrespective of nationality. Of these assessors one was British, one French, and one American.

The United States was urged by the League to send a direct representative, as it was realized that no definite results could be obtained without complete international coöperation. The refusal of America to participate at once introduced legal complications. The committee of the League derived its power through the action of the Netherlands Government in transferring to it the authority conferred upon that government by the opium convention of 1912. This was an international treaty to which the United States was a party. Without the consent of the parties signatory to the treaty the Netherlands Government could not well transfer its power to any other government or association. This was done, however, in November, 1920, when it was assumed that America would participate in the discussion of a purely non-political question.

The point is, of course, obvious. While the Geneva Committee may send out questionnaires and gather data and can make suggestions as to the carrying out of the convention, it must always be hampered by the fact that it has not complete international authority behind it or the power to enforce its recommendations. That is, should it attempt to press unpopular restrictions, which for selfish reasons a country opposed, that country has but to refute its interpretation of the convention or its authority to enforce it.

As a matter of fact, since the adjournment of the Committee last summer two nations have already refused to accept its authority. Serbia, as well as India, stoutly disputes the right of the Committee to send a commission of investigation into the opium-growing countries, on the ground that this

would be "an invasion of the sovereign rights of states."

It is therefore apparent that unless this committee is fortified with more authority and complete international backing it must break down. At present it represents the only working machinery with which to bring about the suppression of a very great evil. But without proper direction such an instrument can easily fall into the hands of selfish interests and the good already accomplished be undone. The chief asset of this committee is that it is to be a permanent body and will function until the problem is satisfactorily solved. It represents also an international focus without which a question of this sort can never be approached.

If the United States feels that it cannot coöperate with this committee without committing itself to the political principles of the League of Nations, it should at once suggest an alternative. It is not enough to approach the opium question indirectly through the medium of the Netherlands Foreign Office. The intermittent attention of foreign offices is no longer sufficient to cope with this very pressing and practical problem. Some such committee as that sitting at Geneva must be established somewhere with the intention of functioning until the problem is solved.

### *America's Responsibility*

But first of all America has very definite responsibilities toward the opium question which she cannot continue to ignore. Not only is she internationally under obligations to see the Opium Convention broadly interpreted and carried out, but she is responsible for the conditions in China, whose interests and rights she originally asserted she would protect. More than that, she is responsible for the welfare of her own people, whose safety is being threatened by the ever-increasing menace of drugs.

Previous to the war and during the period of America's active interest in the movement a series of laws was passed to protect the people of the United States. But since the war there has been great apathy and indifference shown toward the whole movement. Not only are we accused in Europe of having lost all interest in the opium question, but at home we are criticized because of not enforcing the laws which already exist.

Once again, it seems unfortunate that the United States failed to take advantage of the recent conference to define its position and reassume its leadership.

# HENRY STEAD OF AUSTRALIA

THERE came from the Antipodes several weeks ago the news that Henry Stead, Editor of *Stead's Review* of Melbourne, Australia, had died at sea. Mr. Stead had attended the International Press Congress at Honolulu in the early autumn and had planned to join the group of foreign journalists at Washington for the Conference on Armament Limitation and Pacific and Far Eastern Problems. Illness, however, detained him at San Francisco; and he decided that he must return to his family in Australia without fulfilling his plans to visit Washington, New York, and London, which would have required a complete trip around the world—the last stages of his journey being by way of Suez. His death occurred on December 10, some days before the S.S. *Marama* on which he had sailed reached the nearest Australian port.



MR. HENRY STEAD

Mr. Stead was a son of the late William T. Stead, who lost his life in the *Titanic* disaster on April 14, 1912. The father had been devoted to the cause of international peace, and his foremost object in embarking on the *Titanic* was to attend a peace meeting in this country and in other ways to join in movements to promote international goodwill. William T. Stead, more than any other man, had proclaimed the doctrine of Anglo-American coöperation, and the necessity for harmony and for a growing intimacy throughout the English-speaking world. He had founded the *English Review of Reviews* at the beginning of the year 1890, and he had encouraged the founding of the *AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS* one year later, co-operating with this periodical until his death.

Mr. Henry Stead had received a good editorial training in his father's office in

London, and had spent some months in his youth with us in New York, the better to learn American ways. Meanwhile, Mr. William T. Stead had established an *Australian Review of Reviews* in charge of an Australian editor. As one of the changes resulting from the founder's death in 1912, Mr. Henry Stead went out to Melbourne to conduct the Australian periodical. After a few years he changed its name, and it became *Stead's Review*. He wrote of current questions with marked ability and independence. He had not only earned the respect of Australians for his courage and power as a journalist, but he had won confidence and affection in unusual measure.

Australians, in the very nature of things, are intensely interested in the affairs of the world. They feel their detachment by reason of great distance from Europe and America; but they are the more deeply resolved to build up Anglo-Saxon institutions and to create a future that shall be in full accord with that of Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. They have not only an intense interest in all that pertains to the progress of civilization, but they are exceedingly sensitive to everything that happens in what the diplomatists at Washington have been calling the "regions of the Pacific." Their participation in the great war was upon so generous a scale as to have won for them the eternal gratitude of the British Islands, the esteem and admiration of France and Belgium, and the fraternal good-will of the United States and Canada.

Thus Australia and New Zealand were prominent and influential in the peace conference at Paris following the armistice, and in the Imperial Conference at London last summer. Although their delegates have been associated directly with those of Great Britain in the conference at Washington, the interest of Australia and New Zealand in all the questions that have been discussed at Washington has not for a moment been forgotten and has indeed been protected by very able representatives.

The whole world has been turning its attention to the Pacific Ocean with its thousands of islands, and Mr. Henry Stead had acquired such knowledge and experience that

he was fitted to play an influential part in the shaping of British policies south of the Equator. The following brief article is one that he had recently written for *Stead's*

*Review*, and it will bring to the notice of our readers some new questions that are now concerning the people who are shaping the destinies of Australasia.

# BRITAIN'S PACIFIC ISLANDS DOMINION

BY HENRY STEAD

THE scheme for the federation of the scattered islands belonging to the British Empire in the Pacific has undoubtedly received considerable impetus owing to events which have occurred during the last few months. First of all, there is the natural resentment aroused against Australia in Fiji by legislation which has ruined one of the most prosperous industries of the country; second, there is the object lesson being given by both New Zealand and Australia of their inability to handle tropic lands and peoples.

The planters of Fiji ask why the Australian Commonwealth should deliberately exclude Fijian bananas for the benefit of a dozen returned soldiers, who are trying the experiment of growing this fruit in New South Wales. It simply means that the price of bananas will rise in Australia, and the real people to benefit will be the Chinese and Italians who handle the fruit in the Commonwealth. Because of the tariff put on by the Federal Parliament, banana groves are being cut down everywhere in Fiji, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of persons are losing their ordinary means of livelihood. If, argue those in favor of confederation, all the separate groups of islands were bound together in a single Dominion, this reckless sort of legislation on the part of Australia could be stopped, for there are things the Commonwealth must have from the islands—things which she would not get until she undertook, on her part, to treat them fairly.

But the strongest incentive to confederation is the fear that, unless some sort of a union is consummated, the danger of this, that or the other group being swallowed by Australia or New Zealand is increasingly great. Already there is more than talk of the annexation of the Solomons to Papua; when Tonga loses its nominal independence, it is said that New Zealand will claim it.

If there is one thing the islanders dread more than any other it is to be taken over either by the Dominion or the Commonwealth. The sorry exhibition of New Zealand administration in Samoa, and of Australian in German New Guinea, must indeed make every planter and landowner in the islands of the South Seas pray fervently that his country may escape the benevolent overlordship of either of these Dominions!

It is safe to say that the terrible muddle being made by Australia in German New Guinea has definitely ended all chance of the Solomon Islands ever joining Papua. The administration of Judge Murray in that country was the strongest argument in favor of any group of islands in the Pacific coming under the Australian flag, but the doings of the inexperienced administrators in German New Guinea have shattered the idea that tropic territories could be well governed by Australians.

## *Failure in Samoa*

In Samoa New Zealand appears to be making almost exactly the same mistakes. The experienced German planters were expropriated and driven away, their plantations were taken charge of by quite inexperienced men, who have no personal interest in their being kept in good condition. The result is in Samoa, as in German New Guinea, that the splendid plantations we took from the Germans are rapidly deteriorating. Labor cannot be obtained. The Samoan does not work. The Germans did not compel him to. He grows enough to live on, the climate is kind, his wants are few. Why should he labor for others when he already has all he needs? The Germans introduced Solomon Islanders, and later Chinese, under indenture. The New Zealand Government naturally had to restrict the importation of indentured workers.



Recruiting in the Solomons is now difficult, and the result is that lack of laborers completes the debacle which inexperienced men have begun. It would have been infinitely better, in both mandated territories, if the German planters had been left in charge with, say, a half-interest in the plantations. As it is, the men who planted and tended the coconut groves have been driven forth penniless, almost in rags, and their plantations are being allowed to go to rack and ruin as speedily as possible. There are, of course, exceptions, but there appears to be no doubt that the assumption of complete control by New Zealand in Samoa and by Australia in New Guinea has brought nothing but disaster—has not resulted in that immediate amelioration of the condition of the natives to achieve which we were assured was the real reason why these territories were wrested from the Germans.

#### *Government of the Islands*

Seeing all this happen before their eyes, the white men in the Pacific Islands pray earnestly that they may avoid a like fate and escape being annexed by New Zealand or Australia. The White Australia policy may be a great ideal, but it will never do in the tropical islands. The problems to be met there are of a nature which an official nurtured on the White Australia idea is utterly incapable of handling.

In the opinion of many of the best-informed men both in the islands and in lands washed by the Pacific, nothing but ill would follow annexation by Australia or New Zealand. On the other hand, they hold that only by uniting together can these islanders escape that ultimate fate. "United we stand, divided we fall" is their motto. There is no doubt whatever that a confederation of the islands would have many advantages, but it would have disadvantages as well. The whites of the islands would, I fear, not consider the natives as carefully as they should, but that might be overcome by special safeguards in the constitution. Then, as a Dominion, the islands would after all have small voice in international affairs, and it might easily happen that the loss of the direct Imperial connection might not be compensated for by freedom of action by the islands when they become a self-governing dominion.

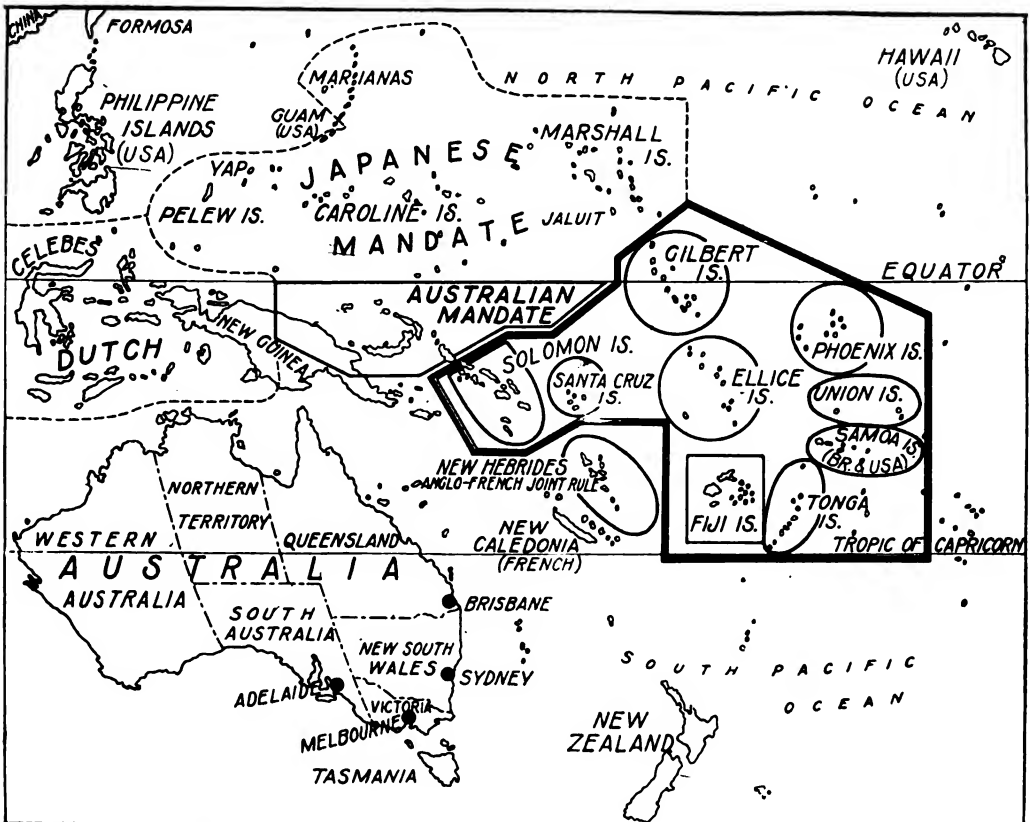
At present each group of islands in the Pacific appears to be governed in a different way. Fiji has a constitution, and is ruled

by an Executive Council, which consists entirely of nominees of the Governor; and a Legislative Council, of which only seven of the twenty-one members are elected. Eleven are nominated by the Governor, and there are two native members nominated on the recommendation of the Native Council of Chiefs. An Indian member has recently been added. The official element, as in all Crown colonies, dominates the position.

Tonga, the group-nearest to Fiji, is ruled over by a native monarch, but there is a British consul and a British agent resident there. Samoa is governed by New Zealand under mandate from the League of Nations. Recently the Gilbert and Ellice Islands were formed into a single Crown colony, but they are more or less controlled by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, who is the Governor of Fiji. Ocean Island is similarly controlled, but Nauru is under a government composed of a commission of three representatives, one from Australia, one from New Zealand, and one from Great Britain. The Solomon Islands are restive under the control of the Commissioner for the Western Pacific, and at one time might have united with Papua, but of that there is now no hope whatever.

#### *Confederation*

Ultimately, it is hoped that all the islands of the Western Pacific will join the proposed confederation, but efforts are being made to begin with Fiji, Tonga and Samoa, which lie close together. These have all the same problems to solve. They have the same labor difficulties, and they produce the same things. It is contended that, if there were one form of government for the three groups, they would benefit immensely, both economically and commercially. The Interstate Trade Commission, which inquired into Pacific problems some years ago, condemned the lack of cohesion in the various governments of the islands, and urged that there should be greater supervision and co-ordination. This Commission, by the way, advocated that this control should be exercised from Sydney—a proposal the islands will have nothing to do with! No doubt the first step toward federation would be the creation of a customs union, and the next the establishment of better communications between the island groups and a direct service between Fiji, as the commercial center, and England. That, it is true, has been established at last, **steamers of the**



ISLANDS IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC WHICH, IT IS PROPOSED, SHOULD BE BROUGHT INTO A NEW PACIFIC ISLANDS DOMINION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE—THOSE WITHIN THE HEAVY LINES

Commonwealth line calling there on their way to Europe, but no one knows what is going to happen to Mr. Hughes' steamers. Education systems would be unified; there would be a judicial Court of Appeal, and there would be uniform quarantine and health laws.

Obviously the very first thing to be done would be to hold a convention, at which the representatives of the various island groups could discuss the matter and come to some conclusion as to the advantages which would follow better communications, uniform labor laws, and the like, brought about by federation. A beginning has been made in Fiji where, last April, the elected members of the Legislative Council unanimously carried the following resolution:

That, in the opinion of this Council, the interests of the Empire in the Pacific would best be served by a Confederation of British Islands of the Western Pacific, governed and controlled from a common center.

This resolution was then formally con-

veyed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, his approval thereto being respectfully asked. That resolution is the first official move in the campaign for the creation of an Islands Dominion. The next will be made when the reply of Mr. Churchill is received.

The labor problems which confront the planters in all the Pacific Islands are very similar. As the plantations develop, as new industries are started, there is everywhere a notable lack of labor. The islanders themselves cannot, certainly will not, supply it. Therefore, it is necessary, if industries are to be fostered, that outside laborers be introduced. This was done in Fiji, where Indians were brought over under indenture, which allowed them to remain and settle after they had served a certain number of years. This system led to such grave abuses that in the end the Indian Government refused to allow any more of its subjects to leave the country under indenture to Fiji. Now the Fijian planters are seeking to recruit free labor in India, and with some

success. It must be remembered that, though the conditions that existed in the coolie lines in Fiji seemed horrible to us, once the Indian had completed his years of service, he was able to settle down in a comfort he had never known in his own land. There are some 60,000 Indians in Fiji, but only 10,000 are working in the plantations. The rest are otherwise engaged on their own business. They are cultivating land, running shops, driving motor cars for hire, doing any number of lucrative things and thriving withal—doing far better indeed than they could possibly have hoped to have done in India itself.

It ought surely to be possible to arrange for a systematic Indian migration to the islands where labor is required. The Indians stand the climate well, they make on the whole good workers, and they remain in the country to help develop it when they cease working in the plantations and sugar mills. The chief objection to the indenture

system in Fiji, as everywhere, was the low proportion of women who were allowed to accompany the men. This led to endless abuse, but the free workers should be allowed to bring their women folk with them. True, in the end, the islands would be peopled chiefly with Indians, who would speedily outnumber the natives, as they already do in Fiji; but it would be better to have Indian-peopled islands in the Pacific than islands peopled by Japanese or Chinese, which is the alternative if their great resources are to be developed.

If there were an Islands Dominion its legislators could solve the labor problem on sound lines and, instead of the various inefficient systems at present operating, could arrange a definite policy for the whole of the Pacific. For that reason, if for no other, it is to be hoped that the dreams of those who would federate the British Islands will soon come true.

Honolulu, September 24, 1921.

## CANADA'S NEW PARLIAMENT

BY HON. SIR P. T. McGRATH, K. B. E.

(Past-President of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland)

THE Canadian Parliament elected on December 6 is likely to meet for its first session during March and the program of the newly chosen Ministry of Mr. Mackenzie King will be awaited with much interest not alone in that Dominion, but throughout the Empire, and also in the United States, because of the low-tariff, if not free-trade leaning of many of his supporters; and the prospect of its leading to reciprocity.

### *A Remarkable Overturn*

The political upheaval in Canada three months ago, which resulted in the defeat of the Ministry of Hon. Arthur Meighen, was the most complete in the history of that country, the supporters of the late government who were elected numbering only fifty in a House of 235, whereas in 1917 (though the conditions were then abnormal, because it was a war-time election) the Union Government carried 153 seats against 82 won by the opposition, and in 1911 the Conservatives won 141 seats and the Liberals 94.

To make clear the reason for the tre-

mendous overturn of last December a brief explanation of the changes in Canada's political policy during the decade is necessary. In 1911 Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal Ministry, then in power, decided upon a policy of reciprocity with the United States, but partly because of the pro-British sentiment in Canada and partly because of certain incautious utterances of two prominent American party leaders as to making Canada an annex of the United States, the electorate revolted and returned the Conservatives, led by Mr. (subsequently Sir) Robert Borden, with a majority of forty-seven on a policy which was really that of cleaving to the mother country, though sarcastically described by its opponents as one of "flag-flapping."

Before another election was due the World War began, and after the outbreak of hostilities the party leaders twice agreed to extend the life of the sitting Parliament, which carried it on until 1917. Then the Liberals declined to endorse another extension; and Premier Borden, who had promised the imperial government to enact a

conscription measure to help the Empire in the emergency, reconstructed his Ministry and took in representative Liberals from different territories on a "win-the-war" policy, with the result that he carried every province except Quebec, which was very hostile to conscription. His following was entirely English-speaking, for he won only three seats in Quebec, the opposition consisting of sixty-two Quebec members and twenty Liberals scattered through the other eight provinces.

After the war ended Sir Robert Borden, whose health had been impaired by his war labors, resigned his post in the summer of 1920, and Mr. Meighen, chosen to succeed him, made a further reconstruction of the cabinet; and in the autumn of 1921, when he decided to appeal to the electorate for a renewal of power, he again changed its personnel somewhat. In this latter reconstruction he secured for the first time French-speaking Ministers from Quebec, who were nominated to certain posts, and whose inclusion was welcomed as healing the breach that had existed since the Borden Government, after the election of 1917, took stern measures to enforce the conscription law in that province.

#### *Mackenzie King, New Liberal Leader*

Sir Wilfrid Laurier died in February, 1919, and later a convention of the Liberal party elected as his successor Mr. Mackenzie King, who had been Minister of Labor in Laurier's Administration up to 1911, when he was defeated, as he was again in 1917. After being chosen leader he entered Parliament through a by-election in Prince Edward Island, and in the sessions of 1920 and 1921 filled the position of chief critic in the Commons Chamber. His following was strengthened by the fact that after the war several of the Liberals who had joined the government in 1917 felt that their mandate was terminated and withdrew from it, to rejoin their own party, while during these years also another political group had come into being, especially in the West the Farmers' Party, latterly broadened into the "Progressives."

#### *The Farmers, or Progressives*

The farmers, banding themselves together, had won the provincial election in Ontario, and had shown tremendous strength in contests in the other Western provinces. They were headed by Mr. T. A. Crerar, who had

been Minister of Agriculture in the Borden Government, but resigned on the ground that it was too protectionist in its leanings, he advocating a policy that was, broadly speaking, one of gradual tariff reduction tending to ultimate Free Trade.

Thus it came to be realized, during last year, that when an election took place there would be three parties in the field—the Conservatives (with the small element of Liberals who had joined them in 1917 and remained with them) favoring Protection; the Liberals, identified with a lower tariff; and the Progressives, showing a tendency toward the latter still more marked. It was contended in some quarters that no election should be held until after figures of the Census of 1921 had been given out, as these would show the West entitled to several more members; but against this, in turn, it was argued that this would involve a Redistribution Bill, and there was much doubt as to when that could be got through the House. So Premier Meighen advised a dissolution in October and an election in December, possibly feeling, as some critics opined, that the longer he held on the worse his plight might become for his majority in the House, through withdrawals and losses in by-elections, had been reduced to about twenty, and there were then six by-elections pending, defeat in which would shatter the prestige of the government utterly.

When the dissolution occurred, the prevailing view in Canada was that the Meighen Government was doomed, but that no party would get a clear majority, and that therefore "group government" would become inevitable, with two of the three elements combining to control the House; or, that there would be a further disruption and the making-up of new parties, the more reactionary among the Liberals joining with the Conservatives, and the radical Liberals and the Progressives uniting on the other side. These conclusions were based upon the probability that Quebec and the Maritime Provinces would go strongly Liberal, that the Prairie Provinces would be equally strong for the Farmers, and that in Ontario, the Conservative stronghold, that party's ascendancy would be reduced by the strength the Farmers had developed in the Provincial contest two years before.

This forecast was fairly accurate, but the Liberals did somewhat better than was expected and won just half the seats, enabling

them to organize the House, elect a Speaker, and assume definite control. They won every seat in Quebec (65), in Nova Scotia (16), and in Prince Edward Island (4), while the Farmers were almost equally successful in the Prairie Provinces. New Brunswick in the East and British Columbia in the West gave Conservative majorities; but Ontario proved the big surprise of the contest, the Farmers failing to maintain the hold they gained there in the Provincial election, and the Liberals getting as many seats as the Farmers—twenty-two each, the Conservatives securing only the remaining thirty-eight out of eighty-two seats, losing even in some of the cities, though their Protectionist policy was designed to appeal to the work-ingman, if to anybody. This swing of Ontario toward Liberalism really decided the election and put Mr. King in the saddle, although with a very insecure hold, if there was any prospect of the two other groups combining, which, of course, there was not, the Progressives being even more hostile to the Conservatives than are the Liberals. At the end of December, when all the recounts had taken place, the strength of the parties was given as follows:

Liberals .....	118
Independents .....	2
Progressives .....	65
Conservatives .....	50
<hr/>	
Total .....	235

Even counting the Independents with the Liberals, this majority would be too small for effective Parliamentary control, and as soon as he was invited to form an administration, it is understood, Mr. King opened negotiations with the Progressives to combine with him, offering them certain representation in the cabinet, but they decided against abandoning their separate identity, though undertaking to give him their support in enacting measures tending toward the goal at which they are aiming. With this backing the new Premier should find it possible to pursue a straighter course than he could otherwise have hoped to do; because, with the Conservatives only as the regular opposition—who number only fifty men and lack many of their leading figures, as no fewer than seven Cabinet Ministers were defeated—the possibilities for the new government putting through much useful legislation are greatly increased.

### *Free Trade as an Issue*

The outcome of the election, of course, is not altogether due to the issue of Protection versus Free Trade, because many other factors entered into the struggle, and perhaps one of the largest contributory to the result was that of "hard times," the discontent and economic collapse due to unemployment finding expression in Canada, as elsewhere, in condemnation of the existing government and in a demand for a change. The task of the new government will not be an easy one. Canada carries an enormous war debt and has great difficulty to-day in making two ends meet. There is an insistent call for a reduction in the tariff and also for more employment. The farming industry, the mainstay of the Dominion, is suffering greatly from the shrinkage in prices the past two years, and the cities have thousands of workless men because factories are either on half time or shut down, since their products cannot be consumed on a war-time scale owing to the general set-back. These conditions dictate a policy of drastic economy by the government, as well as by the individual, and this is never popular except in theory.

In some quarters, especially in the West, it is expected that steps toward Free Trade may be taken. In other quarters a revival of reciprocity as an offset to the high-tariff plans of the Congress at Washington, as embodied in the Fordney measure, is thought possible. Other elements look for the development of more or less hostility in Canada-American relations through legislative measures to check Canadian purchases in the American market, and so stimulate home industry to an extent not now possible.

What will be the ultimate decision it is impossible to foreshadow, but certain it is that with the West looking for concessions to make the farmer's lot easier and with the East hoping for plans that will set the idle factory wheels turning again, the task before the new government and the new Parliament is not one to be lightly faced or easily disregarded. Probably most people are hoping that Premier King's chief lieutenant and Finance Minister, Hon. W. S. Fielding, who filled the same position under Laurier and was perhaps Canada's most successful occupant of that office, may be able to devise a scheme of tariff reform that, coupled with rigid economy, will satisfy all interests.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## THE WEST VIRGINIA COAL CONFLICT

**T**HE report of Mr. Kenyon, as chairman of the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor, on the long-continued troubles in the West Virginia coal fields, embodies a proposed code for regulating the coal industry. The twelve principles which Senator Kenyon sets forth as essential to peaceful relations between employers and employees in that industry are as follows:

1. Coal is a public utility, and in its production and distribution the public interest is predominant.

2. Human standards should be the constraining influence in fixing the wages and working conditions of mine workers.

3. Capital prudently and honestly invested in the coal industry should have an adequate return sufficient to stimulate and accelerate the production of this essential commodity.

4. The right of operators and miners to organize is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with in any manner whatsoever, nor shall coercive measures of any kind be used by employers or employees to exercise or to refrain from exercising this right.

5. The right of operators and of miners to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing is recognized and affirmed.

6. The miners who are not members of a union have the right to work without being harassed

by fellow workmen who may belong to unions. The men who belong to a union have the right to work without being harassed by operators who do not believe in unionism. The organizations have a right to go into non-union fields and by peaceable methods try to persuade men to join the unions, but they have no right to try and induce employees to violate contracts which they have entered into with their employers, and the operators on the other hand have the right by peaceable means to try and persuade men to refrain from joining the unions.

7. The right of all unskilled or common laborers to earn an adequate living wage sufficient to maintain the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort and to afford an opportunity for savings against unemployment, old age and other contingencies is hereby declared and affirmed. Above this basic wage for unskilled workers, differentials in rates of pay for other mine workers shall be established for skill, experience, hazards or employment, and productive efficiency.

8. The right of women to engage in industrial occupations is recognized and affirmed; their rates of pay shall be the same as those of male workers for the same or equivalent service performed; they shall be accorded all the rights and guarantees granted to male workers, and the condition of their employment shall surround them with every safeguard of their health and strength and guarantee them the full measure of protection which is the debt of society to mothers and potential mothers. Few women are engaged

in any way in mining, but it may be as well to announce this proposition as to pass it by.

9. Children under the age of 16 years shall not be employed in the industry, unless permits have been issued under State authority.

10. Six days shall be the standard work week in the industry, with one day's rest in seven. The standard work day shall not exceed eight hours a day.

11. Punitive overtime shall be paid for hours worked each day in excess of the standard work day.

12. When a dispute or controversy arises between operators and mine workers, there shall be no strike or lockout, pending a conference or a hearing and determination of the facts and principles involved.



ACTUAL WARFARE ON THE WEST VIRGINIA "FRONT"

(Machine gunners ready to repulse a threatened attack by the miners on Blair Mountain, West Virginia)



A HOME IN MINGO COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA

(The rude shelter of a miner's family, typical of the way in which thousands of striking miners lived throughout the past year)

Commenting on this code in the *Survey* (New York) for February 4, Mr. Winthrop D. Lane expresses some disappointment in the picture of the West Virginia conflict presented by Senator Kenyon, but concedes that the proposed method of remedy "may, if adopted, not only bring relief to that State but help to avert much industrial warfare in the future."

The fundamental issue in West Virginia, according to Senator Kenyon, lies in the contention of the non-union operators "that they have the right, and will exercise it if they desire, to discharge a man if he belongs to the union," and in the determination of the United Mine Workers to unionize those fields, practically the only large and important coal fields in the United States not unionized. As Mr. Lane puts it, "the issue is whether the miners shall be free to join their mine labor organization if they want to, and whether the union shall be free to try to persuade them to do so."

As to the actual facts of the conflict, Senator Kenyon censures both sides. He declares that members of the United Mine Workers have done acts of violence, many of which are absolutely indefensible. Men have been killed, property has been destroyed and thousands of miners were engaged in a movement that was little short of insurrection. On the other hand, Senator Kenyon condemns the payment of deputy sheriffs in Logan County by the operators. In 1921 the amount spent for these salaries was \$61,517.

Yet these deputies are public officials. There is as much logic in having these salaries paid by the operators, says Senator Kenyon, as there would be in having members of Congress paid by private interests. It is admitted that the object is to prevent men from coming into the county to organize the United Mine Workers. This is Senator Kenyon's conclusion:

There have been violations of law on both sides of this controversy. There has been an arrogance upon both sides, seeming to indicate that, in the opinion of some of the leaders, the question was entirely one between the operators and the workers. . . . The whole story of this contest, however, is one of disregard for and breaking of law; of denials of constitutional rights; of a spirit of suspicion, hate, and retaliation on both sides that does not augur well for industrial peace in that portion of the State. There must be some change of feeling and some mutual concessions before industrial peace will be reestablished.

From a different viewpoint the *Independent and Weekly Review* (New York) says in reference to Senator Kenyon's code:

Two main facts dominate everything else in the bituminous coal industry—and it should be realized that it is this part of the industry, not the anthracite, that raises the threatening problems of to-day. First, the coal industry is a markedly *seasonal* industry. Second, it is an *overdeveloped* industry—there are more mines opened and drawing on capital for overhead costs than can earn a reasonable profit under normal conditions of the coal trade as at present developed. From these two facts proceed the various conflicting attempts at adjustment that plague the country as well as the industry itself.

Two opposing policies are contending for mastery in dealing with these fundamental difficulties. The operators naturally incline to make all necessary cost adjustments by cutting wages to a profit point, and employing labor only when the mines can earn a profit on the operators' terms. This policy, in general, prevails in the non-union fields of West Virginia. Under the peculiar conditions of to-day this policy operates more profitably to the mine-workers in that field than would otherwise be the case.

The Mine Workers' Union, on the other hand, tries to secure the highest rate of wages for actual working time, and to lengthen the working period in each year.

In the opinion of the editor the only thing that will provide a base for both peace and prosperity in West Virginia is such an investigation of the whole industry (under public authority) as shall determine and set forth all the essential facts. It is understood that a commission of investigation will soon be announced by Secretary Hoover.



# THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY: ITS CHARACTER AND POLICY

**T**HE former chairman of the British Labor Party, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P., contributes to the *International Journal of Ethics* a brief survey of the salient characteristics of that organization. Mr. Henderson explains that it is a mistake to assume that the Labor Party, as organized in Great Britain, is essentially a party of manual workers. He says:

The Labor Party is a group of men and women of many different occupations who agree in having a common outlook and a common policy. The bond which holds the party together is intellectual, not economic. It is to be explained by reference to political principles, not by reference to sources of income. It is, however, admitted that in a very true sense, it is a party of the working-class. If we divide society not into manual workers and others, but into those who live by working, and those who live by owning, then the working-class will include all workers by hand or brain, and the Labor Party may therefore be called a working-class party because its character depends upon the natural attitude of those who live by working as contrasted with the natural attitude of those who live upon the proceeds of ownership. Even this distinction, however, does not exclude the so-called capitalist from membership of the party. For a man may approach social problems in a way that is not characteristic of those of his own economic class, and a man who lives by owning may very well believe that society would be better if no man were able to get without giving, to acquire goods without doing work.

Mr. Henderson points out that of the 14,000,000 industrial workers, only about 7,000,000 are in trade unions, and by no means all of these 7,000,000 are adherents of the Labor Party. However, the more active-minded industrial worker naturally joins his fellows in a trade union, and when he becomes politically conscious and active he is inclined to adopt the attitude and policy of the Labor Party.

Turning to the policy of the Labor Party, Mr. Henderson assures us that the party as at present constituted takes itself very seriously, that "it proposes to assume, maintain and develop the government of Great Britain as soon as a majority of the electorate expresses the desire that it should." He declares that the Labor Party's policy in opposition is definitely directed with a view to the possibility that it may have to assume power. "For this reason its acts and its statements are qualified by a sense of respon-

sibility which is not unnaturally absent from those of more violent groups, who even in their most sanguine moments can hardly believe that they will be asked or allowed to take over the government of Great Britain, at any rate in the immediate or near future."

The leaders of the Labor Party believe that the treatment of the unemployment problem by the Coalition Government is both inadequate and fundamentally unsound. So, too, the party regards the policy of heavy military expenditures still in force.



ARTHUR HENDERSON  
(Former Chairman of the  
British Labor Party)

Difficulties are being laid up for us by those at present in power; nevertheless, we intend sooner or later to take over the control of government. What then will be our policy? I shall speak first of economic policy. We aim at the establishment and maintenance of a greater efficiency in industry and agriculture; but the criterion of efficiency for us is not the amount of private gain which may be acquired by those engaged in industry and agriculture, but the quality of the public service performed by them. We view the production of goods as a public service, whether

it be organized by the state or not. In some cases, as in regard to coal mines and railways, accidental circumstances and not abstract theory compel us to the opinion that such services cannot be organized as public services unless there is a national ownership or ownership by the state, but even in these cases, our aim is not simply a change of control, but a greater efficiency for public service.

In regard to agriculture, the Labor Party has devised a policy for increasing the utility of British agriculture. This will involve public, if not national, ownership of the land in a sense not yet clearly defined, and a greater independence of farmers in regard to landlords, and of agricultural workers in regard to both landlords and farmers.

With regard to trade, the point of importance for us is not whether the trader shall be helped or hindered or left to work his own sweet will, but how his enterprise can best serve the public needs. For this reason the presumption is always on the side of freedom; but as in regard to civil liberty, so in regard to industry and trade, free-

dom does not involve that the individual shall be a law unto himself. In regard to the organization of industry, our first aim must be the prevention of misuse of the human instrument in production. Industry must be so organized as to diminish the evil effects of fluctuating trade, and to bear upon its cost of production the maintenance of the reserve of labor during periods of depression.

Finally, in international policy we shall have to remodel the machinery of diplomacy and perhaps to curtail the military tendencies of some of

our officials outside the Foreign Office. Our aim will be not simply the avoidance of war but the positive organization of the Peace of the World. We shall enter into no secret agreements. We shall oppose, giving full publicity to the facts, attempts to exploit subject peoples or undeveloped countries. We shall aim not at the creation of any supreme power or World's State, but at the coöperation of states as equals in the overcoming of such evils as famine and disease and in the development of all the resources of the world for the use of its peoples.

## FRANCE AT WORK

GETTING a job as a worker in a French steel plant, just as he had formerly found employment in the mines and factories of America and Great Britain, for the sake of getting close to the industrial worker and thus learning something of his thoughts and ideals, Mr. Whiting Williams last summer obtained material for a series of interesting articles in *Scribner's Magazine*. The opening paragraphs of his article in the February number on "France at Work" state clearly and graphically the substance of what his experience revealed to him:

My French miner "buddy" had been swinging his pick back and forth at amazing speed for nearly an hour one morning last summer. We were down about two thousand feet below a mining village a few miles from the ruined mines and city of Lens in northern France. The coal had been coming down so rapidly that it kept the rest of us busy shovelling it into the cars which the boy of fifteen with equally amazing speed kept bringing up to the "face" of the seam.

All of us were stripped to the waist. Not one back amongst us but glistened in the light of the safety-lamps with the mixture of coal-dust and sweat. Except for the half-hour's pause for breakfast every one kept going at the same pace hour after hour. Also day after day. Yet never did I find one of them willing to confess the job fatiguing. From the lips of all of them came the same words accompanied by the same smile and the same shrug:

"C'est l'habitude!"

Later in other parts of France from leaders in various fields of her work and life as well as from other laborers came almost always the same name for the motive power which keeps the people of France busy:

"It's habit, m'sieu"—habit and custom—that does it."

The phrase appears to me to go further than any other to explain the spirit of modern France as it shows itself among the French workers as I came to know them. It holds almost equally well, too, whether they are hand-workers or head-workers. In either case, if they are French born, they have lived their life in very much

the same groove for a long time. Established social habit and social custom have come of old social institutions and old social arrangements of a people long established in the same economic environment. France is socially an elderly if not an old country—socially as well as geographically and geologically, perhaps socially because geographically and geologically. The French are an elderly people—at least a people beyond the middle of maturity.

Mr. Williams lays stress upon the evidences of that after-middle maturity as significant in French life.

As to the present situation of organized labor in France, Mr. Williams says:

The General Federation of Labor is said to have lost five-eighths of its members since the failure of that general strike in 1920. To-day about the only members left in it are the Communist radicals and the Socialist conservatives. These are fighting constantly for control of the organization. Both sides claim victory. The evenness of the current battle makes it look as though the Communists were disquietingly strong. When the votes go against them the Communists claim that the real story is told in the circulation figures of their competing newspapers—two thousand daily for *Le Peuple*, issued by the Socialist Federationists, and forty thousand for *L'Humanité*, of the Communists.

The country's surprising experience during the war also helps the careful observer to discount somewhat the amazing extremes of the Bolshevism of the Communists. This experience showed that the workers are in actuality much more patriotic—more conservative—than the bitterness of their public expressions might lead one to conclude.

But it is, of course, unsafe to argue that the French worker as a whole can be trusted always to accept without organized protest whatever comes. We will all make progress toward solving the problem of happy relations between the hand-workers and the head-workers when we learn this.

Other changes in French life resulting from the war will be considered by Mr. Williams in subsequent contributions to *Scribner's*.

## POPE BENEDICT XV

**I**MMEDIATELY after the death of Pope Benedict on January 22 there was much comment in the press on the significance of the Papacy in the modern world and the efforts that had been made by the departed pontiff to advance the cause of civilization, as well as of the Roman Catholic Church. A representative editorial tribute was that paid by the *San Francisco Argonaut* in the paragraphs which follow:

Most notable of the deaths of the week is that of the Pope (Benedict XV), the spiritual father of unnumbered millions of men and women throughout the world. The influence of the head of the Catholic Church extends to every country and every province of the globe. Not all countries, to be sure, hearken to the spiritual guidance of Rome, but there is no country in which devoted adherents of the Roman church may not be found and to which its influence does not extend in one degree or another.

Measured by the higher standards of pontifical character and of intellectual power, Benedict XV was not a great Pope. That he was a man of high individual character, of high attainments, of high aims, goes without saying—in these days elevation to the papacy of any man lacking these qualifications is not thinkable. That it was not always so, history bears witness, as the whole world knows; and the moral contrast between Popes of this age and of other ages now happily remote bears witness to the advance of the moral standards of modern social organization as compared with those of former times.

The supreme enthusiasm of Benedict XV, aside from his deeply religious character and his devotion to the organization of which he was the head, was for peace among the nations. Curiously enough, it was the fate of this modern apostle of peace to reign over the Church Universal in the period of a war of unprecedented magnitude, involving unprecedented associations of nations and marked by barbarities hardly matched within the Christian era. It was no fault of his that his efforts to alleviate the horrors of war came to naught in an immediate sense; nor in any sense is it an indictment of the man or the pontiff that the fruition of his ideas and projects must wait upon future times. Nor may it be assumed that the lessons which he sought to teach are lost to the race. The ideals that he preached, the standards that he urged, make a record not to be regarded lightly, since they are bound to stand as precedents for the instruction of those who are to come after him in the administration of the Catholic Church, and as a source of inspiration for all lovers and promoters of peace now and in times to come.

During the war Benedict XV made two notable attempts to bring the conflict to a halt, but the momentum was too great for spiritual control. Furthermore, there was on the part of the Allied nations very general feeling that the sympathies of Benedict, though not openly revealed, were with the cause of the German autocracy, and this conception, whether justified or not, was

sufficient to nullify his efforts. More recently and more successfully the influence of the Vatican and of Benedict XV were exercised in the cause of peace in Ireland. Here, perhaps—unquestionably, we think, is the most imposing monument to his memory. Truly it may be said of the dead pontiff that a man of high moral enthusiasm, a personality of conspicuous worthiness, a vital spiritual force has gone out of the world. Under his hand the best traditions of the papacy were sustained. Men of all faiths unite, and worthily so, in tribute to the man, his worth, and his work.

After referring to certain criticisms that had been passed upon the failure of Pope Benedict to align his church positively against Germany at the time of the invasion of Belgium, Dr. Lyman Abbott, writing in his paper, the *Outlook* (New York), says that if the Pope and Cardinal Mercier could have changed places, it is certain that the Pope could not have done what Cardinal Mercier did in Belgium, and it is not certain that Cardinal Mercier could have done what the Pope did in Rome. Dr. Abbott thinks that even if it be conceded that the Pope seemed to sacrifice something of the moral power of the Church in order to hold it together, it is doubtful whether he could have held it together if he had ventured to make full use of its moral power during the war.

Whatever idealists may think upon this question, only a limited and decreasing number of irreconcilables can fail to see in current events some facts to be passed to the credit of the Pope's pacific temper. There is, I think, very little doubt that his influence has been exerted to assuage the anti-English passion of the Irish and make possible the treaty of peace between England and Ireland. The Vatican knows how to keep its secrets, and what its influence has been during the recent pontificate is a matter of surmise, not of public record; but it cannot be doubted that the growth of friendly relations between the Church and the State in Italy is not a little due to the friendly spirit of Benedict XV carrying forward the pacific policy of his immediate predecessor. That the Roman Catholic Church will ever recognize any clergy as legitimately ordained except its own I think highly improbable. I do not see how it can consistently do so. But the esteem and respect for the late Pope and the sympathy for the bereaved Church of which he was the head expressed in public utterances by both Protestants and Jews indicate at least that the bitterness of hostility which formerly existed has to a considerable degree abated, and for this a due measure of praise is due to the kindly spirit of Benedict XV.

Another article in the same number of

the *Outlook*, reviewing Pope Benedict's career, says:

His liberal statesmanship is evidenced by the fact that early in his pontificate the Pope issued a rescript concerning the Jews about which the *American Hebrew* said: "There is no statement that equals this direct unmistakable plea for equality for the Jews and against prejudice upon religious grounds." Benedict also reconciled France with the Vatican, and there is now a resumption of diplomatic relations; he even induced England to resume such relations. He removed the Papal order forbidding Catholic kings and

rulers to visit the King of Italy, and, opposing Pius IX's policy, allowed the faithful to take their part in the Italian Government, legislative and executive. The Catholic party, the so-called "Popolari," now has a quarter of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies and has three Ministers in the Cabinet. The Vatican and the Quirinal are becoming reconciled. This is Benedict XV's greatest accomplishment. Hence, for the first time in the history of modern Italy, the Italian Government, ordained that, in honor of a dead Pope, flags should be half-masted on all public buildings, amusement places closed, and two days' mourning observed.

## HOUSING AS AN OUTLET FOR AMERICAN CAPITAL

AFTER considering the various new prospects for American capital, Mr. C. Reinold Noyes, writing in the *North American Review*, lays special stress upon housing as an ideal field for investment, particularly favored under the new conditions, although it has been largely left to individual handling on a comparatively small scale. Mr. Noyes points out that housing in America is not merely sufficient, nor is it suitable to the requirements or means of our people:

The buildings are not permanent, as in Europe, but are too generally cheap, temporary structures, because they are built as "taxpayers" or on the very limited means of the home-builder. The business of erection and of financing the homes of the people is usually handled on a small local scale. There is no open market for mortgages on residence property. These are matters for individual transaction, privately arranged. And the result is that investment in first and second mortgage loans and the ownership of renting residence property is so troublesome that the average investor cannot be tempted to touch it. Perhaps one of the reasons for the development of the apartment house has been the readiness with which it lent itself to a more business-like and large-scale handling.

As a general rule housing has not been considered a field for big financial operations. Some of the Western trust companies are already engaged in the residence mortgage business. The savings banks and insurance companies invest extensively in first mortgages on such buildings. But there is need for big operating and big financing corporations to develop this field. The risk of loans on standard housing developments is far less than upon specialty or one-use buildings, and the profits are big. A system of bond issues based on mortgages on assorted risks could undoubtedly be made a success.

It is, of course, utterly foolish that the outcry against the profiteering landlord should be permitted to take the course of harassing and restrictive legislation. What is needed is legislative encouragement and popular favor so as to

attract investors into this field, not to drive them out as is now being done. Proposed federal legislation seems to indicate a change of sentiment in this regard.

Further, it is necessary that building costs should come down. A decline has already taken place in the cost of materials, and in Mr. Noyes' opinion reduction of wages is on the way. Labor, he says, must be satisfied with an equal real wage, and that means that the money wage must come down as it went up with the cost of living. The closed shop in the building trades has enabled a small group of Labor monopolists to squeeze all the rest of the people unmercifully. It is estimated that half of the cost of ordinary building is in direct labor, and that the bulk of the material cost is in indirect labor. A large part of the increased cost of building has come about through the lowering of output, resulting from restrictive rules and ancient methods. There should be a marked increase in efficiency, and this, with a moderate reduction of wages, would cut down building costs perhaps one-third.

In this investment field there can be no competition from abroad:

Europe can pay her debts to us in goods in the form of an adverse trade balance, while we devote the industrial energy thus saved to making ourselves more comfortable in our home land. Imports of goods indirectly liquidating the foreign debts will become new capital in the hands of some American, and will be released for re-investment here. These funds should be re-invested in the form which will procure for the investor the greatest security and the largest return. Naturally these purposes will be best served, not by investment in some overcrowded field to increase production and compete with other redundant products for a limited foreign

or domestic demand, but rather in the less competitive fields, in the manufacture of new kinds of goods and the enlargement or improvement of our equipment of permanent property for the production of direct services to our people. Because such undertakings offer a greater security and profit they will result in greater and more substantial prosperity among both groups concerned, the capitalists and the workers, and indirectly react to the benefit of the people as a whole.

Masses of men move according to natural laws. The causes of their actions are to be found in the conditions out of which they spring.

It is my belief that the policies and choices which I have described will be followed, not so much voluntarily as involuntarily. They seem to be on the cards. As a people we are more likely to engage our attention in elevating our standard of living at home than in spreading out to cover the world with our ownership and trade. If this is true, it is not well to attempt to stem the current. It is better to choose the winning, not the losing, side. The international banker has his place. And it will be a place of increasing importance. But the business of finding funds for public utilities and for housing will have a far greater development.

## HOW CAN THE FARMER GET CREDIT?

IN the present period of distress for the American farmer many suggestions have been offered looking to an increase of his credit facilities. The editor of the *Credit Monthly* (New York), recognizing the fact that agricultural borrowers must be protected and favored at this time in every legitimate way by all financial institutions, concludes that if the banking reserves of the nation are to be kept liquid, it is not safe for the Federal Reserve Banks to go farther than to discriminate in favor of six-months agricultural paper. He proposes as steps to relieve the existing stringency that:

First, the farmers and the banks of agricultural regions must cooperate with the Federal Reserve authorities in furnishing that information regarding the resources and liabilities of borrowers necessary to determine whether notes offered are such as are proper to rediscount in the Federal Reserve bank. The farmer must be educated through the agricultural schools, through the

help of banking associations, through the cooperation of business interests with farmers' organizations to appreciate the fact that there are limits beyond which the Federal Reserve banks cannot safely go quite apart from any law they may succeed in passing.

Second, economists, bankers, business men and others must give thought to providing the farmer with credit facilities which shall fit into his requirements for longer term credits than it is safe for the Federal Reserve banks to provide.

Third, the agricultural sections of the country must be brought into closer touch with the Federal Reserve system by having a larger portion of the agricultural banks within that system. So long as in the largest agricultural States individual banks remain out of the Federal Reserve system, so long will those States fail to enjoy, to the extent to which their wealth and capacity entitle them, the facilities of the Federal Reserve banks. It is startling to note that in Nebraska 83 per cent. of the banks of the State are not in the system, in Kansas 81 per cent., in Missouri 90 per cent., in Louisiana 81 per cent., in Mississippi 91 per cent., in Georgia 83 per cent., in North Carolina 84 per cent., in Wisconsin 81 per cent., and in North Dakota 79 per cent. Wide stretches of these States, therefore, can tap the resources of the Federal Reserve banks only through some member bank located in a distant city. This fact places too great a burden upon the small number of banks which are members of the Federal Reserve system. They are under pressure to rediscount at the Federal Reserve bank beyond the limits of their own safety and that of the Federal Reserve bank of their district.

An important phase of the problem, therefore, is to create a public sentiment in favor of a unified banking system, and perhaps further to work out a plan which will attract into the Federal Reserve system, on a modified basis, a larger number of smaller banks located in scattered agricultural communities.

The men who handle commercial credits understand that prosperity on our farms means prosperity in our industries, and that failure on our farms, whether of crops or markets, means bankruptcies in merchandising and industry.



NEEDS A NEW SUIT

(Cartoon by ex-Congressman John M. Baer)  
From *Copper's Weekly* (Topeka, Kansas)

## AUSTRALIAN TRIBUTES TO HENRY STEAD

ELSEWHERE in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS appears an article on Great Britain's island possessions in the Pacific by the Australian journalist, Henry Stead, who died on shipboard on the Pacific Ocean on December 10, last. The first number of *Stead's Review* (Melbourne) for the new year contains many tributes to its late editor. Some of these had been received by cable from England.

A colleague who had been closely associated with Mr. Stead throughout the dark days of the war, commenting on his work as editor during that period, says:

Gifted with almost destructive powers of criticism, he used this faculty as an end to subsequent reconstruction, not having much patience with mere restoration, much preferring to build anew, and this despite a vein of innate conservatism that ran through him. In his literary expression, he was simple, direct, forceful and logical, his early engineering training aiding him to give an almost formulaic exactness to what he had to say. With great powers of concentration, and an untiring worker, he was practically harnessed to his desk, and his magazine being largely the production of his pen, or rather his typewriter, he used to work for long periods at a stretch, with very brief intervals for rest or for refreshment, and, no doubt, the Herculean labors of those days taxed his vitality, and may have contributed to his premature death.

His rapid and accurate intuitions—he was an excellent reader of character—enabled him to interpret the signs of the times in a manner which was at once the envy and the despair of brother editors, and this faculty of his gave *Stead's* magazine an influence and status almost unique in the history of journalism, his readers being found wherever the post-bag found its way.

This colleague was impressed by Henry Stead's keen vision as a journalist during the war. Every attempt to bring about peace was anticipated by him, and he published what was virtually a forecast of the Armistice itself two months before its consummation.

There is no doubt that Henry Stead's political outlook was broadened and deepened and enriched by his Australian experiences. It lifted him out of Europe's tortuous, historical statecraft and diplomatic muddlings and disasters. Its youth, optimism, and the easy assurance with which it faced the dawn were an inspiration to him; hence he believed that his sphere of usefulness was more extensive here than in Europe or America, and so it led him to decline tempting offers of editorial chairs in London and New York.

It is the veritable irony of fate that Henry Stead, to whom disarmament was the logical sequence of the pioneering work in fields of peace of his great and distinguished father—with whom Henry had been closely associated during the epochal work achieved at the Hague Conference of 1907—should, I say, Moses like, have been denied actual entrance to the promised land, for his illness struck him down in San Francisco when en route to the great assembly of the nations at Washington.

Among the well-known Australians who express their sense of loss in the untimely death of Henry Stead is Hon. J. G. Latham, member of the Australian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, and ex-staff captain of the Australian Navy. Mr. Latham says:

The death of Henry Stead removes from the life of Australia a man whose influence with the pen was a very real and significant element in the thought of the community. Writing as he did upon great and often pressing problems of national and international moment, he could not expect, and he did not expect, that his views would commend universal, or, in many cases, even general assent. It was one of his virtues that he sought to reach beyond the merely provincial—and he did not allow himself to be deterred or deflected by criticism or opinion which was merely provincial in basis or outlook.

His knowledge of men and things was varied and extensive. His experience in relation to world problems and efforts to solve them was equalled by but few men, while his acquaintance with leading personages added weight to the opinions which his skilled pen so effectively expressed. He helped us to look beyond and above our immediate surroundings; and kept us alive to the significance of the larger issues, which are of greater moment to men and women than the smaller contentions in which it is more easy to spend our energies.

He carried on the high tradition of his father, and did not fear that terror of democracy—unpopularity. In time of war he had the courage of opinions which tended to alienate, and in some cases did, in fact, alienate, those with whom he naturally associated. For his courage we give him honor; for his ability we give him admiration; and some of us mourn that which can never be replaced—the loss of a friend.

Professor Herbert Heaton, of the University of Adelaide, expresses hearty approval of Mr. Stead's work as a journalist during the past seven years:

His clarity of mind, quick perception, and international outlook were an oasis in the desert of war hates, passions, and lies, and one turned to him with glad relief after the tragic futilities of the daily press war news. I used to read the *Review* with the same joy and approval as I

read the *Nation* or the *Manchester Guardian*, glad that there was one voice at any rate which would always be lifted to espouse true liberalism and international decency.

Mr. F. W. Eggleston, of Victoria, who was a member of the Australian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, adds his commendation of Mr. Stead's journalistic service.

Fifteen years ago a workaday journalist or man of the world would have said that a review of the class of *Stead's*, dealing solely with serious subjects, could not possibly succeed in Australia. Every attempt of the kind had failed. Starting with high ideals, most editors have inevitably made concession to tawdry popularity, and started to write down to a level they fondly conceived to be below them. But *Stead's* has succeeded without once turning on this downward path.

I would be wrong to depict him as the mere exponent of a message, however noble that message might be! The Message was the Man. Mr. Stead preached the message of justice, tolerance in politics and life, because every fibre of his being resented injustice and persecution. His political creed was the spontaneous expression of his ardent and generous nature.

Professor Ernest Scott, of the University of Melbourne, who knew W. T. Stead thirty years ago, was impressed by the son's striking resemblance to the father. Henry Stead had beneath a gentle demeanor some of the explosive energy of his father, and the same depth of sincerity and moral courage. As a journalist he generally knew more than he revealed, and felt more strongly than his words expressed.

Henry Stead has died all too young. He seemed destined to play a somewhat important part in the literary and public life of Australia. With his acuteness, his industry, his generous sympathies, his pertinacity, and that Steadian pugnacity which was a vital element in his character, he would surely have cut out for himself a much larger place than that which he had hitherto filled. He had had to work through times of unusual perplexity for the kind of journalism in which he was engaged. But he was full of ideas, he had a constructive mind, he had widened his experience greatly, and he seemed to be ripe for breaking new ground. All that rich promise has been destroyed by his early death—for, indeed, forty-six is very early for the departure of one who seemed so abundantly capable of living to fine purposes.

## A SWEDISH COPPER COMPANY SEVEN CENTURIES OLD

THE mining and smelting of copper were carried on near Falun, Sweden, seven hundred years ago. The industry so prospered that during the seventeenth century Sweden was by far the biggest producer of copper in the world. Yet the statistics of output, as read to-day, seem ridiculously small. In 1655 the whole world's consumption of copper was covered by a paltry 3453 tons—the output of the Swedish mines. The company that controlled this output exists to-day with a capitalization of 60,000,000 kronor. It is the Great Copper Mountain Mining Company, Inc. The *Swedish-American Trade Journal* (New York) says:

If this company is not the oldest industrial company in the world, it is at least the one which has the oldest records. A charter dated 1347 specifies above royal seals certain "privileges" which the miners were to enjoy. But the records go back farther; a letter dated 1288 shows that a certain Bishop Peder acquired a one-eighth share of the Falun mine by trade. Just what the good bishop traded for this interest we do not know. But the history of the company can be traced still farther back, and the letterheads to-day bear the significant legend "Founded in 1225."

In considering the history of copper production at Falun it must be remembered that mining of the ore, smelting, and manufacture of copper products have been conducted separately. From the earliest times until 1716 the mining was done by individuals exercising their rights as "par" [share] holders, while mining as a corporate enterprise did not begin until the date mentioned. After having secured the ore the "par holders" smelted it privately in picturesque little huts, some of which may still survive as relics near Falun, for it was not until 1862 that private smelting was discontinued. The manufacture of copper into articles of use was also done by individuals until 1641 when the company as such took over this work. In that year the company purchased the Avesta Copper Mill, and thereafter operated it for more than two hundred years in the manufacture of copper goods.

During its long history the Falun Copper Mine has yielded 35 to 40 million tons of ore, and from this has been extracted 500,000 tons of copper.

In addition to copper the company produces iron, steel, wood, pulp, paper and chemical products. To supply the required motive power for all its various industrial establishments, the company owns water falls, with a total capacity of 200,000 horsepower, and, of this amount, about 80,000 horsepower are now utilized.



## MILITARISM IN EGYPT

"REASON and statesmanship have prevailed in Ireland, after great and needless humiliations and bloodshed. Are we to wait for them to prevail in Egypt until the British Government has been taught the same bitter lessons there, that force alone cannot ensure either peace or security?"

Such is the question which Sir Valentine Chirol puts in the current *Fortnightly* (London); adding that such documents as the letter sent under Lord Allenby's name to the Sultan of Egypt give the "painful impression" that we are so to wait. His article comprises a survey of recent events in Egypt.

The Egyptian Ministers and officials co-operated very loyally throughout the war, and though an assurance was given that Great Britain "took upon herself the sole burden of the war without calling upon the Egyptian people for aid," they were ultimately called upon to give and did give very valuable aid in many ways and even in the field. As they were also assured that Great Britain was "now fighting to protect the rights and liberties of Egypt which were originally won upon the battlefield by Mehemet Ali," the Egyptians may be excused for not having imagined that the result of British victories, to which they themselves contributed at some cost, would be to release them indeed from the very slender ties which still bound them to Constantinople, but only in order that Great Britain should impose upon them a relationship of far more direct and permanent subjection to herself than they had ever formally recognized or been asked to recognize during thirty-eight years of British military occupation and control.

Two days after the armistice was signed Zaghlul Pasha—no mere hot-headed firebrand, for he had graduated in official life as Minister of Education with Lord Cromer's fullest approval—demanded the fulfilment of allied promises by the recognition of Egyptian independence. These demands were ignored. Zaghlul and three of his friends were arrested and deported to Malta. All Egypt rose. Then followed the Milner Commission and its report, laid before Parliament early in 1921.

It was confidently assumed in Egypt that the British Government had accepted its recommendations when it foreshadowed the abolition of the Protectorate and allowed the Sultan to entrust the formation of a new cabinet to Adly Pasha. For he had not only taken a most important part in all the *pourparlers* conducted by the Commission, but he could claim to represent Egypt with far greater weight than any of the

Prime Ministers who had held office since Rushdi's resignation in 1919, merely to carry on administrative business, and with little authority behind them other than that of the British Residency.

In July Adly Pasha came to London at the head of a delegation to discuss with Lord Curzon, by whose insistence the greatest secrecy was preserved, so that the public knew nothing until the break off of negotiations was abruptly announced. The control over internal administration on which the Foreign Office insisted went far beyond the Milner Report; and the demands relative to the Army of Occupation irreconcilable with it. The undertaking exacted under this head

contained neither explicitly nor implicitly any assurance that the presence of a British force was "not to constitute in any manner a military occupation of the country or prejudice the rights of the Government of Egypt." On the contrary, it plainly aimed at the permanence, and at least potential extension, of the pre-war military occupation, which the British Government had always declared to be merely temporary, and in practice had always confined within narrow limits. To such a demand the delegation, as the British Government must have known, could only reply that it simply nullified the proposed recognition of Egyptian independence. "The project," Adly Pasha wrote, "confers on Great Britain the right of maintaining military forces at all times and on any part of Egyptian territory, and places at her disposition all the ways and means of communication in the country. That is an occupation pure and simple which destroys all idea of independence, even to the extent of suppressing internal sovereignty."

On this Sir Valentine's comment is significant:

The rock on which the negotiations were shipwrecked was sheer militarism, and it is no secret that, whilst the Foreign Office was disposed to take a broader view of the political factors in the problem, the view that prevailed was that of the War Office, backed by Mr. Churchill, who, when he was in Cairo last spring, did not disguise, even in conversation with Egyptian Ministers, his hostility to the recommendations of the Milner Commission. Not only has the War Office view prevailed on the question of the Army of Occupation, but Lord Allenby's Note, setting forth the policy of H.M. Government, breathes altogether a very different spirit from the Milner Report. Its tone is one of masterful reproof and sometimes of petulant irritation.

Obviously the rupture of negotiations conducted by an Egyptian statesman, known for his moderation and for his earnest desire to come to a friendly agreement, is only too well calculated to drive the vast majority of Egyptians back into the arms of the extremists.

# ONE MEANS TO RELIEVE THE WORLD CRISIS

IT is an especial pleasure to have from a Parisian pen, at this time, a frank, fearless, and hopeful utterance like M. Jean Finot's article in the *Revue Mondiale* (Paris). His claim to be a true friend of England is strongly based on books in both languages with such titles as "French and English" and "The Anglo-French Nation"—and still more, perhaps, on this bold piece of advice:

England has securely attained all the advantages of victory. . . . The destruction of the German fleet has secured to her all the guarantees to be desired, from the political or the commercial point of view. . . . Furthermore, not to mention the other trumps in her hand, she has possessed herself of the German colonies.

Over all the ever-widening field of complex and multifarious devices for escaping a general economic cataclysm, it is useless to continue the quest. Not one of them will prove efficacious, save only England's performance of a simple act of justice toward Germany.

By what right did England take possession of those colonies? No principle of international law justifies that annexation. Furthermore, thus bereft of her colonies, Germany finds herself, from that cause and on divers accounts, in a critical situation.

The practical sense and noble feelings of our friends across the channel will enable them easily to understand how great was the injustice, and how necessary it is to make amends.

Doubtless there would be serious difficulties in actually restoring the colonies. Nevertheless Great Britain can escape from that dilemma by paying over to the injured party an equivalent for the property annexed.

The continental allies owe England something like ten billion dollars. That entire debt, and many quarter-day payments of Germany's indemnity, could be at once cleared off by the triangular use of such English payments on account. Even to Germany the lost lands are estimated to have been worth from five to eight times that sum. Incalculably greater is the gain for England, whose hold on Africa, in particular, is thus completed and assured. Altogether, it is an addition of some 65 per cent. to the former colonial holdings of Great Britain. But beyond the actual amount of the German indemnity, at most, England will surely never be asked to pay. Such a prospect will stabilize at a respectable valuation the mark, the franc, and all the other monetary units of the continent. It will revive agriculture, commerce, and credit. It will recall to their

jobs millions, both of strikers and of unwilling idlers: perhaps more in England than anywhere else; for her export trade is dying, largely for lack of solvent customers in the foreign markets.

Often in this whole argument Great Britain is bracketed with our own country, as chief among the "Lands of High Exchange." The tone in certain passages is much less cordial. The two nations "have alternately intimated their intention of canceling the war debts generally; but no one now has any illusions as to such acts of international generosity. America has frankly told France and the others that she will collect every cent due her, and 5 per cent. interest as well! England still dangles the glittering possibility of such action before our eyes." But in any case there may have to be a long moratorium; and even our thrifty bankers and statesmen may finally be forced to yield to the impossible. They cannot collect milliards, even by force, from a bankrupt world.

Of course, British prosperity and credit—despite some frank allusions to her social disintegration, strikes, failing commerce, and the perils in Ireland, Egypt, and India—are surely overestimated by the writer in the effort to make this gigantic scheme appear easy as well as righteous. It will be evident to our readers that John Bull could do nothing of the sort unless Uncle Sam once again became his complacent banker, and so, eventually, his partner in boundless schemes for the colonizing and exploiting of whole continents—even, finally, in the economic salvation of the world. Must we, also, see unemployment, loss of commerce, social upheaval, as threatening here as they already are in England to-day, before we too can learn the lesson that "We're all in the same boat"?

In this epochal paper there is for once no hint of terror before the prospective attack from beyond the Rhine. That a busy, prosperous Germany is necessary, alike to England's salvation and to the world's safety, is accepted as the self-evident truth which it really is. Of the great and as yet insoluble problems like Russia, or like China, there is hardly a mention. Our absence from our own creation, the World League, our refusal to accept a mandatory, like Turkey, which

we only could efficiently undertake, are not cast in our teeth. There is a constant effort, rather, to avoid collision or even irritation, best explained perhaps by one passing assurance:



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JEAN FINOT, WHO HAS A NEW SOLUTION FOR EUROPE'S TROUBLES

The neutral nations, *or even the United States*, will not fail to support this morally just claim on Germany's behalf. England, soon or late, will finally accept the advice of all the friends of international justice.

That good example is counted on to influence us also.

The paper can hardly fail to become the burning center of a much franker discussion than heretofore as to the largest international needs and duties. It demands an exhaustive study by our ablest minds. Any American who is still in doubt which great nation is generally regarded as the luckiest, canniest, most selfish, and least lovable should delve patiently between its lines. E. g.:

The United States will see themselves compelled to follow this noble example. They will discover, with other things, the necessity to adjourn for a very long period payment of the debts which the Allies had contracted on their account.

Let us by no means forget that, while making unforgettable sacrifices to the profit of the triumph of justice and peace, they have also enriched themselves singularly, during the world's ruin.

It is not timidity nor affection that softens these curious phrases. There are plenty of bold words, also, like: "The Peace Conference was, to speak truthfully, a veritable hatchery of wars."

The article attempts to cover the whole ground of the world's needs, and certainly does supply texts for endless conferences and volumes—or for heroic national wisdom and prompt action. "To-morrow is too late" is its grim refrain.

## NICARAGUA, COSTA RICA AND THE NEW CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION

NO French political writer is likely to please at present who fails to strike a note of profound dissatisfaction with existing conditions.

"The 'political' conception which triumphed at Versailles"—thus begins an unnamed writer in the Christmas number of the *Paris Correspondant*—"among its other curious ideas had hit upon no better expedient than to 'Balkanize' one section of Europe, and to carve up, wrongfully and at random, an economic structure, the growth of centuries. Thus it has set up a row of states whose existence promptly reveals itself as difficult and fraught with peril."

This seems at first a mere antithesis for the Central American effort at larger union, indicated in the title; but it is, in fact, more

like the opening gun of a scattering fusillade at Uncle Sam.

The new union has occurred in the centennial year of the original one, promptly formed by all the five little revolting Spanish states in 1821, which lasted eighteen years only. However, two of the states that signed the treaty in January, 1921, have refused to accept the constitution of the new union, drawn up in August and promulgated in October last.

The writer notes the close resemblances to our own organism, with the large exception that the executive power is lodged in a commission of six members, chosen for six years and ineligible for immediate reappointment. The six choose their own presiding member each year. But though the executive is thus weakened (perhaps under the influence of

recent events to northward), the federal union itself is strong and avowedly indissoluble. Still, each member must for the present carry its burden of foreign debts and other engagements. The new state has slender resources, scant population, and little cohesion between upper and lower classes. The great majority in the population are of Indian, Negro, or mixed stock. The "abstention" of two states is far more serious than the reluctance of Rhode Island and North Carolina in 1789. Nicaragua and Costa Rica can hardly be coaxed and certainly not forced in.

Nicaragua is too prosperous financially to merge herself willingly in the general poverty.

Then, too, the Government of the United States exercises a mighty influence in Nicaraguan affairs. Since 1911 it has exerted itself to play a dominant part in the finances. The customs receipts are pledged to American bankers and collected by American officials. The canal treaty, ratified by both countries, carries with it control at either outlet, with sites for naval stations, at a price of only \$3,000,000. Almost the whole Atlantic seaboard is monopolized by American enterprises. And so, as the United States does not care to see any formation of groups of Latin-American states, Nicaragua's decision to hold aloof from the federation is easily explained.

In discussing Costa Rica, again, the dispute over the southern boundary—originally with Colombia but now inherited by Panama—is made a ground for a cynical review of the birth of the latter republic, and its generous gift of the Canal Zone to us only two weeks later. Even the arbitration of Judge White of our Supreme Court, in 1910, and the recent warning to Panama that she must make no further resistance to it, become, in the writer's eyes, only further evidence of our leonine intentions.

On such matters we shall hardly accept either our history or our ethics from a nameless Parisian. But the paper is typical of a very general present tendency to depict us as meddlesome and dictatorial on both continents—or, indeed, on three! As the author puts it:

These reflections deserve the more attention because, under another form of the imperialism of Theodore Roosevelt's "Big Stick," the United States is pursuing, whichever party may be in power, the domination of the continent—its "control" through "penetration" in all its forms.

In such an indictment, our investments in Mexico's oil wells, the refusal to recognize Huerta's blood-stained title to a revolutionary presidency, are aligned with the grievances of Colombia or of Panama. "Petroleum lures on to conquest exactly as did the gold of the Transvaal!" From our conference on the affairs of the Pacific we have "barred Spanish states that control its shores from Lower California to Tierra del Fuego. Such an interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine is none the less eloquent for being silent." Immediately thereafter follows what is perhaps the crucial paragraph, whose assertions and sinister suggestions can hardly be left unchallenged either by our South American friends or by ourselves:

This interpretation is not going on without exciting uneasiness below the 30th parallel. It has pushed three great South American republics—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—into forming some years ago the compact known as the A. B. C. If the Conference at Washington, as is seriously proposed, forbids the great naval powers to construct warships for other states than themselves, then, since the South American nations have no shipyards, they would be *definitively disarmed*, actually helpless to defend their ports or their river mouths.

## A NEW SPANISH "EMPIRE"?

WHILE the attention of the people of the United States has been directed toward Washington and the Far East, there has been under way a movement, originating in our own colony of Porto Rico, whose far-reaching potentialities will be of immediate concern to everyone at all familiar with Spanish-American affairs. In December last, at the Athenæum in Madrid, the President of the Nationalist Association of Porto Rico, Señor Cayetano Coll y Cuchi, delivered before a large and sympathetic audience a speech in which he outlined the

recent history of his island, its relations with the United States, and concluded with an appeal that all the Spanish-speaking peoples of the New World, including his own, reunite themselves to the mother country under the form of a federation. This speech was printed in full in *Revista de Puerto Rico* (San Juan) for January.

After extended preliminary remarks the speaker proceeded with the exposition of his theme, and made reference to certain guarantees given to the Spanish plenipotentiaries who signed the treaty of peace with the

### United States at Paris after the Spanish-American War:

... The Spanish representatives ceded the right of sovereignty under a solemn promise made by the North American commissioners. The Spanish people could entertain no doubt of the treatment which the United States of America would give to Porto Rico, because its fate was to be decided by the North American Congress, which is a body out of which have never issued laws which restrained liberty and democracy in the world. And after this solemn promise, the Treaty of Paris was confirmed, in virtue of which the Porto Rican-Spanish people were abandoned. We, in Porto Rico, looked upon this change of sovereignty, not indeed with the expectation of a new departure in our political life, but with genuine certitude of our future destinies. . . .

It is not, perhaps, generally remembered that Porto Rico had already received from Spain in 1897 a charter of autonomy, "in virtue of which," says Señor Coll y Cuchi, "she simply desired that the Spanish banner might remain as the one symbol of her sovereignty, and the government was placed entirely in the hands of Porto Ricans." From the speaker's point of view, the island had a right to expect from the United States at least as much as had been granted by the mother country. There was even hope that the constitution might be amplified and a republic created. What was the dismay, then, when a military government was formed, pending the decision in Congress as to the fate of the island, and the civil government created in 1900 was hardly more satisfactory.

Señor Coll y Cuchi, as well as many of his associates, was educated in the United States, he understood English better than his own language, and was thoroughly familiar with and appreciative of American traditions and institutions. The group of which he was a member might, therefore, have logically been expected to be on the side of the North Americanization of the island—but such was not the case. While rejoicing that Porto Rico was to have the benefit of American laws (guaranteeing security of person and home, separation of church and state, etc.), they were determined that Spanish culture should remain inviolate, although it might be vastly enriched and rejuvenated by the "grafting-on" of Anglo-Saxon institutions.

But the volcano of insular politics remained more or less quiescent until the year 1909. (Was this due to the fact that Porto Rico was enjoying unheard of prosperity, chiefly because of the duty-free entrance of her products into the ports of the United States and the privilege of using for

local expenditures all taxes and customs collected in the island?) In that year, however, an attempt was made to dispense with Spanish in the public schools as a medium of teaching, though as a language it would have been retained as an important part of the curriculum. Instantly uproar prevailed. The adult population of course protested, but, says the Señor, it was significant that the rebellion was initiated by school children of six, seven, and ten years! As English was retained, the more fervid protagonists of Spanish established with their own funds private schools, which gave a warm welcome to all students who had revolted against its displacement.

So the Latin pot simmered for four years until the inception of the Wilson Administration, whose liberal policy toward Porto Rico is spoken of in the following complimentary terms:

... But when the great President triumphed [in the election of 1912] we sent to Washington a commission to set forth the wrongs of Porto Rico, and encountered a frank and generous understanding in the President and the men of his party. . . .

The President had in his hands in these days the message which he shortly afterward delivered to Congress, asking for the independence of the Philippine Islands. This paper signified to us the certainty that the people of the United States would do justice to Porto Rico. . . . A short time afterward a projected law was presented in the American Congress which conceded an amply autonomous government to Porto Rico; but, as the change could not be brought about immediately, Wilson sent to the island a governor with liberal instructions, and all the American ministers were displaced, and Porto Ricans appointed to fill the vacancies. This governor never acted without first calling us together and consulting us; and when there was a divergence of opinion, he did that which the public sentiment of our people demanded.

The present upheaval in the island is, according to the speaker, directly due to the displacement of Governor Yager by another appointee after the coming into power of the Harding Administration.

Despairing of the possibility of an understanding between Anglo-Saxon and Latin, and fearful of the fate of Spanish culture in the New World at the hands of the Northern conquerors, the orator sounds a call to every Spanish-speaking nation to merge itself into a federation for the defense and propagation of that culture. As a preliminary step, he suggests a Congress of Spanish-speaking peoples in Madrid, modeled on the Disarmament Conference at Washington.

# WHAT THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE IS DOING FOR CHILDREN

**A**N article in *Public Health Reports* (Washington, D. C.), by Dr. Taliaferro Clark, of the U. S. Public Health Service, discloses the fact that the Federal Government has embarked upon a number of special undertakings in behalf of the health of children, apart from its activities of more general scope which indirectly contribute to children's health.

As long ago as 1908 the Public Health Service issued a bulletin on "Milk in Relation to Public Health," which was widely distributed and contributed materially to the adoption by State and local health officials of measures for safeguarding the milk supply.

In the course of elaborate investigations of trachoma, carried out in 1912 and confined chiefly to schools, the officers of the Service, says the writer,

were instructed to make sanitary surveys of the school buildings visited by them and observations of the physical condition of the children inspected. As a result of these observations it became apparent that organized health work in schools had been largely confined to the cities and that the work should be extended to country districts, where so many people reside without receiving instruction in the prevention of disease.

The sanitary needs revealed were many. In general, the faults observed were due to lack of skilled advice and assistance and concerned especially the health supervision of children and the location, construction, sanitation, and equipment of school buildings.

In order to secure material for the standardization of the work and for the purpose of focusing attention more particularly on school health supervision, in 1915 the Service made a survey of the rural schools of Porter County, Indiana, in cooperation with the local health and educational authorities. During this survey exhaustive studies were made of the hygiene of seventy-five rural schools, and a medical and mental examination was made of 2488 school children. This work has been continued, and up to the end of 1921 the Service had made sanitary surveys of hundreds of school buildings and examined large numbers of school children in nearly every State of the Union. The work of the Service in this field has attracted nation-wide attention and has contributed very materially to the advancement of school health supervision, especially in rural districts, where such service is so badly needed.

Realizing as it does that heretofore the great factor in reducing infant mortality has been the improved organization of public health administration, the Service has made an intensive study of child health organization in seven States. The results of these studies have been very gratifying. In one State, in which no money had previously

been appropriated for child health work and but limited appropriation made for general health work, the activities of the Service excited State-wide interest to such a degree that very liberal appropriations have been made not only for general health work but for child health work also. Some of the concrete results attained were the appointment of a full-time director of child hygiene, the establishment of public health nurses in twenty-nine counties, the organization of child health centers in twenty-three counties, the distribution of thousands of school inspection schedules and the undertaking of some form of school health supervision in approximately fifty counties of the State, and the enactment of a physical education law which provides for the teaching of health habits and for the physical examination of school children and definitely coordinates the department of education and the State department of health in their relation to the health supervision of school children. In addition, volunteer organizations engaged in health work have been stimulated to greater activity and impressed with the value of coordinated effort.

In another State the appropriations for child health work, largely through the activities of the Service, have doubled; and in another, the child health work has been planned and organized on a three-year basis, at the termination of which period it is expected that the major portion of the child population of the State will be under definite health supervision.

Another field of investigation in which the Service has been active is that relating to the mental health of children, and particularly the prevalence of feeble-mindedness. Its work has included a mental survey of more than 50,000 children in hundreds of schools in various parts of the country. One kindred undertaking of much interest was a study of the mental and physical status of children appearing before the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia. This is said to have been of great value to the court in arriving at judicial decisions.

The Public Health Service has prepared and distributed over 100 special articles having more or less direct bearing on child health. In addition to this, representatives of the Public Health Service, while conducting State-wide investigations in child hygiene, prepared much of the child health literature used by the States in which the investigations were conducted. Furthermore, during the year 1920, with the cooperation of 105 daily newspapers with wide circulation in practically every State in the Union, the Service published a series of articles on the "Care of the Baby" and another on "The Growing Child." These articles excited wide interest and were supplemented by hundreds of letters written in response to inquiries stimulated by them.

## STREET SAFETY EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS

WHAT shall we do about street accidents? Everybody knows how alarmingly their number has increased in recent years, and probably everybody will agree with Dr. E. Barton Payne, who in an article on this subject declares that the one possible remedy is *education*. Dr. Payne writes under the title, "School Education and Street Safety" in the valuable bulletin of the Safety Institute of America called *Safety* (New York). As may be inferred from this title, the writer emphasizes the importance of schools as the place in which instruction in street safety can most advantageously be given. He says:

Those who are at all acquainted with the psychology of childhood are aware that children possess inherited tendencies which, if naturally expressed, are inappropriate to the complex life of to-day. These tendencies were developed in a simpler environment in the history of the race, and therefore, if these tendencies are not re-directed, children will not remain long, at play, in our modern city streets. To be specific, let us look at the play activity alone. Children do not need to be taught to play. They need only to have the desired stimulation and the play activity follows. Now picture the children of the modern American city with no play space available but the streets and the busy mother who cannot go out to guard the child in his play activity. The child darts into the street for a ball, rushes out upon roller skates, or runs across the street because something has appealed to him on the other side—and the speeding automobile does the rest.

The inherited tendencies of which play is an example are supplemented by undesirable habits, which children and adults have acquired in the process of their natural education, and which adults have acquired in a much simpler environment than that characteristic of the complex life of to-day. For instance, take the simple habit of "jay-walking." No one wants to walk straight into danger, and yet the habit of taking the straightest line to our destination leads us to walk right into the path of the automobile, looking neither to the right nor left.

Finally, ignorance of the simple facts of life is the cause of many accidental deaths, and numerous non-fatal accidents. In 1919 there were one thousand deaths from electricity in the United States. Now, everyone knows in a general way that electricity is dangerous, but the trouble is that everyone is not aware that a dangling wire, an improperly insulated wire, and other like conditions must be treated in just one way to insure safety, and that is to avoid contact with it. Another case is in point. During three years the public utilities of St. Louis accounted for forty deaths and a thousand accidents to children between the ages of six and sixteen. An examina-

tion of these cases showed that these accidents were the result of four causes: contact with live wires, playing in the streets, stealing rides on the street cars, and playing on railroad tracks. No one had any notion that the causes of these accidents were so simple, but when once they were known, astonishing results followed educational treatment. The year 1920 showed only one death from these causes.

The writer declares that parents cannot be depended upon to teach their children how to avoid accidents, just as they are, in general, poor guardians of children's health—as evidenced by the fact that in a class of 50 children six years of age, 49 were coffee-drinkers. The schools, alone, have the knowledge, organization and public spirit needed for carrying out an effective campaign of safety education among children, but they have, in the past, hesitated to add instruction along this line to an already overcrowded curriculum. How this objection can be met is pointed out by Dr. Payne as follows:

The plan is very simple. It is to make instruction in accident prevention, just as instruction in health, a problem of every subject in the curriculum. For illustration, note what is possible in English. Instead of discussing the dead and uninteresting subjects usually assigned for themes in a language class, it is possible to arouse the interest of children in the extremely live situation of accident prevention, allow them to compose descriptions of accidents, exposition of method of preventing accidents, such as the Schaefer method of resuscitation, or ways of protecting children from accidents. These exercises, when once prepared, may be given in short talks to other rooms, thus affording the child an audience similar to a real life situation. Thus, every subject lends itself to the treatment of some aspect of accident prevention.

A second method is that of dramatization. No subject is so dramatic as that of the saving of human lives, and therefore, almost every accident situation, such as crossing the street in the rain, roller skating on the streets, looking in both directions, avoiding hazards of various sorts, may be dramatized by children and thus made extremely vivid. The instructions will thus lead them to observe carefulness and see that accidents are prevented. Finally, the plan contemplates the enlisting of the whole group of children in an organized plan to save the lives of the children of their immediate community. Representatives from various rooms may be assigned by the children themselves to study and report upon the accident situations, and the older children may be organized into bodies to help the smaller children across the street, to put out signs, and to give instruction in means of preventing acci-



dents, and in first aid. Recent years have taught us that children are not only capable of handling the problems of their own welfare, but as a matter of education we have no right to deprive them of that privilege. We have had this plan in operation long enough now to witness some of the results of instruction, and numerous cities have already published those results. The most notable among those publishing reports are Detroit and St. Louis. The remarkable result in St. Louis has aroused deep interest throughout the country. In the year 1919 and ten years previous an average of fifty children a year of elementary school age died from the result of fatal accidents, upon the streets and in the homes

of the city. During the year 1920, with accident instruction given in most of the schools, the number was reduced immediately from an average of fifty, and forty-nine for the year 1919, to twenty for the year 1920. Similar results have been achieved elsewhere. Detroit has already reported that they have, through the work of Miss Beard, cut their accidents to children to half of the former number. While the work has been too recently begun in other cities to evaluate it statistically, yet the reports at the Boston Congress from a dozen or more cities, where work is being done along the line presented here, indicated that astonishing results have been achieved.

## LATIN-AMERICAN VIEWS OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

THAT the Monroe Doctrine should be shelved in favor of a Pan-American Union or the League of Nations is the theme of an article in the January issue of *Cuba Contemporánea* by Señor Félix Pérez Porta.

On December 2, 1823, President James Monroe, in his seventh annual message to the American Congress, stated that the United States had recognized the various republics of the Western Hemisphere as free peoples, and proposed that for the future the United States look with disfavor upon the attempt of any European power to extend its territorial possessions in this hemisphere.

Señor Porta says that the Monroe Doctrine was not conceived by Monroe, but that it owes its origin to a letter addressed to Mr. Richard Rush, United States Minister at the English Court, by George Canning, English Minister of Foreign Affairs. In this letter Canning proposed that England and the United States conclude an agreement concerning the Spanish-American colonies. In speaking for England, Canning said:

(1) The reconquering of the colonies by Spain was to be considered impossible;

(2) The question of their recognition as independent states would be considered subject to time and circumstances;

(3) England was not disposed to put any obstacles in the way to prevent an agreement between the colonies and the mother country, to be arrived at through friendly relations.

(4) England did not pretend to appropriate to herself any portion of the colonies.

(5) England would not look with indif-

ference upon the passing of any portion of the colonies under the dominion of any other power.

The American Minister replied that he did not have authority to enter into such an agreement, but Señor Porta claims that the above-mentioned letter was really the origin of the Monroe Doctrine.

Dr. Baltasar Brum, President of Uruguay, in a speech last year before the University of Montevideo, while he highly praised the Monroe Doctrine and said that European conquests in America had undoubtedly been impeded by its influence, stated:

It has been said by enemies of the Monroe Doctrine that such an attitude on the part of the United States would hurt the sensitiveness of the attacked country, which would find itself protected without asking for such protection. Aside from the fact that such observation lacks all seriousness, the inconvenience implied would be done away with if all the American countries would formulate a similar declaration, agreeing among themselves to intervene in favor of any of the nations involved, including the United States, in case that, in defense of their rights, they find themselves at war with any foreign power.

In this manner the Monroe Doctrine, proclaimed only by the United States, would be transformed into a defensive alliance among all the American countries, founded on a high sentiment of solidarity and with reciprocal obligations and advantages for all.

Roque Saenz Peña, ex-President of the Argentine Republic, in his book "Derecho Público Americano," contends that at the present time the American republics are quite able to take care of themselves, and with this thought in mind asks:

Of what, actual, real, positive significance, therefore, is the Monroe Doctrine to-day?

Simply this: North American influence instead of European influence.

In his article Señor Porta incorporates part of an address made in April, 1914, by John Barrett, ex-Minister of the United States to Colombia, Panama and Argentina, and former Director General of the Pan-American Union, in which Mr. Barrett stated that the time was now at hand when the principle and phrase, "Monroe Doctrine," would be substituted by the principle and phrase, "Pan-American Policy," which would mean a Pan-American policy acceptable to and approved not only by the United States, but by all of the American republics.

In addressing the Mexican Congress on September 1, 1919, President Carranza had the following to say concerning the Monroe Doctrine:

As the question of the acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine has been discussed at the Peace Conference in Paris, the Mexican Government believed it necessary to publicly announce and officially inform in a friendly manner all governments that Mexico has not recognized and

neither will it recognize this doctrine, because without the consent of all the American people it established a criterion and a situation over which they had not been consulted. Therefore, this doctrine attacks the sovereignty and independence of Mexico, and would establish and implant a tutelage over all the American nations.

Señor Porta states that according to his judgment the doctrine, "apart from the dominating desire of the North Americans, is due to Cuba. Because while Cuba remained under Spanish control, the United States had nothing to fear, but if it should fall into the hands of some other strong power, such a colony at the very door of the North Americans would prove to be a perpetual and constant menace for their interests. Therefore it was said that we should respect the present colonies, but would not tolerate any new ones."

Señor Porta concludes his article by suggesting that the United States renounce the Monroe Doctrine and join the League of Nations, as the fundamental principles of the two are not compatible.

## THE QUESTION OF SUBMARINE WARFARE

WRITING in the *Illustrated London News*, Mr. Hector C. Bywater recalls the fact that submarine warcraft have been a subject of controversy ever since Robert Fulton demonstrated the practicability of such weapons during the Napoleonic Wars, without, however, persuading either the French or the British Government to adopt them. Thus the arguments adduced at the Arms Conference in Washington for and against the submarine have a familiar sound to students of naval history. He says:

It was in 1804 that Fulton, the American inventor, approached the British Government and sought to elicit their patronage for his *Nautilus* submarine boat, after it had been rejected by Napoleon's Minister of Marine. Pitt was rather enamored of the idea, but eventually deferred to the opinion of stout old St. Vincent, who would have nothing to do with it. He called Pitt a fool for encouraging "that gimcrack, for so he was laying the foundation for doing away with the Navy, on which depended the strength and prestige of Great Britain." Six days before the battle of Trafalgar, Fulton had impressed the Admiralty by blowing to pieces with an underwater charge of powder an old brig which Pitt had placed at his disposal. But the success of

this experiment only confirmed "My Lords" in their determination to suppress an agency which threatened to subvert British naval power. Ninety-four years later Lord Goschen was refusing to spend money on the submarine because it was "the weapon of powers that are comparatively poor and weak"—precisely the same argument advanced, for different reasons, by the Prime Minister of France a few days ago.

The record of the submarine during the late war leaves in doubt its value as a military weapon, notwithstanding the tremendous results it accomplished as an instrument of "frightfulness" in its warfare against merchant vessels; destroying ten million tons of such shipping and taking toll of twenty thousand lives of non-combatants. Much was done to reduce these losses before the close of the war.

In home waters our anti-submarine organization had become so efficient that the prowling U-boat was itself in greater peril than its prospective victims. Out on the high seas it was baffled by the convoy system. Once it had betrayed its presence by firing a torpedo, the intruder was instantly attacked with gunfire, depth-charges, and air bombs; and, even if neither



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## AN AMERICAN SUBMARINE OF MODERN TYPE

sunk nor damaged, it was usually kept much too busy to molest the convoy a second time. Happily for us, the armistice intervened before the Germans had completed more than one of the big submersible cruisers which might have rendered the convoy system abortive. Only the *U-139* was commissioned in time to perform any war service; but her exploit in pouring 6-inch shells into a convoy from a distance beyond the range of the escorting ships' guns showed what our losses might have been had a dozen or more of these formidable vessels been at work. There is no doubt that in future wars the large "U" cruiser, possessing a sea endurance of 20,000 miles and a battery of long-range guns, will represent a grave danger to shipping, and one that will be exceptionally difficult to counter.

Apart from the power of traveling under water, the submarine enjoys an advantage over all other types of water-vessels in respect of cruising radius. Thanks to its Diesel engines and the heavy load of oil fuel which can be carried, even the smallest submarine has an extraordinary range of action. German mine-laying boats of the "UC" class, displacing only 417 tons, had a nominal cruising endurance of 8700 miles; and the larger types, such as the *U-117* and *U-142*, could cover a distance of 15,000 to 20,000 miles on one load of fuel. Whether the *personnel* could have stood the physical and mental strain involved by voyages of such duration in vessels not remarkable for comfort or internal roominess is more than doubtful; but it is certain the larger German submarines made war cruises up to 8000 miles. The suggested displacement limit of 500 tons would not, therefore, have relegated the submarine to the category of short-range weapons, for a vessel of even this modest size would probably be good for a continuous cruise of 5000 miles. With increased dimensions, improved living quarters, and enlarged deck space for exercise, the problem of "habitability" will be solved, and the submarine will then obtain the full benefit of its economical engines and generous fuel capacity.

Progress in submarine design during and since the war has presented no startling features. True, dimensions have grown considerably, above-water speed has increased, and the armament has been strengthened; but the resultant gain in offensive power has been more than balanced by concurrent developments in anti-submarine tactics. Perhaps the most notable innovation is the "track-

less" torpedo, which will undoubtedly make submarine attack more dangerous than before. Propelled by electricity instead of compressed air, this weapon rushes through the water without leaving a tell-tale wake of air-bubbles, and those on board the target ship consequently have no warning of its approach.

As to the submarine's record against ships of war, Mr. Bywater says:

The British Navy alone lost five battleships and ten cruisers through submarine attack, to say nothing of scores of smaller craft and auxiliaries. On the other hand, no major unit of the Grand Fleet was torpedoed by an enemy submarine; and, except for one brief period in 1914, when the inadequate defences of Scapa Flow made it expedient for the battle squadrons to seek refuge in Irish waters, hostile submarines failed to impose any handicap on the mobility and general strategic effectiveness of the Grand Fleet.

Mr. Bywater explains why the submarine is of little value for coast defense and why the Germans made little attempt to use it for this purpose. For operating in coastal waters a vessel should be of light draught, so that it may navigate where heavier vessels cannot follow. Of course a vessel that depends for safety upon submersion is, in this respect, in the class of deep-draught ships.

Whatever part the submarine may be destined to play in future warfare on the high seas, it will have few opportunities for effective action in narrower zones. Thanks to war and post-war developments in the science of sound-ranging, hostile submarines in such areas as the North Sea and the Mediterranean would no longer represent a very grave menace. By means of hydrophones laid out in series and linked up with shore stations at suitable points, it is now possible to locate, almost at once, the exact position of any heavy explosion, such as a mine or torpedo, which occurs in any part of the North Sea. This means that if a submarine fired one torpedo and scored a hit, it would immediately betray its precise location to the listeners ashore, who could call up by wireless signal or telephone every patrol vessel, including aircraft, available.

## THE TEXTILE SLUMP IN ENGLAND

THE organ of the British Independent Labor Party is the *Socialist Review*, edited by J. Ramsay MacDonald. Having been for some time a quarterly, it resumed its monthly appearance at the beginning of the year.

The January number contains a survey of the present position of the British wool trade, by Wm. Leach, a well-known Bradford manufacturer.

"The textile trade," he writes, "which, about two years ago, had reached the very pinnacle of high profits, high production and high wages, is now in a state of utter collapse." Peace has ruined it. Why? In order to explain Mr. Leach surveys the woolen trade during the war.

"At the outbreak of war the textile captains, who are, like all business men, extremely mercurial, sentimental men, technically ill trained but good at organizing, had a very severe fit of panic, chiefly caused by the extraordinary conduct of the banks." So soon as the banking interests were officially reassured "the panic abated as quickly as it had come." Huge government orders sent up prices and profits. Then came government control.

Textile traders, willing or unwilling, had to accept contracts for the supply of government needs at prices fixed for them by the competent experts appointed by the War Office, who made all the calculations upon which the prices were based. Their work saved the taxpayer scores of millions of pounds. But the trade never loved them, as can readily be imagined, and the universal trade rejoicings when control was ultimately abandoned and a thoroughly efficient machine was scrapped were not surprising. The wool newspapers and trade journals engaged in a disgraceful conspiracy to show that control meant red tape, delay and inefficiency, but knew better. It was profit that was being nipped, and the unforgivable offense, never, of course, mentioned, lay solely in that.

Control, though limited, was highly efficient. But it starved the civilian consumer. He had to pay enormously.

At the time of the armistice, when control was finally removed, the trade set itself to make hay whilst the sun shone. The removal of control and the abolition of rationing marked a further big rise of prices, until about March-May, 1920, the pinnacle was reached. Whilst the index cost of living figures was showing 160 and 170 points above 1914, textile products were being marketed at 600 and 700 points above pre-war rates. Cloths which could be bought at 3s. per yard in 1914 were now finding ready

buyers at 24s. Moreover, merchants had long since got into the habit of ordering for delivery six, nine, and even twelve months ahead because of the difficulty of getting delivery at all. The ordinary rules of commerce had therefore gone by the board. . . . Stuff sold itself, as the trade put it, and the difficulty was entirely one of keeping one's orders within practical bounds.

The change came suddenly. "In March, 1920, things were at the top. In June everybody had stopped buying and prices had begun to tumble." For twelve months the fall went on, until "tops" from Australian wool forced up to 14s. 6d. in 1920 had dropped to 2s. 9d. During this period manufacturers were forcing on the merchants the goods bought during the boom.

The ordinary citizen has suffered in two ways. First through high prices. "The other injury, which he has not yet realized, but undoubtedly will when the next budget arrives, is the new taxation he will have to pay to make up for the deficiency caused to the Exchequer through Excess Profits Duty repayments."

In a word, E. P. D. [Excess Profits Duty] is saving the textile trade at the expense of the consumer. It is no exaggeration to say that hundreds of textile firms have this year drawn back every penny of E. P. D. they have ever paid, not to speak of income-tax repayments. The woolen merchants of the big distributive centers, London, Glasgow, Huddersfield and other places have been secretly meeting their creditors in droves, and either fixing lengthy moratorium schemes or getting agreement to compositions. At present it is commonly said in the trade that only those are solvent whose creditors have accepted a dividend and put them on their feet again. Whilst this is probably an exaggeration, it is certain that never has the cloth trade been in so shaky a condition. The productive side has stood the storm rather better, solely because it had no stocks and all its commitments were sold in advance. Cancells and bad debts have hit it hard, but the taxpayer has undoubtedly rescued it from a worse fate by arranging for a huge remission of taxes already paid or owing.

The future is still black. "We clothe and always have clothed two foreigners to one Britisher. The foreign markets are ruined at present, and readers of this journal do not need to be told how that has come about. The home market is moribund through unemployment and sinking wages. The textile 48-hour week, achieved during the war with a great flourish of trumpets by voluntary agreement and heralded as an important step in the forward march of humanity, is already threatened."

# TALKING TO A NATION

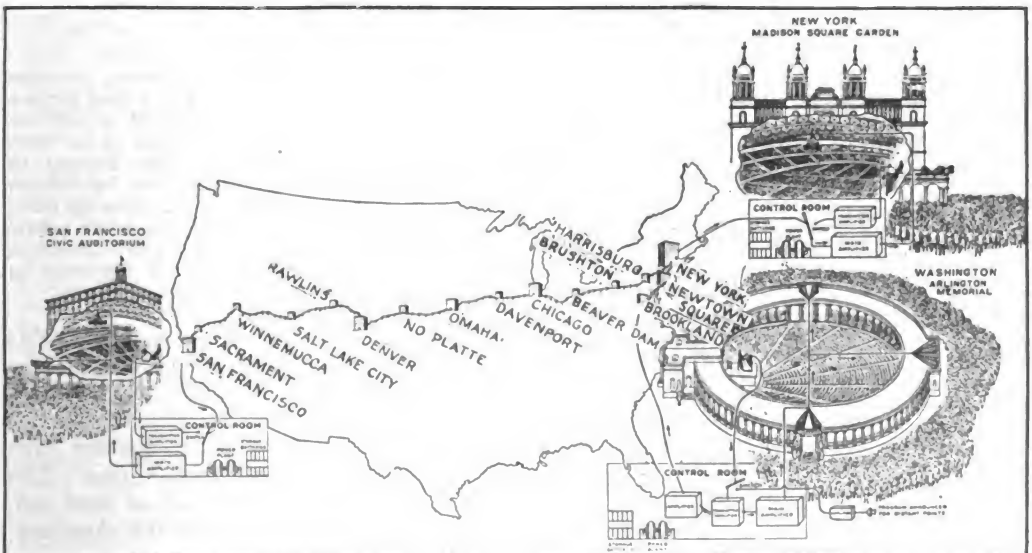
**A**LTHOUGH the people of the twentieth century live in a continuous fairy tale of scientific achievements, there are degrees of miraculousness, so to speak, in these feats of latter-day magic. Few of them have been more sensational than the use of "loud-speakers" combined with the long-distance telephone in connection with the Armistice Day ceremonies at Arlington. President Harding's address and the prayers and songs were made clearly audible not only to more than 100,000 people scattered over the hill-sides of the national cemetery, outside the amphitheater, but also to an audience of 30,000 people in New York City and one of 20,000 in San Francisco. As Mr. Robert W. King points out in the *Scientific American* (New York):

The success of the equipment used on Armistice Day means, for example, that the President of the United States, if he so desires, without leaving his seat of government, may talk to audiences assembled in every State in the Union, or that the head of an industrial corporation from his office will be able to address, simultaneously, his workers gathered in plants all over the country; likewise college commencement exercises, political speeches, lectures, musical festivals—in fact, all forms of entertainment—can now be transmitted to any number of audiences of almost any size at one and the same time. The influence which this latest triumph of science will exert upon political and industrial activities will certainly be for the

better, as it will do much to restore the personal element which ever-increasing numbers and distances have gradually eliminated.

In explaining to the layman the apparatus used in this achievement, perhaps the first point that should be made clear is that the transmission of any telephone message over a long circuit, such as the transcontinental line, involves the use of "amplifiers" at regular intervals along the line. Without these, the original current would become too weak to operate a receiver long before it reached its ultimate destination. The amplifiers or "repeaters" bring into play currents from batteries at the various repeater stations. Each current controls the next one, and thus passes on the message.

The purpose of the loud-speaker is to magnify speech sounds and project them into the air so that they will reach very large audiences. In connection with the loud-speaker we employ amplifiers, not to restore an attenuated telephone current as it traverses a long circuit, but to magnify the original current as it comes from the transmitter to the order of thousands or even millions of times, and then to reconvert it into very intense sound waves by means of large and powerful receivers. The amplifier of the loud-speaker may receive the small telephone current which it is to magnify directly from a transmitter, as was the case at Arlington, or from a telephone line, as in New York and San Francisco. Through the agency of its amplifier and



**PLAN OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR TRANSMITTING PRESIDENT HARDING'S VOICE FROM ARLINGTON TO NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO ON ARMISTICE DAY**

(This diagram shows the installation for catching the voice waves, the amplifying and repeating units, the circuit, and the connections at New York and San Francisco)

powerful telephone receivers, the loud-speaker at Arlington gave to the words of President Harding and the other speakers some twenty thousand times as great a volume as that with which the speakers themselves uttered them. The intense sounds generated by the receivers were directed to each audience by clusters of large wooden horns or "projectors" shaped very much like megaphones.

The transmitter of the loud-speaker stands three or four feet in front of and below the person addressing the audience, and consequently receives but a very small fraction of the sound coming from his mouth. Because of this fact and certain others, the electrical amplification involved in the loud-speaker must be truly enormous, requiring such numbers to express it as those with which astronomers delight to startle the imagination. Calculations show that the loud-speaker at Arlington was capable of stepping up the energy of the telephone current coming from its transmitter considerably over one billion-fold. The extreme case of amplification, however, was that involved in reproducing the Arlington ceremony at San Francisco. This involved boosting the energy at fifteen repeater stations across the continent as well as initially at Arlington and finally in the loud-speaker at San Francisco. The total amplification within the transcontinental line was over one hundred million million-fold. Combining this amplification of the line with that imparted to the telephone current before reaching the line in Arlington and after leaving it at San Francisco gives the total amplification as about ten trillion trillion-fold, or 10,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000, if one prefers to see it written thus. And it should be borne in mind that this trillion

trillion-fold amplification was so accurately controlled and applied that the audience at San Francisco heard the speeches and songs as realistically as though they were standing but a few feet from the speaker's stand at Arlington.

The time required for the transmission of the sounds from Arlington to San Francisco was less than one-fiftieth of a second.

Loud-speaking equipment, to be suitable for important public gatherings, must reproduce speech which is natural and lifelike in all respects. By far the most difficult problems which had to be solved in developing the present loud-speaker equipment were those involving the transmission and reproduction of speech with perfect fidelity, so that all the characteristic inflections and modulations of a speaker's voice, slight though these might be, would be accurately preserved. These problems proved much more difficult to solve than that simply of producing large amplification of the voice. They have, however, been met successfully and the present loud-speaker system is eminently satisfactory both as regards volume and articulation, and so marks a distinct advance in the art of speech transmission. So natural are the sounds of the voice as they come from the loud-speaker, and so very slight is the transition from within earshot of the speaker to the region where only the projectors are heard, that if a person who is standing beside the speaker should walk away, keeping his back turned toward the latter, he could go off 200 feet, or even more, and still have a very distinct impression that the speaker was just behind him.

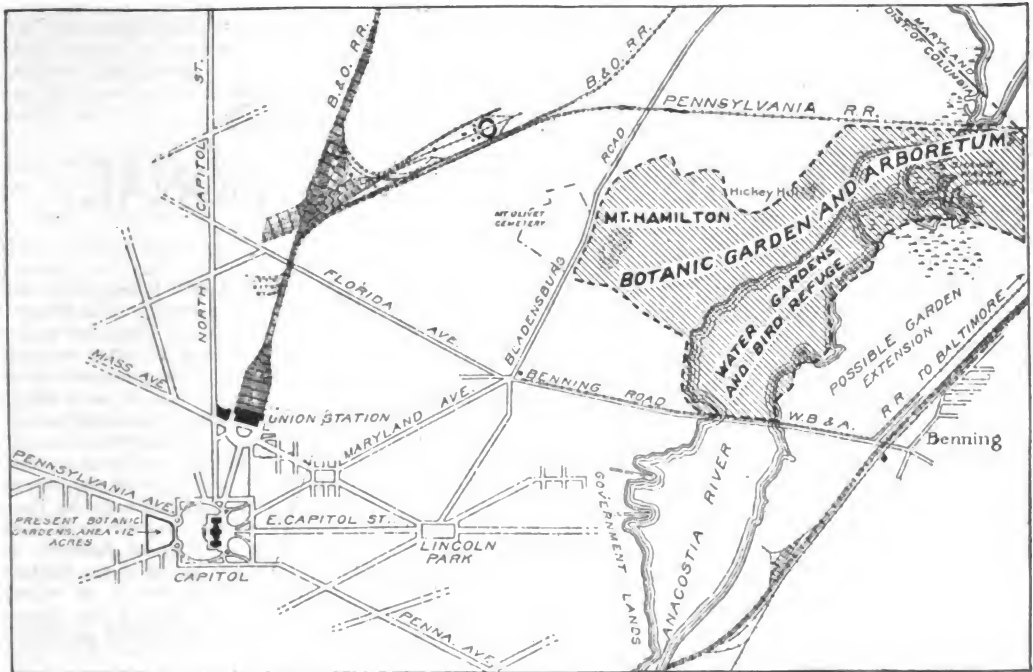
## A BOTANICAL GARDEN FOR THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

OLD Washingtonians may demur at the statement made by Mr. W. R. Mattoon in *American Forestry* (Washington) that the United States Government has no real botanic garden. What has long passed for such lies adjacent to the Capitol grounds and is by no means the least charming of Washington's breathing-spaces. Behind its iron fence-rails strenuous lawmakers and lobbyists, alike, seek and find repose. We are told, however, that this twelve-acre plot, however well it may have performed its nominal function in the past, is now

used chiefly to produce cut flowers and decorative plants for official use, and attracts little public attention. There is a demand for a real botanic garden where the public may examine living species of the great variety of trees, shrubs, vines and herbaceous plants native to the District of Columbia or capable of growing there. The plants should be classified and the public given free access to the grounds for recreation and study. The climate of the District makes possible

the growing of a very large number of plant species of the temperate zone. The Forest Service has for several years been interested in securing a location for establishing an exhibit of the trees of this and other countries. The Bureau of Plant Industry of the Department of Agriculture needs some means of retaining and growing thousands of plants brought here through the efforts of its agricultural explorers. The Biological Survey of the same Department is interested in a bird refuge.

Bills now before Congress would provide the national capital with a new botanic garden and arboretum comparable in importance with the Arnold Arboretum, near Boston, the New York Botanical Garden, and the Missouri Botanical Gardens, at St. Louis. The site in view is a large tract of now undeveloped land adjacent to the Anacostia River. Instead of carrying out the costly reclamation and filling of tidal river flats to convert this region into a park, as has heretofore been intended, it is proposed to retain



THE PROPOSED NATIONAL ARBORETUM AND BOTANIC GARDENS

(This map shows the location, including Mount Hamilton and Hickey Hill and lands adjacent to Anacostia River, in the Northeast Section of the District of Columbia)

the wild rice lands, partly as a bird refuge and partly for laying out water gardens. The saving thus effected will suffice to cover the purchase of an adjoining tract of upland, known as Mount Hamilton, so that the whole garden will have an area of about 800 acres. Moreover, adjacent Government lands along the Anacostia and Potomac Rivers will form, with the botanical garden, a continuous open tract of some 1200 acres.

The site lies in the northeast section and just within the boundary of the District of Columbia, two and one-quarter miles from the Capitol building. From the latter it may now be reached directly over Maryland avenue. The lands, as shown on the accompanying map, including Hickey Hill and the intervening section, occupy the central area between Benning and Bladensburg Roads on the south and west, and the Pennsylvania railroad tracks and Anacostia River on the north and east sides, respectively. The tract lies, it may be added, on the main highway line between Baltimore and Washington. The Lincoln Highway could with little difficulty be brought along the shores of the proposed Anacostia water gardens and thence by way of Maryland avenue to the Capitol building, affording an entrance to Washington of unequalled beauty.

Altogether about 210 acres of the tract are

forested. Thirty-six native species of forest trees have been identified by Dr. Ivan Tidestrom, the botanist. Mixed oaks, with white oak predominating, hickory, black walnut, yellow poplar, black gum, and a few other species compose the slope type, giving away gradually with increasing elevation to chestnut oak, which occurs over the summit in almost pure stand. A soil survey made by the Bureau of Soils shows approximately twenty-seven different soil types on the tract proposed for purchase. In this connection one of the Government experts has stated that, with the possible exception of Rio de Janeiro, such a diversity of natural soil and topographic conditions favorable to establishing an extensive botanic garden close to a national capital probably exists nowhere else.

Comparing the United States with other countries in respect to the number of botanic gardens, it is found that Great Britain and its colonies have sixty-five, Germany thirty-five, France and its colonies twenty-five, Italy twenty-three, Russia and Serbia seventeen, Austria thirteen and the United States twelve, with all other countries falling below. The first botanic garden was established at Padua, Italy, in 1533, and the second at Pisa in 1544. In France the oldest garden was started at Paris in 1597, and the Oxford garden in England was begun in 1621 with an initial area of five acres. The famous Kew Gardens in London have been in process of development since 1760. Largest in the world are the Rio de Janeiro gardens, with an area of some 2000 acres.



# THE NEW BOOKS

## NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

**Washington and the Riddle of Peace.** By H. G. Wells. The Macmillan Company. 312 pp.

Mr. H. G. Wells arrived in Washington five days before the Conference on Limitation of Armaments opened, and early in January he sailed away to sojourn for a time in Spain—not as a vacationist or pleasure-seeker, but as one seeking a quiet place for the performance of a literary task. Everything that Mr. Wells writes has amazing readability. Furthermore, instead of working out his vein, Mr. Wells shows in each new book the added power that results from his increasing aggregate of observation, experience, and thought. This new volume is made up of the letters he wrote for American newspapers during the six weeks that he spent in the United States. They were brilliant pieces of writing, and were widely discussed as they were syndicated across the country from the offices of the *New York World* and the *Chicago Tribune*. But Mr. Wells was not reporting the Conference: he was writing a book. And a book does not appear at its best when its chapters are run in the daily press side by side with news reports. Mr. Wells was writing a powerful appeal for world organization; and the Washington Conference merely gave him a timely opportunity to elaborate his thesis. There is of course a great deal in this book about the Washington Conference, but this is only by way of allusion. We have here in twenty-nine chapters an expression of Mr. Wells' intense belief in the necessity of bringing the world together in close association, in order to rescue our modern civilization from impending ruin.

**China Awakened.** By M. T. Z. Tyau. The Macmillan Company. 475 pp.

Dr. Tyau is a prominent member of that group of distinguished young Chinamen who have attracted so much favorable attention at Washington during the present Conference on the Pacific and the Far East. He was educated in England, but has been connected with an American college in China, and, like Ambassadors Alfred Sze and Wellington Koo, he understands British and American institutions, and uses the English language with fluency and precision. The present volume is exactly what its title suggests. It does not deal primarily with governmental, military, or international problems. It tells rather of educational and social progress, and in a series of chapters gives us a very good idea of the extent to which the four hundred million people of China are beginning to be affected by the leaven of Western ideas. We are made to feel that under the leadership of such men as the author of this volume the people of China will steadily grow in national consciousness, until China is

able to maintain a responsible government and take her proper place in the world. The attempt to provide the Chinese with an alphabet and a phonetic method of writing and printing, in place of the exceedingly difficult and elaborate ideograph system, is elucidated in Dr. Tyau's pages, as are many other movements that indicate the awakening of the Chinese. In several concluding chapters, Dr. Tyau reverts to China's recent international status and deals with the recent war period and the issues that arose at the Paris Peace Conference. Although, as we have said, the book is not mainly devoted to domestic or foreign politics, it does not avoid those subjects in so far as they seem to the author to be related to movements that promise to open a new period of history for the foremost of Asiatic peoples.

**China's Place in the Sun.** By Stanley High. Macmillan. 212 pp.

This book about modern China is well calculated to dissipate certain illusions concerning the land and the people, especially the notion of Chinese isolation. Many American readers will be astonished at the modernity of commercial, industrial, educational and religious conditions in the great Republic of the Far East. There are illuminating chapters on America's commercial stake in China, China's industrial renaissance and the achievements of China's civilization. The former American Minister to China, Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, contributes an introduction to the volume.

**Russia in the Far East.** By Leo Pasvolksy. Macmillan. 181 pp.

Quite irrespective of the decisions of the Washington Conference, this book about Russia's Far Eastern policy has a permanent value. The author sketches the history of Russian expansion in Asia, dwelling on Russia's relations with China and Japan, and the treaty arrangements that followed the Russo-Japanese War, and then outlines the policy of Soviet Russia in the Far East, and describes the Communist activities in that part of the world.

**Europe — Whither Bound?** By Stephen Graham. D. Appleton & Company. 224 pp.

Last year Stephen Graham, a well-known traveler and observer, made an unusual tour of European capitals. Starting at Athens, he journeyed to Constantinople, Sofia, Belgrade, Budapest, Vienna, Prague, Warsaw, Munich, Berlin, and Rome, and after a side excursion to Monte Carlo ended his travels with trips to London and Paris. This was his original method of obtaining "an idea of Europe as a whole." At any rate, it served to put him in touch with the realities of European life since the armistice, to

show him how conditions have changed, and to suggest what is needed for the rebuilding of European civilization. For a British writer, the point of view of Continental European unity is a novel one.

**The Struggle for Power in Europe: 1917-1921.** By Dr. L. Haden Guest. George H. Doran Company. 318 pp. With maps.

This volume gives a fairly detailed account of economic and political conditions in Russia and Central Europe. The author finds, as a result of his studies, that in Europe generally Bolshevism is strong in the backward and ill-educated countries like Ruthenia, Bessarabia, parts of Slovakia and parts of Poland, while constructive Socialism is strong in the advanced and well-educated centers of Great Britain, France, Germany and Western Europe in general. The author has great confidence in the leadership represented by President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. Europe is looked upon as a battlefield cleared for the purpose of building up a federation of democracies to use the power of the sciences as created instruments of civilization.

**Greater Rumania.** By Charles Upson Clark. Dodd, Mead & Company. 477 pp. Ill.

This book accomplishes two distinct purposes. It sets forth clearly Rumania's position and vicissitudes in the war, and it serves as an excellent handbook of Rumanian resources—the first authoritative reference book on this subject in the English language. It has special chapters on Rumanian petroleum and agriculture, and gives a vivid account of Rumanian peasant life. One chapter is devoted to the work of the American Red Cross in Rumania. There are many illustrations and maps.

**Near Eastern Affairs and Conditions.** By the Honorable Stephen Panaretoff. Macmillan. 216 pp.

This volume is one of the first publications making available to the general reading public the lectures delivered last summer before the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Mass. The author has been for many years Bulgarian Minister to the United States. He is well equipped by knowledge and training to describe for American readers the present situation in the Balkan States. He makes in this volume a strong plea for a Balkan Confederation, and shows clearly what are the conditions that have thus far operated to prevent such a form of cooperation.

**Secret Diplomacy: How Far Can It Be Eliminated?** By Paul S. Reinsch. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 231 pp.

When Dr. Reinsch attacks the system of secret diplomacy the reader may be assured that the attack is not made without full knowledge, on the author's part, of just what it is that he is fighting. Dr. Reinsch was our Minister to China for six years, and diplomatic errands have taken him to many of the capitals of Europe and of South America. He is well acquainted with the usual methods of foreign offices and of diplomats, and the idea that secrecy is necessary and inevitable in diplomacy seems never to have found lodgment in his brain. On the contrary, his study of the practice and results of secret diplomacy from the eighteenth century down to the Great War and the period since the armistice has convinced him that the traditional system is an unholy survival from the days of absolutism. He believes that it has no place in the conduct of relations among modern democratic states. His book is an outspoken plea for its elimination.

## BRITISH INSTITUTIONS

**The House of Commons and Monarchy.** By Hilaire Belloc. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 188 pp.

The British Government, in some aspects, is a simple affair and easy to understand. Nevertheless, it is always under discussion, and sometimes it changes most when it seems not to change at all. Mr. Hilaire Belloc is better known as a writer on other themes; but, when he turns to political topics, he is sure to claim attention by reason of his strong opinions, lucid style, and habitually drastic tone. He has just now written a small book entitled, "The House of Commons and Monarchy." It is Mr. Belloc's thesis in this book that England has for 250 years been governed by an Oligarchy; and that this oligarchy has been representative of an Aristocracy, which in turn has been supported by the love, admiration, and respect of the whole British people for the Aristocratic Order. But Mr. Belloc proceeds to show that aristocracy in England is broken and collapsed. The House of Commons, in consequence of the hopeless decline of the aristocratic order, has wholly changed its character and is no longer capable of governing England and the British Empire. Having proved to his own

satisfaction that aristocracy and oligarchy have already virtually passed away, Mr. Belloc seems not to have discovered the rising tide of democracy; and he falls back upon the notion that the institution of monarchy, somewhat as it existed previous to Cromwell's time, must be reestablished as the focus of governmental authority. Mr. Belloc is always readable, and this particular essay of his chances to be highly unconvincing.

**Whitehall.** By C. Delisle Burns. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press (London). 78 pp.

As a companion piece for Mr. Belloc's slender volume, it might be worth while to read a still smaller book that is not devoted to a thesis but rather to a convenient setting forth of facts. The title is simply the one word, "Whitehall." This word in England means a group of administrative departments with their great organizations of permanent civil service. Whitehall is the name of a short street very near the Houses of Parliament, and in that street are the buildings which shelter such departments as the Treasury,

the Home, Colonial and India offices, the War Department, and that of Foreign Affairs, the so-called economic departments, the ministries of Health and Education, and so on. Mr. Delisle Burns' little volume gives a clear picture of the permanent machinery of the central government in England, while that of Mr. Belloc deals with the political power that guides and controls the governing machine, and that makes laws which affect its functioning.

**The Soul and Body of an Army.** By General Sir Ian Hamilton, G. C. B. George H. Doran Company. 303 pp.

A much more extensive book in the field of British institutions is the new volume by General Sir Ian Hamilton, entitled, "The Soul and Body of an Army." General Sir Ian Hamilton has retired from the British Army after having served in it for almost fifty years. He was in the Afghan War, the Boer War, was with Kitchener on the Nile Expedition, served in expeditions and campaigns in India; was distinguished in the South African War, serving as Chief of Staff to Kitchener; was with the Japanese Army in

the Russo-Japanese War in Manchuria; and in the recent war, among other services, he commanded the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force in 1915. He has always enjoyed the exercise of an independent mentality, a gift for trenchant expression, and the full courage of his opinions. This book about the British Army is a very valuable discussion of the nature, spirit, training, discipline, and national character of a country's military structure. In the larger sense of the word, it is a contribution to the politics of Great Britain rather than a military book. It is strong for the army as an expression of that political order of things that Mr. Belloc finds to be in such a sad state of decline. General Hamilton and Mr. Belloc are alike in hating the present British Ministry. Mr. Belloc thinks it tells lies, and General Hamilton thinks it tries to muzzle the free discussion of army affairs by officers, in order to protect the civilian War Office from just criticism for its incompetence. The book is a very racy and readable affair, and it illustrates exceedingly well the tendency of British writers on governmental themes to deal rather unsparingly in analysis and criticism of their own public authorities.

## BIOGRAPHY AND LETTERS

**Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.** By Oscar Douglas Skelton. The Century Company. Vol. I. 485 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 576 pp. Ill.

The death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, three years ago, ended the career of a statesman whose life for more than half a century had been coincident with the welding of a group of Canadian provinces into a nation. He had been identified with the growth of his country since confederation was achieved, shortly after the close of our own Civil War. Other outstanding Canadian statesmen of that period had been of British blood, but Laurier represented the old French stock which had colonized Quebec in the seventeenth century. This excellent biography, besides picturing for us a most attractive personality, sketches the political history of Canada for the past fifty years, with special relation to the fortunes of the Liberal party. Laurier, who became the great Liberal leader, and held the premiership for fifteen years, lived to see Canada freed from the shackles of provincialism to take her place in the sisterhood of nations. He survived the World War, living in retirement, and died in February, 1919, at the age of seventy-seven.

**A Life of George Westinghouse.** By Henry G. Prout. Charles Scribner's Sons. 375 pp. Ill.

This volume might be termed an engineers' biography of a great leader in that profession. It was prepared by engineers, and its subject-matter is inevitably of special interest to them. In the preparation of the volume Mr. Prout had the cooperation of a committee of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. In dealing with the varied activities of Mr. Westinghouse, the method pursued was to treat each field by itself, rather than to attempt a strictly chronological narrative. Thus one chapter is devoted to the air-brake, another to electric traction,

another to natural gas, and so on through the category of inventions and enterprises to which Mr. Westinghouse devoted his life. The first chapter of the book and the last two relate more particularly to Mr. Westinghouse's personality and human relationships.

**Letters and Journals of Thomas Wentworth Higginson: 1846-1906.** Edited by Mary Thacher Higginson. Houghton Mifflin Company. 358 pp.

Colonel Higginson was a well-known figure in American literary life during the latter half of the nineteenth century. He won his military title in the Civil War, but he began as a Unitarian clergyman and as long as he lived was identified with the group of New England writers whose leadership in American literature was then unchallenged. Perhaps the most interesting passages of Colonel Higginson's letters and journals (edited by his widow) are those having to do with the anti-slavery movement and army life in the Civil War.

**The Whistler Journal.** By E. R. & J. Pennell. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 339 pp. Ill.

Mr. and Mrs. Pennell are the authors of the authorized Whistler biography, and have also presented to the Library of Congress at Washington a remarkable collection of Whistleriana. The present volume is described in the preface as "the story of the life Whistler lived with us during the three years after he asked us to write it, and the story he told us of the sixty-six previous years of his troubled, triumphal career—the foundation upon which the biography was built up." The journal, it need hardly be said, has an intimate tone that would hardly have been appropriate in a biography.

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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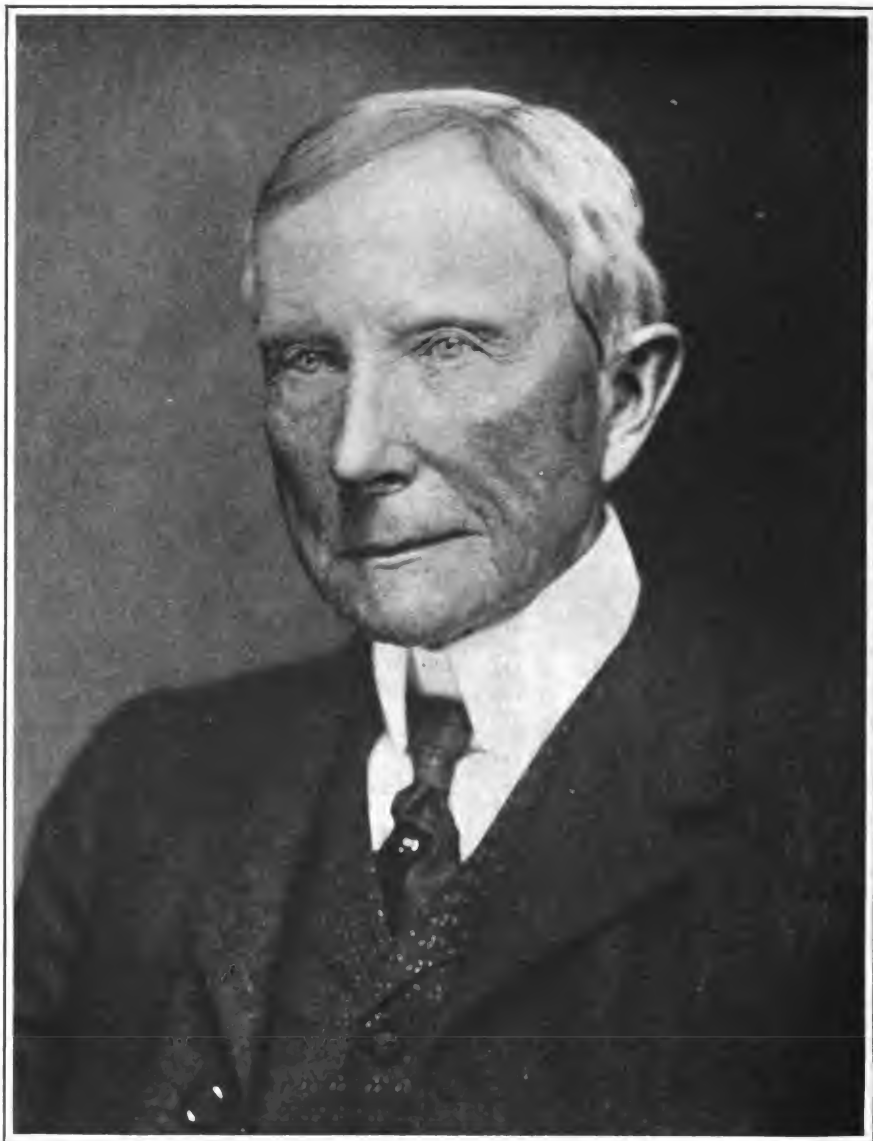
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**MR. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, AS HE APPEARS IN HIS EIGHTY-THIRD YEAR**

[Mr. Rockefeller's beneficences, which are constantly increasing in magnitude and in the range of their services to humanity, are commanding approval abroad as well as at home for the far-seeing wisdom of their plans and of their administration. Health and education in the broadest sense are the human interests that Mr. Rockefeller labors to promote through the Boards that he has endowed. One of these Boards is undertaking to organize and support a system of modern medical education in China; another Board, operating on international lines, is aiding in the conquest of communicable diseases, especially in tropical climates. On pages 352 and 353 of this issue of the REVIEW, references are made to a new Rockefeller gift for the training of public health officials in the United States. Mr. Rockefeller's gifts for educational and philanthropic purposes have already amounted to several hundred million dollars. More noteworthy, however, than the large sums of money involved has been the employment of scientific knowledge and of the best available experience in shaping programs that are capable of using so much money in ways that at once benefit humanity and stimulate self-help, increasing the efficiency of many other worthy agencies]

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Uncle Sam  
Not Visiting  
the Riviera*

Early in March Secretary Hughes returned from a well-earned vacation in Bermuda, and President Harding went to Florida to play golf and to relax for a few days after his exceedingly industrious twelvemonth in the White House. Mr. Hughes reached Washington on March 6, and President Harding departed for the South on the 8th; but in that brief interval some business of international significance was transacted. Foremost was the polite declination to attend a European family gathering. However firmly the Administration might have made up its mind at an earlier date regarding American participation in the Genoa Conference, no information had reached the public. In the highest official circles of Europe it was still fondly hoped, and rather confidently expected, that the United States would be well represented on the flowery Riviera and take a leading part in the conversations regarding prosperity. Rumors had gone forth that Mr. Hoover would be sent by the President at the head of a delegation of commanding weight.

*One  
Conference  
at a Time*

The postponement of the Conference from the date set in the original invitation (March 8) had been regarded as favorable to acceptance by the United States. The invitation had come in the very thick of the work of the Washington Conference, and it soon began to dawn upon European statesmen that if a prompt answer was returned from Washington it would have to be in the negative. It would have been highly impolitic to join eagerly in creating advance prestige for a European Conference, when it still remained to give completion to the program at Washington. Even after the various agreements had been signed and the Armament Conference had adjourned amidst unprecedented expressions of approval from almost every

quarter, the results were not assured. Much more than a mere formality had to be encountered in making certain that the United States Senate, by the necessary two-thirds majority, would give its endorsement to the treaties that President Harding had laid before it in one of the most convincing addresses ever made by a President to a coördinate branch of the Government. To have turned our attention to a European Conference too soon might have been fatal to the work of the Pacific Conference.

*Lloyd George  
In a  
Hurry*

The brilliant but always opportunist Prime Minister of Great Britain had been forcing the pace too rapidly. His pressure on the French Premier, Briand, at the Cannes meeting of January 6 had been altogether too successful. Mr. Lloyd George had had his own way about the early date of the Genoa Conference; about the invitation to Russia; about the program in general; and about the terms of a ten-year Anglo-French agreement for protecting France against Germany. The French Chambers could not accept what they regarded as so full a surrender to the British point of view. There followed the immediate resignation of Briand and his Cabinet, and within a few days the emergence of a new Government under ex-President Poincaré as Premier. Then came more dickering between London and Paris, with the result that the obliging and open-minded Mr. Lloyd George went a long way toward a better appreciation of French necessities. It was seen that the defense agreement ought to be mutual and equal in its bearings, and that it could not be very valuable unless it covered a period of at least twenty years. It was also perceived that the Genoa Conference would have to be postponed, and that British commercial exigencies must not be allowed wholly to obscure

the logical French view regarding Soviet Russia's place in an economic conference.

*Domestic  
Situations  
in Control*

Unfortunately, Mr. Lloyd George was still too eager to get his great conference into swing, and the latest date to which he would consent was April 10. His own political situation in Great Britain was growing more difficult every day, and he was anxious to hold the Coalition Government together until a great world congress for the improvement of trade, commerce, and finance, following such a major political achievement as the Irish Free State agreement, should help to give definite shape to the issues upon which Mr. Lloyd George might appeal to the country in a general election. It was really more important, however, that this economic meeting should be successfully convened than that it should be held on the spur of the moment. It could hardly expect to be successful in the full sense with the United States unrepresented. Americans who had hoped we might take part agreed with the French Government that it ought to be postponed at least three months, and that Russia's Soviet despotism, which has stood as a menace to peace, justice, and order everywhere, should be excluded, or else admitted only upon strict conditions. Washington appreciated the situation abroad, but was absolutely controlled by the situation at home.

*Our Senate  
as a  
Factor*

With so many intelligent Englishmen—including members of the Cabinet, able diplomats and capable journalists—attending the Washington Conference, it might seem rather a surprising thing that Mr. Lloyd George could not have been made to understand how virtually impossible it must be for the Harding Administration to accept the invitation to a European Conference until the Senate had finally acted upon the Washington treaties. That hackneyed little phrase "You can never tell" applies to nothing more fitly than to the way in which the United States Senate may deal with any treaty whatsoever that is submitted for ratification. A few months ago the Republican Senate ratified a treaty negotiated some eight or nine years ago, when Mr. Bryan was Secretary of State, under which we make a present of many millions of dollars to the Republic of Colombia, and grant extensive special privileges in the Panama Canal, for no reason that has been clearly set forth. The Senate has

finally reversed its attitude respecting that agreement. Mr. Colby, as the last of the Democratic Secretaries of State, had undoubtedly taken the same view of American cable rights in the Island of Yap that Mr. Hughes so ably asserted soon after he took charge of our foreign affairs. Apparently everybody in the United States had endorsed the position on that question that was held by the Wilson and Harding Cabinets alike. While the Washington Conference was in session, Mr. Hughes and the Japanese Ambassador reached an agreement which completely satisfied American claims. Everybody might naturally have supposed that such a treaty would be ratified by the Senate without opposition or delay. But there was delay, and there was furious opposition.

*The "Yap"  
Treaty as a  
Forecast*

This Yap agreement was actually ratified on the first of March; but twenty-two Senators voted against it, with sixty-seven in favor. If eight of these Senators had shifted to the minority, the vote would have stood thirty to fifty-nine, and the treaty would have been defeated. Yet nobody had supposed that there was the slightest question about the Yap settlement, while everyone, on the other hand, had known that the famous "Four-Power treaty"—which, with the Naval Limitation agreement, was deemed the great achievement of the Conference—was destined to meet with some very serious Senatorial opposition. If Senators could menace the simple and satisfactory arrangements about Yap, what might they not do with the major achievements of the Conference? No one could foresee through how many weeks, or even months, the Senate might wrangle over these treaties, entangling itself in vain hypotheses and sophistications, and bamboozling the public mind about matters which had at first seemed so entirely clear to everybody. The British delegation, with the little army of visiting newspapermen, had been able to keep opinion throughout the British Empire wholly favorable to the Conference, so that there was no doubt regarding ratification at London, Ottawa, Melbourne, and elsewhere. However dubious the Japanese had been at first, there was no doubt as to the support that the delegation would receive when they went home. France was not so well satisfied with the naval limitation treaty, but thought well of the Four-Power agreement, and was ready to accept the work of the Conference as a whole.



*Our Senators  
Alone Have  
Doubts*

The Harding Administration had taken the greatest pains to keep Congress well informed as the Conference proceeded, and to help the newspapers enlighten the public from day to day. Senator Underwood, the Democratic leader, had been a powerful member of the American delegation, quite as influential, indeed, as Senator Lodge, the Republican leader. Not one step taken by the American delegates under the chairmanship of Secretary Hughes had shown partisan bias. Every question had been treated from the standpoint of the welfare of this nation and of the world at large. Disarmament, peace, good-will among men, the substitution of principles of law and justice for principles of competition and force—these objects had actuated the proceedings of the Conference as led by the American delegation. The principal Democratic newspapers of the country had been as cordial in their support of the achievements of the Conference as had the Republican newspapers. Every possible step compatible with dignity and self-respect had been taken by President Harding, Secretary Hughes, and their associates to keep this Washington Conference from resulting in the kind of deadlock between President and Senate that had followed the return of Woodrow Wilson from his isolated task at Paris. Under such circumstances it seemed inconceivable that the United States Senate would seriously obstruct the prompt acceptance of the treaties. Everywhere, abroad and at home, there was cordial acquiescence. Only in the United States Senate was there any real appearance of doubt or opposition.

*American  
Politics Baffles  
Europe*

If the Conference had been called by Mr. Lloyd George and held at London, with the same successful effort that President Harding had made to keep its work in harmony with public opinion, it is not conceivable that there would have been any opposition worth mentioning in either House of Parliament. It is not strange then that Mr. Lloyd George should have made the mistake of supposing that the Harding Administration had gained such prestige in the success of the Washington Conference that it could afford to proceed from triumph unto triumph, and take a splendid part by the side of the British delegation in a second conference, for straightening out the tangled affairs of Europe—a conference which if successful would be worth many hundreds



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HON. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, UNITED STATES SENATOR  
FROM ARKANSAS

(Mr. Robinson, who is one of the ablest debaters on the Democratic side in the Senate, is in his second term in the Upper House after ten years in the House of Representatives. He is a lawyer of Little Rock. He took the leading part last month in opposing the Four-Power Treaty. An amendment proposed by him was barely defeated on March 14.)

of millions of dollars to the idle ships and retarded commerce of the United States. The British Prime Minister is the shrewdest politician in Europe; but neither he nor his advisers can understand the partisanship that performs its wonders in the American Senate. President Harding and his supporters knew that they could not afford to run the risk of assuming prompt ratification. Immediately following the vote of March 1 on the Yap treaty, Senator Lodge announced that the debate on the so-called Four-Power treaty—that of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan, relating to the insular possessions and dominions of these nations in the Pacific Ocean—would begin on the following day, March 2. While a confidential checking-up of probable votes had indicated that this and all the other treaties would be ratified in the end, the margin was narrow, and it was not safe to be too confident.

*Running  
the Party  
Gauntlet*

The Yap treaty had secured the votes of all Republicans present excepting Borah, Johnson, and France, who seem to be opposed to all of the

agreements. Nineteen Democrats voted against the Yap treaty, and thirteen in favor of it. When the debate began on the Four-Power treaty, it soon became evident that tremendous efforts were being made behind the scenes on the Democratic side to undermine the leadership of Senator Underwood and to build up a Democratic opposition, which, with the handful of so-called "irreconcilables" on the Republican side, might barely prevent the necessary two-thirds affirmative vote. It was clear that the Four-Power treaty would have to run the gauntlet of a protracted debate, and that its friends might have to accept a reservation or two if Senator Brandegee, Senator Moses, and one or two others whose support was essential were to be kept in line. After the Four-Power treaty, there would come up for ratification the much more elaborate agreement providing for Naval Disarmament on specified ratios, which would unquestionably entail a debate involving many technicalities as well as a good deal of sentiment. Next would come the "Nine-Power treaty" relat-

ing to the status of China, and it was evident enough that this must afford an opportunity for extensive argument along quite different lines. These are the more important of the treaties, although they do not complete the list.

*Politics in  
Evil  
Phases*

Such was the situation when Mr. Harding, at noon on March 4, entered upon his second year as President. The Washington Conference had been the outstanding achievement of his first year. To have named delegates for a European conference which would have entered upon its work while the Senate was still wrangling over the treaties of the Washington Armament Conference would have been as unwise in larger aspects as it would have been impolitic in a narrower sense. If the Genoa Conference had been postponed until June or July, and perhaps transferred to Switzerland or Holland for climatic reasons, Mr. Harding could have deferred his decision. But, as matters stood, there was only one answer to make, and this was embodied in the note of Secretary Hughes that was delivered to the Italian Ambassador at Washington, Senator Vittorio Rolandi Ricci, on March 8 as the President was departing for Florida. In a real and well-planned economic conference, assuredly this country ought to be ably represented; but—as we have now shown—American party politics in an election year, and British party and personal politics in what is certain also to be an election year in England, keeps us at home, and wrecks the Conference in advance. Partisanship at times is a public enemy.

*European  
Politics also  
Active*

It is the opinion of the American Government that the Genoa meeting is not to be in point of fact an international conference for the solving of economic and financial problems, but rather for the treatment of inter-European political issues. The Hughes note expresses the hope that this meeting may do something toward preparing the way for that influential treatment of financial and business matters of world-wide concern that must be cleared up if Europe is to recover. The dominant fact relating to the program for the conference on the Italian Riviera was the agreement late in February between Premier Poincaré and Premier Lloyd George, upon all major points in the proposed military alliance between the two Governments. The Premiers had met for a talk of several hours



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HON. FRANK B. BRANDEGEE, SENATOR FROM  
CONNECTICUT

(Mr. Brandegee, a typical Connecticut man and Yale graduate, has been in Republican politics continuously since his admission to the Bar in 1888. After service in the legislature and the House of Representatives at Washington, he entered the Senate in 1905 at the age of forty. He is one of the most influential Republicans in the Senate, and, while not fighting the pending treaties, he stands for one or two reservations.)

on February 25 at the French seaport town of Boulogne. They had each of them reported afterward that all obstacles had been removed toward the signing of a treaty of alliance. There are those whose minds work along lines of logic, detached from concrete realities, who do not think well of a firm agreement between England and France, because the universal understandings of the League of Nations ought to supersede arrangements of this kind between particular nations. Others, however, sympathizing with the ideals of an organized world, see the need of building upon historical facts. A true League of Nations is much more likely to grow into a thing of controlling influence if the nations that fought together to win the war can remain in association.

*Hughes  
Expresses  
Good-Will*

While the righteous fruits of the war are maturing, the Genoa Conference will be justified if it can accomplish anything at all in the direction of political accord in Europe, with gradual disarmament resulting. There is nothing in the Hughes note that shows lack of American good-will. What this note indicates is simply that the United States is too powerful a country to take a minor part in a European Conference meeting early in April, while on the other hand the plans of that conference do not show that the United States could consistently try to play a major part. It is best, therefore, for the Washington Government to pursue the tenor of its way in patience. We could not have gone to Genoa without having a very practical idea of what we wished to help accomplish. Mr. Hughes realizes that there are European adjustments to be made in which America cannot suitably participate. Europe's recovery now depends chiefly upon the willingness of European powers to meet the conditions necessary for recuperation.

*Russia  
as Military  
Menace*

The latest remarks of Lenin, who is master of the organization that has held Russia in terrorized subjection for more than four years, show more contempt than ever for the regular European Governments that have invited the Russian despots to come to the Genoa Conference. The dwindling resources of Russia have been used by Lenin, Trotzky, and their fellows for the upbuilding and maintenance of one of the most formidable military systems in the history of the world. The Russian army is now estimated at 1,250,000



© Leo Brothers

HON. FRANK B. KELLOGG, SENATOR FROM MINNESOTA

(Mr. Kellogg was a distinguished lawyer at St. Paul and an influential Republican before entering upon public office. He was elected to the Senate in 1916, and will therefore come up for reelection this year. Besides his valuable services on the Interstate Commerce and Education Committees, Mr. Kellogg is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and is taking a leading part in supporting the whole series of treaties resulting from the recent Washington Conference.)

men. While tens of millions of Russians are practically starving in certain districts, there are scores of millions that are close to the hunger line elsewhere throughout the vast Russian domains. This means that there is an unlimited supply of young men who can be kept in the army by the simple device of providing food, clothing, and shelter for soldiers. Such a system once established is hard to break down. All effective military opposition has been swept away, and such counter movements as those of Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel have now faded into oblivion. Such a military tyranny as that of Lenin and Trotzky makes the Czardom in its later years seem hardly distinguishable from a country like England in point of personal freedom and political progress.

*Europe's  
Chief Problem  
Is Russia*

The Turkish Government at its worst has been something like a modern organization for law, order, and justice, when compared with this Russian Bolshevik system, than which no

other government in all history has ever so ruthlessly preyed upon the resources of the people. With industries at low ebb, the army is easily recruited from the town populations. It is presumable that in due time an organization of peasantry will wear out this military domination; but how to do it effectively does not appear. It would seem, then, that the condition of Russia is at the very center of Europe's problems. It would probably have been cheaper to have faced the Bolshevik menace directly, rather than to have opposed it by trying so many experiments of an indirect kind. The complete disarmament of Russia is quite as necessary to the peace of Europe as the continued maintenance of the disarmament of Germany which has now been accomplished. The menace of the future, against which the new Anglo-French agreement is most obviously directed, is that which lurks in a possible alliance between Germany and Russia. German science and industry, united with Russian man-power and Russian raw materials, might at some juncture be able to complete the ruin of European civilization.

*Can  
Europe  
Disarm?*

The League of Nations has been working out an ingenious plan on paper for a reduction of the present armies of European countries to about 50 per cent. of their present strength. This plan is similar in principle to the fixing of naval ratios by the Washington Conference. But the proposed program of reduction is not applied to Russia; and it is hard to see how Europe can afford to scrap existing military establishments while Russia is permitted to maintain an active army of more than a million men. The compulsory disarmament of Russia would be quite as justifiable from the standpoint of necessary measures for the world's peace and prosperity as was the disarmament of Germany following the armistice agreement. In view of all the hard and gloomy facts, optimism about the results of the Genoa Conference does not seem to be well grounded. It must be remembered in considering the American decision that our Government had not been approached in any informal way in advance of the resolution adopted at Cannes on January 6 by the Allied Governments in accordance with which the Italian Government issued the invitations. The planning of this conference, so far as the United States was concerned, was known only through newspaper reports. Our Government was

therefore in no manner committed to the project, and was under no obligation to take part. It was purely a question at Washington whether or not our absence might serve public ends better than our presence. The decision announced in the Hughes note has been accepted in the United States as prudent and sensible.

*Parties  
and  
Government*

As the work of the Conference at Washington progressed, it was faithfully and fully explained and expounded. It was overwhelmingly endorsed by American public opinion. We are frank in stating that the elaborate speeches in opposition to the Four-Power treaty have not tended to clarify the issues. The negotiation of these agreements compares favorably with any diplomatic work ever performed by any representatives of the United States. The objects aimed at were desirable, and our delegates proceeded with great intelligence and with full regard for the established principles of American policy. The partisan trend of the attempts to defeat these treaties is a shocking evidence of a certain decline in the tone of statesmanship. The work of the Peace Conference at Paris was not very well performed, but when it was ended there was little reason to suppose that it would be rejected by the United States



UNCLE SAM: "INVITATION TO GENOA, EH? SAY, TELL 'EM I'M TOO BUSY!"

From the *Poll Mall Gazette* (London)

[It is worthwhile to note occasionally the more or less generous treatment that Uncle Sam receives in the foreign press]

Senate. The deadlock that arose between President and Senate was principally along the line of party cleavage. The treaties were held up by differences that now in the retrospect are seen to have had slight importance. The earlier reservations—quite harmless in nature and scope—if accepted by Mr. Wilson in a broad spirit of practical coöperation would have secured the ratification of the principal treaty. The Senate did not undertake to amend the treaties, but merely to express its views upon certain points. After the Senate had thrown light upon its own understandings, in the opinion of all intelligent European statesmen it became a matter of no consequence at all whether ratification at Washington was accomplished with the Lodge reservations or without. The thing that created harm was the political deadlock, the inability of a Democratic President to work with a Republican Senate.

*We Make  
a  
Prediction*

To-day we are confronted by the difficulty of persuading the Democratic minority to resist the temptation of opposing treaties that are so excellent that they would have been accepted without a moment's hesitation on the Democratic side if they had been offered by a Democratic President and a Democratic Secretary of State. The tremendous majority rendered in the elections of November, 1918, seem to indicate that the country believed that the Democrats had shown a more stubborn partisanship in these foreign matters than the Republicans. Everything at Washington this spring is going on with full consciousness that Congress is to face another election in the present year. On many accounts the Democrats were believing that they could make great gains at the polls in November. It is not in a partisan spirit that we are venturing here to make a prediction. The one great achievement of the Harding Administration has been the calling of the Washington Conference and the negotiation of a series of most desirable treaties. We predict that, if Democratic partisanship succeeds in defeating the ratification of these treaties by the Senate, the country will decline to justify such conduct and will strongly support the Republicans at the polls. For, whether or not the Republicans had a perfectly good case on the League of Nations issue in 1918, there can be no doubt as to the validity of the Republican case when it comes to endorsing the work of the recent armament conference.



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HON. D. R. CRISSINGER, CONTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY

(Mr. Crissinger has strongly supported Secretary Mellon in opposing the legislation granting cash bonuses to ex-service men unless the money is to be raised by additional taxation)

*Mischief  
of Party  
Extremes*

If no other argument sufficed to restrain extreme partisanship in the United States, the grave political conditions existing everywhere in Europe and Asia ought to teach us the wisdom of maintaining reasonable harmony here in support of prudent measures. It is true that we elect men to office by the use of party machinery. But, once in office, we expect men to act for the good of the country and not as mischievous party politicians. The Harding Administration is entitled to a fair four years' trial. It would be unfortunate to create a deadlock for the second half of Mr. Harding's term by pitting a Democratic Congress against a Republican Administration. If the country wishes to reverse its verdict of 1920, it should wait until 1924, and sweep the Democrats into full power all along the line. It is not necessarily a matter of reproach that Republican leadership has been unable to deal quickly and decisively with certain questions which did not admit of that kind of solution. The tariff question, for instance, has been so affected by the incalculable conditions of world production



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AMERICAN LEGION REPRESENTATIVES AT THE WHITE HOUSE, TO URGE BONUS LEGISLATION

(The commander of the Legion, Hanford McNider, stands in the center of the group. At the left is the chairman of the Legion's legislative committee, James F. Steck; and on the right is that committee's vice-chairman, John T. Taylor)

and exchange that there has been far better excuse for delay than there would have been for prompt legislation under the party lash.

*Facing This Year's Elections* There has been a genuine effort at Washington, and upon the whole a very successful one, to cut down expenditures. With the world in its continuing turmoil, there is sound reason for keeping the army and navy efficient, although it is to be hoped that it may be safe to make further reductions within a few years. While it is proper enough, according to the rules of the political game, to hold the Republican majority responsible for whatever may be done about bonus legislation, it must be remembered that the pressure for the bonus is wholly non-partisan, and that it acts upon the prudential instincts of the individual Congressman, Republican or Democrat, who studies the situation he is about to face this year in his own district as he comes up for reelection. If any credit is due for courage in resisting the political threats that have accompanied the proposed raid on the Treasury, that credit is due to President Harding and his Administration. The country is prepared to spend money to the full limit of its ability upon any measures that are really generous and statesman-like for the well-being of the men who wore

uniforms in the recent war. Every intelligent person knows that the opponents of reckless bonus enactments are quite as ready as the bonus supporters to deal fairly with the ex-soldiers. The more thoughtful, indeed, of the men who have borne arms for the country would rather trust men who are brave in politics than men who are political cowards. Those who are denouncing the Republican Congress and calling upon the country to punish it at the polls might at least be invited to tell us what could have been expected from a Democratic Congress at the present time, and—which is still more pertinent—what the country could hope to gain after the fourth of next March from a Democratic Congress trying to hold the Republican Administration in a two-years' deadlock.

*Our Strictly Limited "Empire"*

As we observe the difficulties that surround the governments of those European countries which are still trying to maintain empires we may well be thankful that our political responsibilities are chiefly at home. Looking at our economic life retrospectively, we find ample justification for the policies which have so nearly balanced our agricultural and industrial development. We shall remain in the Philippines for the present, but under the new treaties we shall not militarize our possessions farther westward in the Pacific than Hawaii. We shall retain the Hawaiian Islands with the purpose of full Americanization, regardless of the race origins of the inhabitants. Alaska, of course, we shall also maintain, and shall treat that great region as if it were contiguous territory. When Alaska is properly opened up and inhabited, it will undoubtedly come into the Union as a State. Meanwhile, the territorial government of Alaska needs thorough reorganization. Existing conditions are exceedingly well described for our readers in an article that we are glad to present this month from the pen of the Hon. Scott Bone, who is now Governor and is making an official visit on Alaska business at Washington. Mr. Bone had long been familiar with the general facts relating to Alaska, and his Administration ought to coincide with a rewriting at Washington of the organic act under which our great Northwestern Territory is governed. President Harding has promised to make a visit to Alaska during the approaching summer, unless conditions of public business should arise to prevent so long a journey.

*Porto Rico's  
Political  
Disensions*

Our fellow-citizens of Porto Rico have had an unusual amount of attention during recent months by reason of intense disagreements between the leaders of the dominant party in the Porto Rican legislature and the new Governor, Mr. E. Mont Reily, of Kansas City. Charges against the Governor have been preferred at Washington. Perhaps this publicity for Porto Rico will prove valuable for the Island in the long run. The Porto Rican people under an enactment of March 2, 1917, accepted full American citizenship, and they are entitled to be treated with as much consideration as are the citizens of the District of Columbia. Their relations to the United States are of great economic advantage to them, and there would seem no good reason why political differences should become extreme enough to cause unhappiness either at San Juan or at Washington. Perhaps if the very tactful and experienced Scott Bone had been sent to Porto Rico as Governor nothing would have happened to disturb insular felicity; while, on the other hand, if the energetic and seemingly irrepressible Mr. Reily had been sent to govern Alaska, his aggressive qualities might have counted for quite as rapid development of that Territory as the more serene wisdom of the Hon. Scott Bone.

*Quality of  
Harding's  
Appointments*

Certainly President Harding hits the bull's-eye far more frequently than he misses the target in his appointments. Thus we had occasion last month to note Mr. Harding's selection of diplomatic representatives for Germany, Austria, and Hungary. Who can mention a time in our records when three better-qualified men were ever named to represent the United States abroad than the Hon. Alanson B. Houghton for Germany, the Hon. Albert Henry Washburn for Austria, and Judge Theodore Brentano for Hungary? The personality of the Governor of Porto Rico is so much more important to the inhabitants of that Island than to the Government at Washington—as the experience of more than twenty years has amply demonstrated—that this last experience may have the valuable result of teaching future Administrations to think primarily of the conditions that are to be met in the beautiful Island after the new Governor has arrived at his post of honor and duty. Assuredly, Mr. Harding was lucky in his choices of a Governor for Hawaii and a Governor for



LORD READING, BRITISH VICEROY IN INDIA

(Lord Reading's career has been that of one of the most brilliant lawyers of his generation. As Mr. Rufus Isaacs he was for many years a Member of Parliament from the town of Reading, served as Solicitor-General, then Attorney-General, and in 1913 was made Lord Chief Justice of England. He was made a Baron in 1910, and in 1917 he assumed his present title of Earl of Reading. He was High Commissioner and special ambassador at Washington in 1918. He was sent to India a year or two ago as Viceroy because of his preëminent political and administrative ability.)

Alaska, while also he is generally regarded as having been exceptionally fortunate in persuading General Wood to undertake the direction of Philippine affairs.

*Britain's  
Colonial  
Servants*

But if we occasionally make a mistake in the choice of a man to represent our Administration in one of our few outlying possessions, what would we do if we had the external responsibilities of Mr. Lloyd George and the British Government? When one thinks of Britain's recent experiences in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Persia, and above all in India, not to mention less exciting situations in half a hundred other spots with which the British Empire has to deal, we may well congratulate ourselves upon the relative meagerness of our so-called external empire. The events of the present ministry of Mr. Lloyd George are destined to have a very large place in the history of Britain's worldwide overlordship. Quietly the self-governing Dominions,



particularly Canada, Australia, and South Africa, have assumed the status of full sovereignty, though they keep their places in some kind of general partnership, and recognize the permanent presidency of the King of England. Ireland has actually entered upon a new status, even if the process is attended with discord. That Britain's Empire in Asia is undergoing almost dangerously rapid changes seems evident, although no one can safely predict how or when a stable equilibrium is to be reached. The British political genius adapts itself to practical changes with a wisdom superior to that of any other country, and there is nothing hopelessly disastrous in the immediate prospect. The personnel of British colonial government is incomparable in training and experience, though not always the embodiment of tact and discretion.

*Reorganizing  
an  
Empire*

Burdensome and costly as the world war proved to be for the British people, it brought them everlasting glory in the nature and extent of the Empire's support. Voluntarily and swiftly the Dominions rallied around the mother country. The Boers

of South Africa supported the distant country that had conquered them only a few years before. India contributed soldiers by the hundreds of thousands. Even Ireland, all things considered, played a surprisingly loyal part. The British Crown was stronger at the ending of the war than at the beginning. That readjustments would have to be made was evident. Ireland has now been given more than she had asked for in centuries. The unrest of India was fully anticipated, and Lord Reading was made Viceroy by reason of his political skill, his deep understanding, and his readiness of sympathy.

Since the early period of the Great War, the leaders of different factions in India have been learning to cooperate with one another, with a view to securing for their vast and populous country a larger measure of home rule and a wider influence in Asia and in the world. It is very difficult to bring important political changes into effect without revolutionary violence. The British rule in India has not in recent years been that of an oppressor, but that of an umpire and an expert, seeking the common good and finding

ways to promote political change without too much jolting.



MOHANDAS K. GANDHI, THE MOST INFLUENTIAL NATIONALIST LEADER OF INDIA

(Who was placed under arrest last month because of the growing strength of the various forms of anti-British agitation throughout the provinces of India)

*India's Moslems  
and the  
Turks*

The total population of India is about 320,000,000, of whom almost 70,000,000 are Mohammedans. It was a terrible mismanagement of their diplomacy at Constantinople on the part of Great Britain and the Allies that permitted Turkey to be drawn into the war as a partner of Germany. On the other hand, with the Turkish Sultan as the head of the Mohammedan world, it was no small triumph to keep the Moslems of India loyal to Great Britain after Turkey had joined the enemy. In the Islamic world, the religious sentiment is stronger than the political, and the Turkish Sultan has long been recognized as successor to the Prophet. In their treaty-making work at Paris, the Allies made a bad mess of the Turkish situation. They dealt with Turkey in the document known as the Sevres treaty, which never took legal effect, because the Turks have never ratified it. It cut Turkish territory to pieces for the benefit of almost any country that insisted upon having a slice. Lord Reading has become profoundly convinced since he took up his residence in India that the Turks must have an entirely different treatment if the

Moslems of India are to be made contented. For some time past it had been known that the British, French and Italians were expecting on March 22 to hold a conference on the affairs of Turkey and the Near East, with an idea of revising the Sevres treaty; and the Moslem leaders everywhere were eager on behalf of the Turks.

*Montagu's  
Retirement, a  
World Event*

Mr. Edwin S. Montagu, holding the Cabinet post of Secretary of State for India, seems to have been in full sympathy with Lord Reading's views. A dispatch from the Viceroy received early in March, based upon consultation with all of the provincial Indian administrations, strongly urged the claims of Turkey, all the way from Constantinople to Palestine. This dispatch was made public in England, apparently without the authority of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Mr. Montagu took the responsibility, and resigned his office under pressure. An immense sensation was created; and from one point of view this kind of publicity was beneficial, while in another aspect it was deemed highly detrimental. Everybody, however, could admit that this new situation was adding to the immediate difficulties of the Lloyd George Ministry. Once out of office, Montagu was ready for battle; and Lord Curzon (Foreign Secretary in the Coalition Cabinet) was the chief object of attack. All Europe, and all Asia, was stirred up, because fundamental issues were at stake.

*Egypt Out  
of the  
British Empire*

The new relations of England and Egypt, as they have been working out in recent months, can best be understood in the United States by considering the peculiar relations of the Cuban Republic to our Government at Washington. Cuba flies its own flag, operates its own home Government, and holds its place of sovereignty among the Spanish-speaking republics of the Western Hemisphere; but Cuba accepts the superiority and protection of the American navy in West Indian waters, and grants us a naval base with a view to the safety of the Panama Canal. We are sponsors for Cuba as regards domestic order and financial stability. England no longer pretends to control Egypt as a part of the British Empire, and in good faith is assisting Egypt to reestablish its character as a distinct and independent country. A very eminent and wise officer,

Field Marshal (Viscount) Allenby, has been helping to create an independent Egypt under the auspices of a friendly Britain, just as Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading were trying to develop a self-governing India with British friendship and assistance in the background, though with a relationship to the British Crown not admitted by Egypt. The Egyptian arrangement gives England the right to protect the Suez Canal, and would preclude the meddling of any third power in Egypt's foreign relationships. It is a creditable arrangement, worked out on the general lines of a report made last year by Lord Milner.

*India  
Seeking  
Autonomy*

Just how the turmoil in India may be soothed is not yet apparent. In comparison with the vastness of the problems of India, our situation in the Philippines is small and simple; yet it is possible to make some comparisons. Whereas we have been eager to develop self-government in the Philippines, and have accomplished wonders since our occupation, the British have been comparatively slow in building up local and general home rule in India. Retention of British sovereignty would seem to depend upon the elasticity with which they can now respond to India's demands for self-government. That the wisely flexible statesmanship of Great Britain will accommodate itself to conditions in India and elsewhere throughout the British Empire may be confidently expected in view of a comparatively long series of recent adjustments. The arrest of Mr. Gandhi, famous leader of the "non-coöperation" movement, will hasten rather than retard the course of reconstruction.

*Will  
China  
Recover?*

Mr. E. Phillips Oppenheim, in his latest novel, entitled "The Great Prince Shan," makes an excursion into European and Asiatic politics of fifteen or twenty years hence. His book forecasts a great secret project initiated by Germany for a combination with Russia, China, and Japan. China has come to the front, and has produced a statesman who is the most powerful of contemporary leaders. Japan has become a subordinate ally of China. Russia has recovered and is prosperous, and Germany is intimately connected with Russia's industry and commerce. Since Mr. E. Phillips Oppenheim in earlier novels had warned his British readers of the German menace, he has sustained some reputa-



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MR. FRANK H. SIMONDS, WHO IS NOW IN EUROPE  
AND WILL ATTEND THE GENOA CONFERENCE

tion as a political prophet. In this new novel, as in many of its predecessors, it is needless to remark that Mr. Oppenheim presents an agreeable British heroine and a transcendent young British hero who circumvent their country's foes, and thus the plot fails. China, instead of going over to German control, chooses British friendship at the critical moment, thanks to the clever personages of Mr. Oppenheim's story. That China gained substantial advantages through the discussion of Far Eastern questions in the Washington Conference, is beyond dispute. Japan's agreement to return Shantung will stand as one of the greatest achievements of the new diplomacy of friendship and understanding. Japan apparently means to make her way henceforth, not so much on the German plan of sheer insistence, with militarism behind diplomacy, as by worthier and more up-to-date methods.

*Keeping  
China's  
Friendship*

America at one time had lost Chinese friendship through the harshness of our exclusion policy. But that policy has now been accepted; and a new chapter of friendship was opened when our Government returned the excessive Boxer indemnity. America's aid in the

recent Chinese famine has strengthened the friendliness of the Chinese people, and the great work for Chinese education and health that is going forward under American auspices—notably the medical work set on foot by the Rockefeller Foundation—will have far-reaching results and will probably avail to protect the good relations between the United States and China in years yet to come, even without the aid of brilliant young diplomats of the Oppenheim type. Nevertheless, the enlightened young diplomats are not to be scorned, and China was fortunate in her brilliant delegation at the Washington Conference. Meanwhile, America has in recent years had a number of capable men in China promoting international good will in various official and quasi-official capacities. China's great need just now is internal harmony. When that is established, her international position will rapidly take on a suitable character of dignity and influence.

*Mr. Simonds  
Writes  
from London*

Mr. Frank Simonds makes his regular monthly contribution to our pages from London rather than Washington. Immediately after writing the article for March which summed up the Washington Conference and surveyed the general situation abroad, Mr. Simonds sailed for Europe to spend several months in a close study of political and international conditions. His article, which we present in this number, had been mailed before the publication of Secretary Hughes's note declining the invitation to Genoa; but, as our readers will see, Mr. Simonds had on his own account reached the conclusion that there was no sufficient reason for our taking part in this particular April Conference. He views it as preliminary to a later gathering that we will probably have to attend. Mr. Simonds shows clearly the conditions under which the British Government is impelled to seek commercial outlets through the development of trade with Russia as well as with Germany. In the United States, our great home market is capable of giving employment under normal conditions to most of our workers. England and Scotland, on the other hand, must maintain an enormous foreign trade or face terrible disaster.

*Till Better  
Days  
for Europe*

Unless one keeps in mind the gravity of this economic crisis in Great Britain, many things that are happening abroad will not be comprehended. The development of Western Eu-

rope, as we remarked in these pages last month, is more mature than ours, and the capitalized wealth of these older countries is greatly superior. But, if the merchant ships are without cargoes and rusting at the wharves, and if the factories are shut down, while the well-housed workers are unable to pay rent or buy sufficient clothes and food, then the vast superiority in merchant marine, in factories and warehouses, in homes for the workers, and in the general appurtenances of social and industrial wealth, seem a wretched mockery to the anxious seekers for jobs. Things will all be very different when recovery comes, and when the whole world is eagerly producing and exchanging. Almost certainly this time will arrive within a few years. Until such business revival comes about, it will be wisdom on the part of the United States to be still further patient and generous as regards Europe's financial obligations. Some day Europe may be more prosperous than America, as measured in the results of current activity. It will be time enough then to begin collecting long-standing bills. Meanwhile, debts ought to be recognized, and accounting ought to be correct. It is this very proper desire to have the items properly entered in the ledgers and the facts duly recognized that impelled the Government at Washington last month to remind Europe that there is a sum due to the United States under original agreements for the expenses of our army on the Rhine.

*Reparations  
and  
Mr. Keynes*

The Genoa Conference is principally intended to find a way to do business with Russia. It is not going to reopen the main question as regards German reparations. But that question is not in danger of being neglected. Mr. John Maynard Keynes, the British economist and financial expert, who made a sensation something more than two years ago with his "Economic Consequences of the Peace," has come out with another book called "A Revision of the Treaty," which is a sequel to the former work. Mr. Keynes's position is that of a brilliant though extravagant opponent of the financial arrangements of the Paris treaty. As in his earlier book, he still holds that the Allied claims for damages to property are three or four times greater than the real worth of all the property injured. He still asserts that Germany cannot pay anything like the amounts hitherto claimed. He continues to hold the view—by reasonable inference—that the tax-



THE NEW ITALIAN PREMIER, HON. LUIGI FACTA

(A lieutenant of former premier Giolitti, the new Prime Minister has had a brilliant career as a journalist and a lawyer. Three members of the Catholic party have found places in his Cabinet, and the Liberal party is represented by two members. Senator Schanzer, one of Italy's representatives at the Washington Conference, heads the Foreign Ministry)

payers of the United States ought directly or indirectly to pay Europe's bills, and to put Europe in a position of far higher economic efficiency than the United States has ever been or is likely ever to be. Mr. Keynes is at least not a sentimentalist. He is hard-headed, lucid, remarkably clever in dialectics, and has always the advantage of knowing exactly what he wants and why. There underlies all of his writing a rather irritating assumption that each European country is justified in scrambling for its own advantages, but that it would be altogether impolite for Uncle Sam, who has been admitted to good society on probation, as it were, to be so ill-mannered as to mention the matter of those little loans to the older members of the club. Fortunately, Mr. Keynes does not seem to be taken more seriously in England than he is taken affectionately in France.

*A Building  
Boom This  
Season*

As everyone is keenly aware, the conditions of the building trades were so impossible during and after the war that there was almost no relief, through the normal avenue of new

construction, for the terrible profiteering in rents that was practised, not alone in New York City, but in almost every other large community. With the opening of the present season, conditions have changed. The prices of materials have in some cases gone down more than half, and members of the building trades are much more willing to perform a real day's work for wages that are relatively reasonable. An immense amount of building is projected. It has been said that New York was crowding six million people into accommodations not suitable for more than five-millions. The great series of disclosures that has resulted from the work of the Lockwood Committee of the New York legislature, under the masterly guidance of Mr. Samuel Untermyer as chief counsel, has begun to produce definite results. Many combinations in restraint of trade have been broken up. Criminal grafting under guise of trade-unionism has been exposed and punished. Great sums of money are likely to be available for home-building through legislation that will divert a portion of the assets of insurance companies to housing investments. In spite of Europe's much proclaimed impoverishment, there has been far greater activity abroad, in building houses for working people since the war, than in the United States. In our next number we shall present an extended article dealing with the new housing movement in this country.

*The Human  
Stock—Does  
It Advance?*

In certain special fields of inquiry and discussion, as in the reports of medical societies and the like, there is much current agitation of the question whether the human race is advancing or degenerating. It is argued on one side that we are patching up the weaklings and the unfit with our improvements in medicine and surgery, and prolonging the careers of the defective and delinquent by our vast and costly system of institutions and hospitals. The pessimists make out an ingenious case, which it is not our purpose here to summarize. Our own position is emphatically on the optimistic side. We believe that the great American family is in a better average physical and mental condition to-day than at any previous time. We believe heartily in all that is best in contemporary effort to improve the manners and morals of the young through more enlightened methods, thus reducing delinquency. We are publishing an article in

this number showing how in Massachusetts and elsewhere, under the direction of women's societies, broad studies are being made of so-called "delinquency" in its beginnings with the young. Another article in this number—of most extraordinary value as we believe—tells the story of recent experience in New Jersey's State Hospital for the insane in the treatment of physical conditions as related to mental derangement.

*Curing  
New Jersey's  
Insane*

The article in question is written by Mr. Burdette Lewis, who is the administrative head of New Jersey's State institutions. New Jersey is fortunate in having an official of such breadth of understanding as Mr. Lewis. His intelligent support has helped Dr. Cotton, Dr. Draper, and their professional associates to double the number of those who have been restored to mental health after a period in the insane hospital. If operations for removal of definite centers of infection, whether in tonsils, teeth, or elsewhere, can in so many cases restore sufferers to physical and mental health in the great institution at Trenton, there is no reason why similar methods should not be used with like results in many other places.

*Health  
Inspection of  
School Children*

It is only gradually dawning upon the minds of our leading educators that the health of children and young people in schools is a matter of fundamental importance. Hopeful beginnings have been made, however, and what is now, for the most part, a very casual and limited health inspection in schools will gradually become thorough and efficient. If it were merely that safeguards against the spread of epidemic diseases such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, and other maladies of childhood were sharply decreasing the rate of juvenile mortality, a less perfect case might be presented by the optimists, as against those pessimists who declare that we are promoting too much the survival of the weak and the unfit. But it is now seen that, with more thorough study and treatment, individual defects may be so remedied as to convert weak children into strong and capable adults. As we are making constant progress in the knowledge and practice of medicine and surgery, it is no less true that we are gradually awakening to the opportunities that lie before us for applying these new kinds of knowledge in a preventive way through different forms of public health administration.

*Training  
Health  
Officials*

Perhaps the most important pioneer work in this general domain that it is necessary to perform just now lies in the direction of a standardized training for public-health service. Among the many kinds of usefulness that private agencies have undertaken to promote, it would be difficult to name anything more promising than the work of the Rockefeller Foundation in the field of public health. Having created a great institution for Medical Research a number of years ago, the Rockefeller Foundation in conjunction with the General Education Board began to give powerful support to the improvement of medical education in the United States and in other countries. Through an International Health Board that has coöperated with many governments, particularly in tropical or semi-tropical regions, machinery has been put into effect for stamping out such diseases as yellow fever, hookworm, malaria, and so on. But in the course of its varied medical work the Rockefeller Foundation has discovered that there is a great shortage of trained public-health workers. The different technical fields for such workers are now becoming so numerous that merely to specify them would require no small space.

*The New  
School at  
Baltimore*

Suffice it to say that four or five years ago a special school of Hygiene and Public Health was established at the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore under the direction of Dr. William H. Welch, by gifts of money from the funds of the Foundation. At the beginning of last month it was announced that this work at Baltimore was to be put on a large and permanent basis by reason of a new gift of \$6,000,000 for buildings and endowment. Nothing in the field of social progress since the end of the Great War is more definitely encouraging and promising than this movement for preventive medicine and public health administration. Great are the needs, but clear also is the vision of those who are proposing to supply remedies. Enough has been done in the great fights against small-pox, typhoid and diphtheria, yellow fever, cholera and malaria, to give zest to the systematic plans now on foot for the further conquests of preventive medicine.

*For Better  
Doctors  
and Lawyers*

The foremost business of the educated professions is to serve the public welfare. The legitimate medical profession has still on hand its great



DR. WILLIAM H. WELCH, OF JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

(Head of the new School of Hygiene and Public Health)

fight against the ignorance and credulity of masses of people, who support the newer armies of quackery as the older ones are defeated. The best of the medical associations are steadily working for measures to protect the public. Our frontispiece last month, which reproduced a photograph of Mr. Severance, president of the American Bar Association, called attention to a notable gathering of lawyers at Washington which represented local and State bar associations, in a convention the object of which was to advance the standards of legal education. At that meeting Dr. William H. Welch, of the Johns Hopkins University, told the lawyers with what success the medical associations were improving the standards of their profession. It is not so much for the dignity or for the intellectual eminence of members of the Bar as for a better service to laymen, especially the poor, in the administration of civil and criminal justice that higher standards of training are demanded. No profession likes to deal in a harsh and summary way with its less worthy members, and—in view of the many cases needing discipline—the instances of disbarment are far too few.

*A Conference  
on Legal  
Education*

It was argued at the Washington meeting by former Judge Clarence N. Goodwin, of Chicago, chairman of the Conference, that it was hardly less than a crime for the State to admit to legal practice the class of men who prey upon the poor and needy through ignorance or dishonesty, while the rich have their interests protected by lawyers who are highly competent. Mr. Elihu Root dwelt upon the relation of the legal profession to the promotion of American ideals and institutions, and held it to be necessary that lawyers should have the broadening benefits of college education. Chief Justice Taft argued that the applicant himself was cheated out of what, with due effort, he might obtain if he was permitted to practise law without some background of higher general education. Mr. William G. McAdoo held that the responsibilities of the lawyer are so vital to the welfare of the State that the highest standards ought to be exacted. The specific proposals that lawyers henceforth should be required to have at least two years of college study and three subsequent years in a professional school was overwhelmingly approved by the Conference. Mr. John W. Davis, Senator Pepper, the Attorney General, and other eminent lawyers participated



JUDGE CLARENCE N. GOODWIN, OF CHICAGO, WHO WAS CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE ON LEGAL EDUCATION HELD AT WASHINGTON LATE IN FEBRUARY

in the proceedings. The Bar Associations have now created committees which will try to have the proposed high standards legalized in the different States.

*Muscle Shoals  
and National  
Progress*

Europe has begun to realize the fact that electric power must be secured as rapidly as possible for industry and transportation, and that such power must be evolved and transmitted from utilization of the streams descending from mountains and highlands to the seacoasts. It is equally apparent that there must be less reliance upon coal in the United States, if we are to keep abreast of the opportunities toward which science and invention are leading the way. Mr. Welliver's notable article in the present number of the REVIEW on the opportunities for water-power development at Muscle Shoals is not merely the story of what Henry Ford may achieve on the Tennessee River if Congress endorses his proposals, but goes much farther in showing what must be done, whether through Henry Ford's leadership or by means of some other agency. It is undoubtedly the more or less impulsive judgment of the American public that Mr. Ford ought to be given the chance to make the biggest possible use of this Muscle Shoals opportunity as opening a new era. The country is eager to get at those great, new developments that we were told, at the height of our war effort, would surely follow swiftly upon the conclusion of peace. Nothing in the realm of scientific advance perhaps has excited more interest during recent weeks than what is popularly called radio-telephony. There seems no limit to the spread of this new invention. The ordinary telephone bids fair to be utilized for wireless uses, so that members of a family may sit in their own homes and converse with absent ones traveling on the high seas. Mr. Kaempffert's article in this number of the REVIEW gives so clear an account of this radio progress that the reader who has no scientific training may, nevertheless, understand what it is all about.

*Brokerage  
Failures  
Epidemic*

No little astonishment has come to people outside of the technically versed financial centers in reading of the recent epidemic of failures among brokerage firms. Since November 29 last, about fifty firms dealing in securities, some of them with liabilities of millions, have gone under. After the first of March, news came of four or five a day in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, the



majority being in the larger metropolis. That the country should have passed through the strains and perils of the great deflation period and the industrial depression following it with only the rarest occurrences of failure among financial houses, only to run into this veritable holocaust of bankruptcies after we were assured the worst was over, and after the prices of stocks and bonds had been steadily advancing for a number of months, was mystifying to the layman.

*The  
Bucket Shop  
Method*

It appears, however, that in this extraordinarily large list of financial casualties, houses that have been operating as members of the New York Stock Exchange are the rarest exceptions; and before the series of failures had proceeded far, it was plain that deliberate swindling had been the practice of many of the concerns that went up into smoke. The staple method of financial malpractice used by such firms was to inveigle inexperienced men and women through glib-tongued salesmen and cunning correspondence into speculating beyond their means, always taking the opposite side of the market from that of their customers. This process, known as "bucketing" orders, means that when a client purchased on a margin a hundred shares of stock, the unscrupulous broker through whom the operation was carried out immediately "sold short" a hundred shares of the same security. Formerly, the typical bucket shop did not even go to the trouble and expense of buying the stock his customer ordered to be bought; but as this specifically breaks the law, the more involved and expensive and equally effective method described above came into vogue.

*"Lambs" Are  
Generally  
"Bulls"*

It happens to be a fact that a great majority of inexperienced margin speculators buy stocks for a rise instead of selling them for a fall. Thus, after the brokerage house had virtually bet that his customer was wrong in buying for a rise, it was necessary, for his purposes, for the stock in question to go down in value. If it did, the swindling broker could profit by the fall—having already sold the security short, using his client's purchase for protection and his remittances to pay expenses. For nearly a year after November, 1920, the course of the market had given constant opportunities for profiting in this way; but, beginning several months ago, there came the steady

and almost uninterrupted rise in quoted values of almost all stocks and bonds, depriving the bucketeer of even the fly-by-night opportunity, afforded by temporary but substantial reactions, of winning his bets against his victims' judgments. Thus, the outward and visible sign of slowly returning prosperity has proved the death of scores of these light-fingered gentry.

*Distress  
In Their  
Wake*

Thousands of innocent and inexperienced people have lost their hardly-saved money through such operations as these, and a dismally large portion of them are, naturally, women who could ill afford the losses. In some cases it has been brought out that the operations described in the preceding paragraphs have absolutely wiped out the entire means of subsistence of women who thought that they were protected for life by their competencies. Authorities estimate that as much as \$150,000,000 a year has been elicited from the public by such methods. The plain moral cannot be pointed out with too much emphasis or insisted on too often. Every investor who contemplates purchasing securities, or who receives a suggestion to purchase or exchange securities, should let nothing stand in the way of obtaining reliable information concerning the standing and character of the people who are to execute his orders, and this is doubly true when such people are forward with advice and the holding out of glittering opportunities. When such financial houses are members of the great exchanges and associations, such as the New York Stock Exchange and the Investment Bankers' Association, the presumption is strongly in favor of correct methods and honest dealing. The only sound way to proceed, however, is to question one's banker as to the character and financial position and record of the firm with which one proposes to deal. No one can be satisfied with the mere statement that nothing is known derogatory to the house under investigation. One must find advisers of unimpeachable authority who have specific knowledge that the firm in question is of good reputation and uses conservative methods.

*Proposed  
Legislative  
Remedies*

The District Attorney and a Grand Jury in New York have been prompt in their efforts to punish the more flagrant offenders among the brokerage houses that have failed within

the last month or so. But the gentlemen who have been running them have the advice of astute lawyers to aid them in keeping within the letter of the law, and where they have overstepped the legal line, it is customary for them to leave the country very quickly, to be out of the way of the coming crash. Efforts are being made toward a new law in New York State, of the "blue-sky" variety, providing for the licensing of all concerns dealing in securities, and for the examination of their books by State accountants at any time and without notice. It is also urged that the Post-Office Department refuse to transmit the circulars and advertisements of security dealers until it has investigated and approved the securities being offered to the public. Many financial people of high standing oppose such governmental regulations, even while they are concerned over the irregularities which have tended to confuse the mind of the public and bring the stamp of uncertainty or fraud upon security dealings in general. They contend that Government investigators with experience and ability sufficient to separate the good from the bad in securities and security dealers could not be obtained, and it is also sometimes objected that the legitimate private dealings in securities are and should be of a privileged nature and should not be pried into by casual Government inspectors. The New York Stock Exchange and organizations like the Investment

Bankers' Association are using every means in their power to lessen the evils of unscrupulous dealings in securities; and the first-named institution has a powerful weapon against dealers of this sort in its control of the stock market quotations, and its ability to refuse the privilege of "ticker service" to concerns whose methods are in doubt.

*The New  
Shipping  
Program*

On February 28 President Harding appeared before a joint session of the two houses of Congress and delivered his long-expected message dealing with the new plans for the American merchant marine and the proposed governmental aid to shipowners and operators. The President frankly took the ground that our gigantic experience in Government shipbuilding and ship operating has been a costly failure. The war program gave us more than 12,000,000 tons of shipping (without counting the wooden vessels which were a total loss) and this new fleet cost us about \$3,500,000,000. It was built "at five times the cost of normal construction, in the extravagance of wartime necessity and hurry." So far as the operation of the Government-owned fleet has been concerned, it has always lost money, even before the unparalleled slump in shipping that came toward the end of 1920. When Mr. Harding came into office in March, 1921, the nation was operating its fleet with a net loss of no less than \$16,000,000 a month.

*Sell  
the Ships  
Now*

The President courageously advocates the prompt selling of Government-owned ships to private operators at the prices now prevailing in the world market. With a great deal of sense he argues that it is no part of our present problem that we constructed the ships, being obliged to have them at any price, at the top cost of war conditions. The real problem is a matter of the present and of the future, and would be the same problem if the ships had originally cost us one-fifth as much as they did cost, or five times as much. Many critics of the present program will cry out for further delay on the ground that we should wait until a recovery in the shipping trade gives better prices for the vessels. But the period of depression in the ocean-carrying trade is absolutely uncertain, and the President calls to mind that it is one of the outstanding barriers to general readjustment that so many people insist on waiting, before put-



OUR SHIPPING BUSINESS TO HAVE A NEW MASTER  
From the *Central Press Association* (Cleveland, Ohio)

ting their houses in order, for more favorable price conditions. "In the widest view the nation will ultimately profit by selling now. We may end our losses in an enterprise for which we are not equipped, and which no other government has successfully undertaken, and the low prices at which we must sell to-day will make a lower actual investment with which we deal in promoting permanent service."

*Help for  
Private  
Shippers*

Thus, the United States Government has made a total but honest commercial failure as a shipowner, and has come to the wise conclusion that it should go out of the business and turn it over to "that individual initiative which is the very soul of successful enterprise." In doing this, however, the Government is legitimately concerned that there should not be a second failure under private ownership, and American-owned and operated vessels are at such a substantial disadvantage as compared with foreign vessels (owing to the differences in wage costs, rationing costs, working conditions, and other substantial items) that it is obviously necessary to give such governmental aid and encouragement to the new private owners of vessels as will bring their opportunities for profit to something like a parity with their foreign competitors. To this end, President Harding advocated a program of direct and indirect aid to American shipowners; and after his address bills were promptly introduced in Congress to carry out his recommendations.

*The Direct  
Shipping  
Subsidies*

The most important direct aid provided for in the Administration measure is a subsidy based on both the speed and tonnage of the individual vessels. The proposed compensation is to be made up of one-half of one cent per gross ton for each 100 miles traveled; but when the speed is 13 knots or over, but less than 14, two-tenths of a cent per ton is to be added, and so on until the maximum compensation is reached at 23 knots, which would earn two and six-tenths cents per ton per 100 miles. The money to pay this direct subsidy is to be obtained by taking 10 per cent. of all duties on imports brought in either American or foreign bottoms, together with the tonnage charges, taxes and fees on vessels entering ports of the United States, and payments for mail service (except parcel post) added, to make up a merchant marine

fund. Another important provision of the new legislation is the creation of a ship construction loan fund of \$125,000,000, from which the Shipping Board is to lend up to two-thirds of the cost of building a ship at a rate of interest not less than 2 per cent. A third effort to make the operation of American ships profitable is the relief from corporation taxes to the extent of 5 per cent. for firms consigning their imports and exports to our vessels. A fund is to be established for retainers to officers and men enrolled in the United States Naval Reserve, a higher depreciation charge is to be allowed shipowners, aiding them in their income taxes, and the Shipping Board is to be allowed to sell its steamers at market prices, regardless of replacement values or original costs, thus lowering the capital charges of new shipping firms.

*Some  
Indirect  
Aids*

It is also proposed that 50 per cent. of the immigrants from maritime countries and all those from non-maritime countries must embark on American ships. Specific permission is granted railroads to own ships operating in foreign trade. Assurance is given that the army and navy transport service will be discontinued to avoid competition with any private interests establishing adequate sailings. It is estimated that the program so strongly advocated by President Harding and now before Congress will cost the nation \$15,000,000 the first year and that this current expense should increase up to about \$30,000,000 a year as a maximum. In the middle of March it looked as if the Administration's plan would have a fair chance of success in Congress. The present laws affecting seamen's wages and working conditions are not disturbed by it. A wise provision that will forestall much opposition stipulates that the subsidy received by any concern shall begin to come back to the Government as soon as the profits of the concern in question exceed 10 per cent. on its capital actually invested.

*Attempt  
to Avert a  
Coal Strike*

On March 15 the coal operators began negotiations with the representatives of the miners' unions in an effort to smooth out the differences as to wages and get at a basis for new agreements beginning April 1. At that time it did not seem at all probable that a general strike in the unionized fields could be averted. The anthracite miners had drawn up a

schedule of nineteen demands, chief of which was a 20 per cent. increase in wages, with other items which would further add to the cost of production. The operators have been maintaining a firm stand on the ground that the price of coal is too high to the consumer and that the only way it can be reduced is to cut down the labor cost of production. Elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS is an article dealing with the whole puzzling and tangled problem of the production and distribution of coal, by Mr. Floyd W. Parsons.

*Large Supplies of Coal on Hand* It was estimated on March 1 that in the event of the strike, the country would find itself with at least 41 days' supply of bituminous coal on hand, and that these stocks, together with the 4,000,000 tons a week that may be obtained from the non-union fields, should carry along industrial operations at their present pace for a long period, even if the supplies from the union fields are absolutely cut off. In the last coal strike, in 1919, the non-union miners remaining at work accounted for 28.4 per cent. of the country's total production. The non-union mines have already reduced wage rates and have thereby been enabled to undersell the unionized fields and are running nearly full time, with the non-union miners earning decidedly more per week with their lower wages than the union miners are receiving.

*A Better Outlook for Farmers* Some months ago it was suggested in this magazine that the prices of farm products, which had in general fallen so much farther than the prices of manufactured goods, would probably see some recovery in the course of this year. This recovery has already set in and has progressed far enough to make the prospects of the farmer, and therefore of trade in general, decidedly brighter than they have been since the great period of post-war deflation set in. The purchasing power of the agricultural group of workers was more drastically and suddenly cut down than ever before in our history. It has been the one largest item of concern in gauging the extent of the depression throughout the country. With farm products at prices, in many instances, even below pre-war levels, while articles the farmer must buy were still from 50 per cent. to 150 per cent. above pre-war level, he simply could not purchase; and the results have been showing dramatically in

the dismal financial reports for 1921 of the great mail-order houses, fertilizer companies, agricultural machinery manufacturers, and a host of others. One of two things had to happen before a balance could be restored, with trading becoming active again. Farm products must rise in price to enable the farmer to purchase the goods which, with the higher levels of wages elsewhere, could only be produced and sold to him at high costs; or else the cost of production and the prices of these manufactured articles must come down to an extent that was scarcely conceivable in the face of the labor unions' ability to protect wage rates.

*How Farm Prices Have Risen* On the first of last November wheat sold in Chicago at \$1.01 per bushel. In February the May delivery had reached \$1.47. This remarkable recovery was chiefly due to the failure of the Argentine, Australian, and Canadian crops to make the very large yields that had been expected this season. It is becoming increasingly evident that so long as the great wheat production of Russia is shut off, the balance of the world's supply and demand in the wheat markets will be very sensitive, with consumption close to production when crops are normally good, and wildly rising prices when there are failures in important wheat-growing sections. Swine sold in February at prices 40 per cent. or more above the lowest point, which means a corresponding increase in the value of corn. Prices that cattlemen have been getting for their stock animals are much better than in 1921, and it looks as if this demoralized industry was on the mend. There is a ready market for sheep, and lambs are bringing double the prices of the last months of 1921, while wool is 35 to 50 per cent. higher in price than four months ago. Cotton was selling in March about 50 per cent. above its low price of the last two years, and it is difficult to see how the cotton farmer can, during the next year, get much less than the present prices. The carry-over was only 4,000,000 bales, and it is estimated that the consumption of the coming year will be between 12,000,000 and 13,000,000 bales—itself a very fair crop. In the face of this demand we have the boll weevil now extending its ravages over the entire cotton-growing section of the South; there is continued agitation as to restricting acreage, and the fertilizer purchases of the planters have been necessarily abnormally small.

# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From February 13 to March 15, 1922)

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

February 13.—The Senate receives the Yap treaty.

In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) condemns the proposed soldier bonus, being supported by Messrs. King, Warren, and Glass; Mr. Jones (Dem., N. M.) defends the bonus; Mr. Borah estimates the total cost of caring for wounded alone at \$75,000,000,000.

February 14.—The Senate passes the House bill extending the Patent Office facilities now inadequate for the volume of work.

February 16.—The Senate with only two negative votes adopts the Hitchcock resolution requesting President Harding to transmit further minutes of negotiations preceding the Four Power Pacific treaty, which Senators Lodge and Underwood had explained were non-existent.

February 17.—The House passes the annual Interior Department Appropriation bill totaling \$295,000,000.

February 20.—The Senate is informed by the President that it is incompatible with public interest "to reveal informal and confidential conversations or discussions, of which no record was kept."

The Senate passes the House bill extending privileges of naval radio service for five years to the press; the bill covers radio communication between the West Coast and the Orient, Hawaii, and Alaska.

The House passes the Rossdale bill permitting a commission of five to negotiate the exchange of the old Park Row post office site for a new location in New York City.

The House votes to extend operation of the 3 per cent. immigration restriction law until June 30, 1923.

February 23.—The Senate passes a seed grain relief bill for farmers of North and South Dakota and Montana, who have been suffering from drought; the bill goes to the House.

The Senate passes the Interior Department Appropriation bill with slight increases.

February 24.—The House passes the Commerce and Labor Appropriation bill; the Department of Commerce gets \$18,503,164 and the Labor Department \$6,825,000, of which \$1,240,000 is for protection of maternity under the Sheppard-Towner law.

February 27.—The Senate receives the seven treaties arranged at the Washington Conference, in a report from the Foreign Relations Committee.

February 28.—Both houses hear the President urge a plan for building up an American Merchant Marine; he proposes to use part of the tariff duties as a ship subsidy but will not discriminate in favor of American bottoms in duties on imports; all postal compensations are superseded except parcel post.

The Senate rejects the Pittman amendment to the Yap treaty, proposing to give American nationals equal rights with Japanese.

The Senate confirms secretaries Hughes and Hoover as members of the Foreign Debt Funding Commission, Secretary Mellon being a member under the law; objection is raised to the two Congressional members, on technical grounds.

March 1.—The Senate ratifies the treaty with Japan regarding the Island of Yap in the Pacific, by vote of 67 to 22, without amendments.

March 2.—The Senate begins debate on the Four Power Pacific treaty, Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.) leading the opposition, supported by Messrs. Walsh, Smith, Kendrick, and Stanley, all Democrats.

March 3.—The House passes the Second Deficiency Appropriation bill carrying \$108,500,000; \$94,000,000 goes to the Veteran's Bureau, and \$5,000,000 as first payment under the Colombia treaty settling the Panama Canal dispute.

March 6.—The Senate adopts a rule centralizing in the Appropriations Committee all budgetary bills, instead of sending them to separate major committees as in the past; the House had already made the change to facilitate operation of the budget scheme.

March 8.—The Senate is informed by President Harding in reply to the Borah resolution that the Lansing-Ishii agreement of 1917 between the United States and Japan "could not have any effect whatever inconsistent with treaty obligations, whether existing or thereafter coming into force." (The point had been raised, Does the Four Power treaty nullify the Lansing-Ishii agreement?)

March 9.—The Senate debates the Four Power treaty, Mr. Robinson (Dem., Ark.) charging that it was written by Mr. Balfour of England; Mr. Root and Mr. Underwood fail to deny the charge.

The House votes \$360,000 for farmers' seed relief. (The free seed item had been omitted in committee from the Agricultural Appropriation bill.)

March 11.—The Senate receives information from Secretary Hughes that the Four Power treaty was written by himself, in a note made public by Mr. Underwood in answer to the charges of Mr. Robinson; Secretary Hughes declares defeat of the treaty would be a national calamity.

In the House, Mr. Albert Johnson (Rep., Wash.) introduces a bill completely revising the naturalization and registration code for aliens; the bill is the product of two years' work by the Committee on Immigration.

March 12.—The House Ways and Means Committee receives Secretary Mellon's objections to a proposed bank loan bonus; he says it would result in frozen credits and inflated currency.

March 13.—The House Appropriations Com-

mittee reports the Army bill carrying a total of \$270,353,030 for a force of 11,000 officers and 115,000 enlisted men; the appropriation is reduced \$116,000,000 from last year's figure.

March 14.—The House Ways and Means Committee reports out the soldiers' bonus bill on the adjusted service certificate loan plan.

The Senate, voting 55 to 30, defeats the Robinson amendment to the Four Power treaty; the amendment pledged signatory nations to refrain from aggressive acts and, in event of controversy, to confer with nations not party to the treaty.

### AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 13.—"Uncle Joe" Cannon, oldest member of the House of Representatives, announces his retirement, stating he will not run for the Sixty-eighth Congress for the Eighteenth Illinois district; he is eighty-six years of age and is serving his twenty-third term in Congress.

February 15.—At New York, nineteen brokers are indicted for operating bucketshops.

February 16.—President Harding notifies Chairman Fordney of the House Ways and Means Committee that he favors a sales tax for the proposed soldier bonus, or else postponement.

February 17.—Charles A. Rawson is appointed to the United States Senate by Governor Kendall of Iowa, to succeed Senator Kenyon, who resigned to become a federal judge.

February 18.—Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis resigns from the Federal District Court to devote his entire time as baseball commissioner.

President Harding signs the Capper-Volstead Coöperative Marketing bill, exempting farmers' associations from the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

February 20.—The Transit Commission of New York City fixes valuation of forty transit companies to be included in its reorganization plan at \$465,680,154; present book value set by the companies is \$791,000,000; capitalization is reduced from nearly \$1,000,000,000 to \$765,000,000.

The New Jersey legislature completes passage of the Port of New York Authority bill, appropriating \$100,000 for development of the port under a joint board of members from New York and New Jersey.

February 21.—The Foreign Debt Funding Commission is named; the members are to be: Secretaries Mellon, Hughes, Hoover, and Senator Reed Smoot (Rep., Utah), and Representative Theodore Burton (Rep., Ohio).

The New York legislature passes the Port of New York Authority bill.

District Attorney Joseph C. Pelletier of Boston is removed for malfeasance by the Massachusetts Supreme Court.

February 27.—Charles W. Morse is indicted with three sons and eight others for conspiracy to defraud the Government and the United States Fleet Corporation.

Detroit United Railway stockholders accept the city's offer of \$19,850,000 for transit lines; the proposal will be submitted to the voters April 15.

The United States Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the Nineteenth Amendment granting the suffrage to women; the Interstate Commerce Commission is upheld in regulating railroad rates within the States of New York and

Wisconsin, which claimed interference with State rights.

February 28.—The radio telephone conference which met February 27, at Washington, D. C., ends open sessions, and legal, technical, and amateur committees will formulate recommendations for regulating various classes of users.

March 1.—The Government guaranty of 6 per cent. return to railroads expires.

March 2.—Dr. Hubert Work, formerly Mr. Hays's First Assistant, is appointed Postmaster General.

March 4.—The New Jersey Public Utility Commission orders gas rates reduced from \$1.40 to a new rate of \$1.25.

Secretary Denby orders from active service all but 76 destroyers in full, and 40 in partial, commission, in order to save fuel.

March 6.—The United States Supreme Court holds the New York 80-cent gas law unconstitutional and confiscatory under conditions existing in 1918 and 1919.

March 8.—President and Mrs. Harding begin a vacation trip to Florida, for cruising and golfing.

Governor Miller of New York signs a law doubling membership of county committees of political parties in order to give women official representation opportunities.

March 9.—Controller of the Currency Crisinger announces his opposition to loans by banks on adjusted service certificates if the soldier bonus is adopted by Congress in that form.

The New Jersey legislature finally ratifies the Eighteenth (Prohibition) Amendment; Connecticut and Rhode Island are the only States that have not ratified.

March 10.—Complete control of wireless telephone transmission by the Department of Commerce is recommended by the technical committee of the recent radio conference at Washington.

### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 14.—Premier Lloyd George makes a notable speech in the House of Commons on affairs in India, stating he will support the Indian Secretary of State, E. S. Montagu, both in the recent reforms and in suppression of further disorders.

In Ireland, the Ulster border is quiet, but twenty-two persons have been killed and sixty wounded at Belfast within four days.

President Obregon of Mexico orders executed three rebel plotters; they are, General Antonio Pruneda of Coahuila, Capt. Lugardo Perez, and one Ruiz, an ex-Villista.

February 15.—The government of Chancellor Wirth of Germany is upheld, 220 to 185, in the Reichstag.

February 16.—Winston Churchill, Secretary of the Colonies, moves the second reading of the Irish Free State bill, outlining procedure as follows: Passage of bill, Irish elections in March or April, meeting of new Irish Parliament to ratify the treaty, final confirmatory action by British Parliament in June or July, and then the one month option for Ulster to decide whether she will join the rest of Ireland.

The Bonomi Cabinet in Italy again fails, as the Chamber votes 209 to 107 against it; only the Populists and Reformists support the Premier, who resigns a second time.

February 22.—At Dublin, 3000 Sinn Feiners agree to a truce for three months between the Treaty Party of Griffith and Collins and the Republican Party of De Valera; elections are to be held in three months for Irish Parliament and treaty referendum; Provisional Government (Griffith) will function as the executive and Dail Eireann (De Valera) as the legislative branch, each remaining in power, neither able to curtail the other.

In British India, 160 prisoners are released from Faridpur jail upon signing certain promises; they were arrested for non-coöperationist activities.

February 23.—In Tokio, with rioting outside, the Japanese Diet defeats the universal suffrage bill, 288 to 150.

Sir Eric Geddes resigns from Parliament to resume business life; as head of the Economy Committee he recently suggested savings of £75,000,000.

February 24.—Canada's population statistics are announced for 1921; they show an increase of 20 per cent. over 1911, with a total of 8,772,631 persons now in the Dominion.

February 25.—The Italian Cabinet is reformed by Luigi Facta, with Signor Schanzer as Foreign Minister.

The Lloyd George government loses its third by-election within a week; there have been sixty-four by-elections, of which the Coalition majority has held only thirty-three, Labor and Independent Liberals gaining.

February 28.—At London, Princess Mary—only daughter of King George and Queen Mary—is married to Viscount Lascelles.

Field Marshal Allenby, British High Commissioner in Egypt, proclaims the abolition of the British protectorate and restoration of Egyptian sovereignty and independence; status quo is preserved provisionally on defense, security of communications, and protection of foreigners and the Sudan.

March 1.—An Egyptian Cabinet is formed by Abdel Khalek Sarvat Pasha.

March 2.—Lady Rhondda becomes the first woman to sit in the British House of Lords, succeeding to her father's seat under a construction of a women's political enabling act of 1919.

Sir Robert Horne, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, informs the House of Commons that the Washington Conference agreements will save £10,000,000 to British taxpayers in the forthcoming financial year.

March 3.—Arthur J. Balfour, head of Britain's delegation at the Washington Conference, is knighted by King George with the Order of the Garter.

March 5.—Limerick is seized by 400 Irish Republican armed sympathizers of De Valera, who order Free State forces to leave; British troops police the town.

March 8.—Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary for India, publishes at London a dispatch from Lord Reading, Viceroy of India, imploring revision of



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HON. CHARLES A. RAWSON, OF DES MOINES, IOWA, WHO HAS TAKEN MR. KENYON'S SEAT IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE

(Mr. Rawson is a business man of the highest type, and a graduate of the college at Grinnell, of which, like Senator Cummins, he is also a trustee. He has been active as a Republican, Chairman of the State Committee, and manager of Senator Kenyon's campaigns. It is announced that in accepting the present appointment he does not intend to be a candidate at the polls this year, when a permanent successor to Senator Kenyon will be chosen.)

the Sevres treaty with Turkey to alleviate Mohammedan unrest in India; a conference on the Near East was to have been held March 22 at Paris between British, French, and Italians.

The House of Commons passes the Irish Free State bill, 295 to 52, without amendment.

March 9.—Secretary Montagu is asked by Premier Lloyd George to resign.

The Washington Conference agreements are presented to the Canadian Parliament for ratification.

The Government of the Union of South Africa mobilizes horse, foot, and artillery, to reinforce police in quelling disorders arising from a strike of gold miners on the Rand; natives are arming to repel attacks of strikers.

March 10.—Mahondas K. Gandhi, leader of a non-coöperative revolution in India, is arrested at Ahmedabad, 300 miles north of Bombay.

March 11.—Italian reports indicate a serious revolution in Tripoli; the railroad is cut, Aziza is isolated, and Chater and Zavia are abandoned by Italian troops.

An aviator bombs gold mine strikers near Johannesburg in the South African disorders; a Scotch detachment is ambushed; 600 casualties have occurred, with 80 killed.

Irish factions at Limerick reach an agreement;



Republican and Free State troops march out side by side; a British garrison stays in the barracks.

March 12.—In South Africa, vigorous fighting occurs between gold mine strikers (said to be "Reds") and police, reinforced by troops and airplanes; 1500 are captured.

Michael Collins faces "heckling" at Cork, speaking uncompromisingly for the Free State in face of shots, jeers, and cries of "traitor"; he calls the Republicans fools and madmen who would ruin Ireland if they had their way.

The Greek Premier, Demetrios Gounaris, loses a vote of confidence, 161 to 156, on Allied mediation with Turkey, to which he had consented; Nicholas Stratos is charged by King Constantine with forming a new ministry.

In Albania, revolutionists occupy Tirana, the capital; the Government moves to Elbassan, south of Scutari; Zugliedi and Ilisuddusek head the revolt, against Ahmed Zagoli.

March 13.—In the House of Commons it is announced that the army appropriation for the coming year will be £62,300,000, compared with £93,714,000 last year; the navy appropriation is £17,595,000 less than for 1921-22.

March 14.—The House of Commons approves the Egyptian policy, 202 to 70.

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

February 11.—The Yap treaty is signed by Secretary Hughes and Japanese Ambassador Shidehara at Washington and is sent to the President.

February 15.—The Permanent Court of International Justice is opened at The Hague.

February 20.—The first corn of the \$20,000,000 worth authorized by the American Congress for Russian Relief is received on the Volga; eleven trains are loaded for Ufa, Orenburg, Samara, and Saratov.

February 25.—Premier Lloyd George confers with the new French Premier, Poincaré, at Boulogne; it is agreed that the proposed economic conference will be held April 10 at Genoa.

March 2.—Final ratifications of the United States treaty with Colombia.

Washington sets April 26 as the date for Chile and Peru to discuss fulfillment of the treaty of Ancon, covering the Tacna-Arica dispute, now near settlement after thirty years.

March 3.—At Fiume, Italian Fascisti riot and oust Signor Zanella, President of the Free State of Fiume.

March 6.—President Harding prohibits exports of arms from the United States to China, under Congressional resolution of January 31, 1921.

March 7.—American marines, court-martialed for disorders at Managua, Nicaragua, are sentenced to long prison terms and the garrison is changed.

March 8.—The United States declines to participate in the Genoa Conference, in a note by Secretary Hughes which criticizes the proposed discussion as political rather than economic.

March 11.—Allied ministers of finance at Paris defer decision on the renewed American claim for \$241,000,000 for Rhine occupation by United States troops; but they divide among themselves

the first billion marks paid by Germany; Britain gets 500,000,000; France 140,000,000; Italy 30,000,000, and Belgium the remainder.

### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

February 13.—The Institute for Public Service announces results of its annual history test among 200,000 high school and college students; only 20,000 average 46 per cent. on "street corner" and sports topics, but improvement is shown in knowledge of current history and events.

February 15.—Secretary of State Hughes sails for Bermuda on a two weeks' vacation.

February 17.—In China, 6,000,000 people face starvation due to floods destroying 20 per cent. of the rice crop in the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Anhwei, where there was famine in 1921.

February 18.—At Washington, D. C., seven theaters are closed, including two "legitimate" houses, because of structural weaknesses discovered as a result of the theater collapse last month.

The United Mine Workers' wage convention at Indianapolis adjourns after defeating Alexander Howatt and electing John L. Lewis international president; it votes a wage demand on the present scale, with a six-hour day and a five-day week in bituminous mines.

February 19.—Income returns for 1919 show five persons with an income of \$5,000,000 that year and sixty-five with incomes of \$1,000,000 or over; 5,332,760 persons paid taxes on their incomes.

February 20.—Anthracite coal mine operators announce assent to meet miners to discuss a new wage contract to replace that expiring March 31.

February 21.—The Army dirigible *Roma* (recently purchased from Italy) crashes in flames near Hampton Roads, Va.; 34 of the crew are killed, 11 survive; the vessel was alighting after trouble with its rudder, and came in contact with high voltage wires that caused an explosion of its gas bag.

The death rate for the United States, it is announced, decreased from 14.9 per thousand in 1910 to 13 per thousand in 1920.

February 22.—Representatives of 2,000,000 union coal miners, railroad men, and longshoremen form an alliance at Chicago; the plan is not effective till ratified by the various local unions.

The Aeronautical Research Committee in England reports its findings on the *ZR-2 (R-38)* airship disaster, stating that "in the stress calculations which were made by the (English) design staff, the airship was assumed throughout to be in the static buoyant condition; the stresses which would be imposed due to the additional air pressures when in flight were not calculated."

The twelve-year dispute between New York newspaper publishers and union pressmen is settled by arbitration of Judge Martin T. Manton, under agreement by both sides in advance to be bound by his decision.

February 23.—At Washington, D. C., leaders of the American Bar Associations advocate more exacting requirements in education of applicants through academic courses as well as improved technical instruction.

March 2.—The Census Bureau announces that New York City, with a total population of 6,000,000, has 2,786,112 foreign-born residents, of whom 1,153,813 are naturalized citizens.

March 7.—The second annual radio show opens at New York City; 2000 persons are turned away for lack of accommodation.

March 8.—The Norwegian freighter *Grontoft* founders in midocean in a terrific gale with all hands lost; an unknown wireless operator shows heroic disregard for death, sending wireless bulletins until the ship plunges to the bottom.

March 12.—At Union City, Ga., a train wreck kills seven and injures sixteen persons.

March 14.—Tornadoes sweep Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Oklahoma, killing and injuring many persons.

### OBITUARY

February 13.—Luigi Denza, composer of the opera "Funicoli Funicola," 76.

February 15.—Dr. James Martin Peebles, physician and author, 100.

February 16.—Bishop John Edward Robinson, Methodist missionary to India and Burmah from the United States, 73. . . . Benjamin F. Buck, New York book publisher, 57.

February 17.—Francis Cornelius Drake, general art director of the New York *World*, organizer of the American Liberties League, 50.

February 20.—John Franklin Shafroth, former Governor and twice United States Senator (Dem.) from Colorado, 67. . . . A. H. Taylor, Congressman from Indiana from 1892 to 1894, 74. . . . Rear Adm. James Dexter Adams, U. S. N., retired, 73. . . . Rear Adm. John Van Benthuyssen Bleecker, U. S. N., retired, 74.

February 21.—Richard Gilder Cholmeley-Jones, former Director of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, who reorganized and made efficient this great veterans' relief work, 38.

February 24.—Viscount Lewis Harcourt, former British Secretary of State for Colonies from 1910 to 1915, 59. . . . Dr. Orland Faulkland Lewis, sociologist, 49.

February 26.—Samuel Peter Orth, Cornell professor of political science, 49.

February 27.—Bernard Walter Evans, British landscape painter, 78.

March 1.—Dr. George Harris, president emeritus of Amherst College, author of religious works, 77. . . . Dr. Frank Byrnes, well-known Chicago surgeon, 59. . . . Dr. John Caspar Branner, president emeritus of Stanford University, geologist, 72.

March 2.—Henri Bataille, noted French playwright, 50. . . . Major J. B. Thomas, president of Imperial War Veterans of Canada, 58.

March 3.—Joseph Rhode Grismer, actor, playwright, and manager, 73. . . . James Henry Ottley, for many years publisher of *McCall's Magazine*, 70. . . . Dr. James Woods Babcock, of Columbia, S. C., pellagra specialist and alienist, 65.

March 4.—Bert Williams, negro comedian, 46.

March 6.—Henry De Witt Hotchkiss, New York



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THE LATE COLONEL R. G. CHOLMELEY-JONES, OF NEW YORK

(Richard G. Cholmeley-Jones, who died in New York February 21, was one of the men whose capacity for unselfish service and whose genius for the direction of organized effort on a large scale were tested to the utmost during the exigencies of the war. For many years he had been an important member of the business staff of the *Review of Reviews*. Heart trouble prevented his entering the fighting services, and he became the most active man abroad in carrying on the business of soldiers' insurance. Soon after his retirement from the army he was summoned to Washington to become the head of the War Risk Bureau. Under him was the largest number of employees in any of the Washington services; and by indefatigable effort the vast business of the Bureau was made systematic and efficient. Early in the present Administration Col. Cholmeley-Jones returned to business life in New York; but his labors for the soldiers and their dependents had so exhausted his vitality that he succumbed to an illness which probably would not otherwise have shortened his life. Many pages would be needed to do justice to his noble qualities and to his career of useful service.)

Supreme Court Justice, 66. . . . Col. John Lambert, steel merchant, 75.

March 7.—Edgar H. Cottrell, who developed the rotary press for printing magazines, 72.

March 8.—Col. John Page Nicholson, of Philadelphia, Pa., chairman of Gettysburg National Park Commission, 79. . . . Gen. Benjamin Lefevre, of Ohio, lawyer and former Congressman, 84.

March 9.—William H. Remick, recently president of the New York Stock Exchange, 56.

March 11.—Dr. Charles William Waidner, chief physicist of the Bureau of Standards, 49. . . . Robert John Wynne, Postmaster General in 1905 under President Roosevelt, 71. . . . Charles A. Barcher, publisher and editor of the *American Commercial Traveler*.

March 12.—Harrie Irving Hancock, author and chemist, 54.

March 13.—James Stuart MacKie, railroad financier, 67. . . . Prof. Boynton Wells McFarland, of the chemistry department of Yale, 54.

# FROM WASHINGTON TO GENOA, IN CARTOONS



A COW THE ONLY THING NEEDED—From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



THE CONGRESSMAN'S NIGHTMARE

From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)

364



"HELP! HELP!"

From the *Tribune* (Chicago, Ill.)



WITH THE ROADS ALL BLOCKED!  
From the *News* (Rome, Ga.)



WITHOUT THE AID OF A NET  
From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)



NOT QUITE AS IT WAS PLANNED—From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)



"HEY, HERE'S ANOTHER PASSENGER"  
From the *Spokesman Review* (Spokane, Wash.)



"IT'S ON THE MENU—BUT I DON'T KNOW HOW  
TO MAKE IT!"—From the *Times* (New York)



NOW HE KNOWS WHAT THE WAR WAS LIKE  
From *Central Press Association* (Cleveland, Ohio)

IN the halls of Congress two topics have pressed for attention during recent weeks: The Senate has had before it, for ratification or rejection, the series of treaties representing the work of the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament and on Far Eastern Questions; while the House has been endeavoring to frame a measure which would provide a bonus for each veteran of the recent war and at the same time find the



A HORSE! A HORSE! MY KINGDOM FOR A HORSE  
From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)



"WHY DON'T YOU COME IN THE FRONT DOOR?  
IT'S OPEN!"

From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

money with which to pay that bonus. In the European press the approaching economic conference at Genoa—an invitation to which



THE SPEAR THAT KNOWS NO BROTHER  
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)





THE SENATE AND THE NEW TREATIES  
From the *News* (Indianapolis, Indiana)

Uncle Sam declined—has been the chief subject for the cartoonist. European politics and progress have seemed to mean just one conference after another, with renewed hope that each succeeding one will bear fruit. At this Genoa conference Russians and Germans, sitting around the table with Allied representatives, will furnish new possibilities.



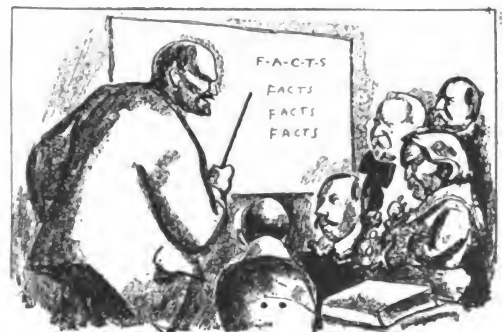
ANOTHER LITTLE JACK HORNER  
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)



A WORD TO THE WISE  
From the *American* © (New York)



WILL HE EVER STOP TALKING?  
From the *Times* (New York)



LENINE AT GENOA  
From the *Liberator* (New York)



#### COLUMBUS INVITES UNCLE SAM

"As I once discovered you, so I seek you once again."  
From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



#### THE ROAD TO EUROPEAN PEACE

PANTALONE (the lean and slippered gentleman familiar in Italian comedy): "If Genoa is not the last station, I will send you and all your diplomacy to another place—to perdition!"

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



#### RUSSIA AND GERMANY AT GENOA

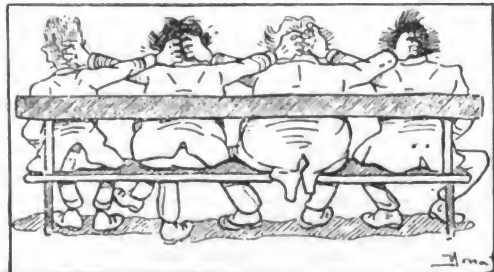
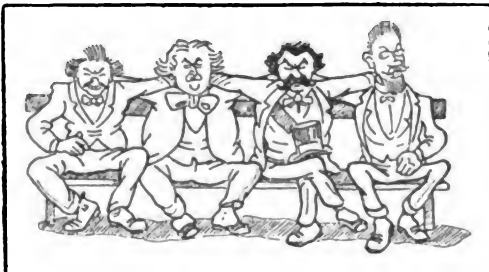
LYDD GEORGE (to France): "Meet the good Lenine and the poor Stinnes."

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



#### HOW FRANCE FIGURES THE BASIS OF A POSSIBLE "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



#### FRONT AND REAR VIEWS OF THE ALLIES IN CONFERENCE—From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)





"ITS COMB IS REMARKABLY SWOLLEN. IT IS HIGH TIME IT GOT A LITTLE ATTENTION"  
From *Die Muskete* (Vienna, Austria)



I LOVE YOU, MADAME, BUT YOU MUST PAY ME  
From *Le Cri de Paris* (Paris, France)



EUROPE SINKING UNDER THE WEIGHT OF ITS DEBT  
From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)  
Apr.—3



THE FRENCH FIGHTING COCK  
This creature will not let its claws and beak be clipped.  
That may prove dangerous  
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

French criticism of Uncle Sam balances German and Austrian criticism of France, in the cartoons reproduced on this page.



LIBERTY ENLIGHTENS THE WORLD  
"You must pay, to the last farthing!"  
From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



#### UNCLE SAM CALLS A HALT

"Before you start a new war—pay for the old one!"

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)

[The gentleman on horseback is Premier Poincaré of France, who is represented by this German cartoonist as being more militaristic than his predecessor, Briand, had been]



#### EMULATING THE IRISH BOY AND HIS NEW TOY LITTLE INDIA and LITTLE EGYPT: "Pa, we want one, too!"

From the *Passing Show* (London, England)



#### THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT GENOA

FRANCE (the real one needing economic reconstruction): "Well, here are new clients. What chance will I have here?"

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

[The bench is filled by Russian, German, Turk, Greek, etc. It should be remembered that the French believe that they always lose nowadays when they consent to sit with other nations in conference]



#### THE POLITICAL RACE IN INDIA

From the *Hindi Punch* (Bombay, India)

[The runner at the right is Gandhi, the revolutionist, and his opponent is Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India in the British Cabinet. Since this cartoon was published in India, Gandhi has been arrested and Mr. Montagu has been dismissed after an incident which indicated too much sympathy for Indian aspirations]

# EUROPE PREPARES FOR GENOA

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. THE FIRST STEP

THIS article is written in London in the early days of March, immediately following the Boulogne Conference. From that conference emerged a Franco-British agreement to hold a Genoa Conference in conformity with the earlier arrangement made at Cannes. Even now, some days after the Boulogne meeting between Lloyd George and M. Poincaré, the exact details remain unknown. Two things, however, seem to be fairly clear: First, that Anglo-French relations, after having steadily worsened for a long period of time until they reached the climax at Washington, are on the mend; secondly, that the main business of the Genoa Conference will be some step or experiment in reopening Russian markets. Perhaps of equal importance was the agreement between the two Prime Ministers upon a formal Anglo-French engagement, which should carry with it a guarantee for France against a fresh German attack—that guarantee which France has demanded at all times and obtained at the Paris Conference, only to lose in the United States Senate.

Now, roughly speaking, this was the result of the Boulogne Conference on the positive side. Negatively, it was agreed under French urging that the Genoa meeting should not consider the question of reparations, the question of land armaments, or the question of the treaties made at Paris in the Conference of 1919. It was also agreed that while the invitation to Russia, agreed upon at Cannes, should stand, the presence of representatives of the Bolshevik Government at the Genoa Conference would not constitute a recognition of the Bolshevik Government as *de jure*.

Now precisely what does the Genoa Conference promise under the program, so far as it is known at the present moment?

Let us recognize at once that it is not going to be a definitive reassembly of Europe. No such ambitious plan remains after Boulogne. Europe is going to sit down at a conference table together again. Germany

is going to be received for the first time since the war as an equal, Russia is going to be admitted on sufferance, and there is to be a discussion of ways and means to reopen commercial relations between Western Europe and Bolshevik Russia.

I am going in a moment to trace rapidly some of the steps which led to the Genoa Conference and explain the attitude particularly of Great Britain to this conference, but in the first place I am anxious to give my readers a clear impression that the largest possible advantage reasonable people here believe could result from the conference in Italy is not any detailed or general program for European reconstruction, but only an agreement to hold a real economic conference in the fall.

It should be noted that there is in London, as there is all over Europe, profound scepticism in many quarters as to any useful result at all flowing from the Genoa Conference. It is going to be an experiment at the best. It is going to be an experiment in which the chances of disagreement and of failure are very great. Its success must depend on the degree to which the unmistakable popular demand for economic rehabilitation drives and coerces the statesmen who represent the several countries.

There is, moreover, one further circumstance which I feel I ought to emphasize at the outset, and that is that there is no obvious reason for American participation in this particular conference. It is going to be a European "show." It is going to be the first considerable attempt on the part of Europe to talk things over. Great Britain is going to make a tremendous effort to bring Russia back into the economic world, but just as Mr. Hoover defined the Washington Conference, so the Genoa Conference may now be described as promising at most to be "a red carpet leading to a party."

In other words, if Genoa succeeds in its modest program it will lead directly and inescapably to a later conference, in which questions, a great many questions, which are omitted from the agenda of Genoa will come up. America could hardly afford to miss

this later conference, but speaking after a very brief stay on this side of the water, it is not yet clear to me that there is any good reason for American participation in Genoa.

## II. THE BRITISH SITUATION

Having thus briefly outlined the contemporary view of the possibilities of Genoa I mean now to take up in some detail the story of the origin of the call for the Conference itself. Everyone in America knows to what extent the Washington Government was taken by surprise when suddenly there emerged in the cable despatches from Cannes the announcement of a new conference in Europe resulting from the conversations between M. Briand and Mr. Lloyd George. Rather generally it was assumed in the United States that the compelling causes of the call were economic rather than political. Now what was the exact explanation?

It would seem to be this: Lloyd George and his political advisers felt that the moment had arrived for a general election in Great Britain. The Irish settlement, the Washington Conference, then approaching a successful end, both supplied admirable campaign arguments for Lloyd George. There remained the question of British economic conditions, the grave problem of unemployment, which I shall discuss in a moment, but if Lloyd George could summon Europe to a conference, if he could at that conference break down the barriers with Russia and theoretically at least open the Russian market to British production, there would be an admirable program of achievement on which to ask a renewal of his popular mandate.

In this situation Lloyd George invited M. Briand to come to London. The French Prime Minister was in a difficult situation. While he had been weak before his excursion to America, this journey had proved a dismal political failure. Unmistakably Briand was on the verge of falling. Unless he could achieve some new triumph of an immediate and spectacular character his days were numbered.

When Briand came to London, Lloyd George presented to him the project of the Genoa Conference, and offered in return for the French agreement to attend such a conference with a British guarantee for French security, the guarantee which had been and remained the chief demand of Frenchmen of all political shades. In return for this guarantee Briand was to go to

Genoa. He was to agree that Germany should be present, that Russia should come, and there was an implied understanding that Russian attendance should amount to a European recognition of the Bolshevik Government of Russia.

This agreement was made in London; Briand went back to Paris and announced that no agreement had been reached. Then he and Lloyd George met at Cannes, where the terms actually agreed upon in London were produced over the golf course. Meantime, however, reports of what had been agreed upon in London reached Paris, and while Briand was at Cannes began to produce general and widespread apprehension in French political circles.

Then came a premature publication of the agreement for the Genoa Conference. Coupled with this publication was the fact that France was after all to have her treaty of guarantee. Unhappily for Briand the result was quite contrary to his expectations. The President of the Republic, the majority in the Chamber of Deputies, so far from hailing a British guarantee, took alarm at the reported terms on which the Genoa Conference was to assemble.

The result was, of course, the dramatic resignation of Briand, the coming of Poincaré, and the Genoa program was left hanging. It was clear that Poincaré did not wish to go to Genoa, that a whole new set of negotiations would have to be undertaken between Poincaré and Lloyd George before the Genoa program could be rescued. This was the situation when I wrote my March article, and it amounted to a deadlock between Paris and London.

## III. LLOYD GEORGE'S PREDICAMENT

Now looking at Lloyd George's position it is necessary to appreciate certain circumstances. The dominant fact in Great Britain to-day is the economic situation. More than two million people are out of work and drawing unemployment pay from the Government. Owing to the unsettled conditions all over the world, but mainly on the Continent, British exports have fallen off enormously, British factories are idle, British ships are tied up, and the country is going through an unprecedented period of hard times.

In this situation the dominant necessity of Lloyd George is obviously to do some-

thing to restore British trade. It is a fact that Great Britain has faced the problem of reconstruction following the war, so far as she herself is concerned, with more intelligence, more energy and more determination than any other country in the world. She has placed upon the shoulders of her citizens a burden of taxation heavier than that carried by any other people; she has in a large measure put her house in order. One is surprised on every hand by the evidences of the energy, persistence and determination with which the British people are attacking the grave problem which confronts them.

Unfortunately, however, the British situation is such that no amount of ordering of their own house will largely avail to improve their situation. As long as continental conditions are what they are, as exchange is in its present state, practically none of the continental nations can buy British products. It will not be possible to resume "business as usual" until there is restored in Europe that purchasing power which was abolished by the war. Therefore the main business of British statesmen, facing domestic conditions, must be to bring about a stabilization of economic conditions, a reopening of the markets of Europe to British production.

Now up to the present time, as I have often written, Franco-British differences have paralyzed all British attempts to bring about a reconstruction of the economic situation of Europe. France needs not markets, but money. She is fiscally ruined if Germany doesn't pay, but economically she is not suffering from unemployment. She doesn't sell largely abroad. Her people are practically self-sustaining. Therefore she is not interested, as is Great Britain, in the restoration of European markets.

The great problem for Lloyd George has been and remains to find a method of reconciling French interests with British interests. He is practically doomed if he cannot in a reasonably brief time bring about a change in the domestic situation in Great Britain. He must find work for the millions. He can find that work only when he has been able to bring about a reconstruction of the markets of the continent. But he cannot achieve this latter until there is agreement between Great Britain and France. For Britain it is a vital thing that Germany should be brought back into the economic system of the world, but France is not prepared for this resurrection, while Germany continues to evade payment of reparations.

All that has taken place in the last three years, all that has taken place in recent weeks, has resulted from this essential divergence of English and French interests. There has grown up between the two countries an enormous amount of suspicion, of dislike, of bitterness. The British ascribe to France and the French policies the fact that they have millions unemployed. The French insist that Great Britain is prepared to sacrifice the security and the solvency of France to British trade and commerce. We saw in Washington how far the bitterness between the two countries had gone. The fall of Briand was interpreted in many directions in Britain and in France as forecasting an actual break between the allies.

#### IV. BOULOGNE

Fortunately for Europe and for the world, Franco-British relations have undergone a marked improvement in recent weeks. The turn was accomplished in a rather dramatic fashion by the appearance first in Paris and then in London of the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, M. Benes, one of the most considerable figures in Europe, and one may say in passing that this appearance of the representative of a minor country in an important rôle may easily constitute another landmark in contemporary European history.

At the moment when M. Benes came to Paris, Great Britain and France were frankly deadlocked. Genoa was in abeyance. M. Poincaré had despatched to London a long lawyer's document, setting forth conditions on which France would go to Genoa and Lloyd George had refrained from making any direct answer in the apparent fear that a long series of polemic notes were to be exchanged. There was an absolute deadlock and all Europe was growing restive.

In coming to Paris the attitude of M. Benes and the interest of his country were obvious. No single country in Europe, certainly no new state, has made such progress in organization as Czechoslovakia, but as an industrial country it also depends upon the reestablishment of trade conditions outside its own borders. Thus to a considerable extent Czechoslovakian interest runs with British, notably in the case of Russia.

On the other hand, Czechoslovakia is not merely one state alone in Central Europe but it is also a member of the Little Entente, that is, of the alliance of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Jugoslavia, to which Poland has

just given its adhesion. All these states except Yugoslavia are immediately concerned with the European situation. Poland and Rumania are still under the menace of some later Russian attack. Accordingly the "little entente" tended to hold with France against immediate recognition of Russia, while holding with Great Britain on the question of the advisability of an economic conference and the restoration of commerce with Russia.

In his opening conversation with M. Poincaré, M. Benes made it perfectly clear that the Little Entente for which he spoke, measurably at least, was neither anti-British nor anti-French, that it was pro-European, that it was vitally interested not in the success of British policy over French or French over British, but in the accommodation of all difficulties and in the restoration of European order. And I think it is worth while emphasizing again how significant is this phenomenon of the rising for the first time of the newer and smaller states of Europe to insist upon progress and reconstruction.

Having obtained from M. Poincaré a statement of the French view, M. Benes came to London and engaged in an equally lengthy and exhaustive examination with Mr. Lloyd George of the British thesis. He carried back then from London to Paris what amounted to British assent to practically all of the French proposals, or, more exactly, he was able to report to M. Poincaré that there was appreciation of the French point of view in London and he carried also the personal invitation of Lloyd George to M. Poincaré for an interview "somewhere in France."

The result was the Boulogne conference and the agreement at Boulogne to revert to the Cannes plan and go to Genoa. M. Poincaré showed himself in the conference very firm in his insistence on the exclusion of reparations and of armaments but, after all, this had been agreed upon at Cannes. What really happened was the discovery of a working basis between George and Poincaré.

## V. THE PRESENT SITUATION

Substantially this situation which I have described still exists at the moment I write. There have been certain modifications in the British political condition. Lloyd George's project of a general election was at least temporarily blocked by Sir George Younger, the manager of the conservative party which controls the larger fraction of the Coalition in which Lloyd George depends. The tem-

porary postponement of the Irish settlement has weakened another basis of appeal to the British electorate. It is not impossible that delay and debate over the Washington treaties in America may also injure Lloyd George's prospects or destroy his enthusiasm for a general election.

Nevertheless, at the moment practically all well-informed British observers expect that not later than June there will be a general election in Great Britain and that Lloyd George depends for his chief appeal to the British electorate upon a shining success at Genoa. Moreover, chief among his hopes must be reckoned the reopening of commercial relations with Russia.

In conference with M. Poincaré and upon M. Benes's advice Lloyd George has agreed that Russia shall not be recognized at Genoa, but only after she has given evidence in the course of commercial relations of being able and ready to act as a civilized and solvent state. He seems satisfied, as I have said, that the fact that he has reopened Russian markets will be held in Great Britain as a promise of economic restoration and an end of unemployment.

If the American is to understand Genoa, therefore, he must see clearly that it has its origin in the political and in the economic conditions of Great Britain. A general election is almost inevitable. The House of Commons as chosen immediately following the armistice has ceased to be in any sense representative. Defeat after defeat in recent days and weeks has shaken the prestige of the present government and dissolution is patently impending if the government is not to perish by dry rot.

On the economic side unemployment remains and there exists, rightly or wrongly, the conviction that swift and general improvement will follow the readmission of Germany into the circle of European powers and the limited recognition of Russia which means the reopening of the Russian market. If George is to be successful in a general election he must not only have his Genoa Conference but he must insist upon both his German and Russian points, but even more on the Russian than on the German.

On the other hand, important as is the British political situation to which one must look to find an explanation for the call to Genoa, it is not less plain, as the Benes episode indicates, that new forces are rising in Europe. For three years Great Britain and France have been drifting apart. They have

been brought together at least for the moment by the representative of a state which did not exist four years ago. There has been a very real lessening of Anglo-French bitterness.

There is, too, more than a hint in the Benes episode that Europe, the Little Entente, which now stands for nearly seventy-five millions of people, does not mean that Anglo-French differences shall plunge Europe into new chaos or postpone recovery.

I am not going to undertake in this article to deal with the French side of the question, as I shall write from France next month on my way to Genoa, but it does seem to me from the London point of view that the immediate danger of an Anglo-French break is over, that the Boulogne conference has been a first and a considerable step toward a restoration of Anglo-French friendship shortly to be cemented by a treaty of guarantee, and that the Genoa Conference may conceivably prove to be an initial move toward a real European conference next fall at which the United States could profitably be represented.

On the other hand, no one must blink the fact that there are very great dangers in the pathway of Genoa. The American feeling that it is a profound mistake to invite Bolshevik Russia finds widespread echo in Great Britain. In Liberal and Labor quarters by contrast there is unmistakable bitterness over the projected French guarantee and frank and open assertion that Germany and not France is the natural ally of the British people.

There is, moreover, the problem of the British general election, and the possibility even of the disappearance of Lloyd George before the Genoa Conference itself. Genoa itself, as I have said, had its genesis in a projected general election in Great Britain. French adhesion was a result of the momentary political situation of M. Briand, who has disappeared, and of the Italian premier M. Bonomi, who has likewise gone. It remains important for Lloyd George because he still thinks of a general election. It has the passive rather than the active assent of Poincaré and no one knows the attitude of the present Italian Ministry. In a word, Genoa is involved in domestic politics wherever one turns.

The Genoa Conference, then, looked at very closely, seems quite different from the picture one formed of it on American shores. It was purely British until M. Benes came

to London. Thanks to him it has assumed a European character. Much, if not most, will depend in the near future upon the attitude of the Little Entente toward the Genoa gathering. Exactly what the United States could do in a conference practically the sole purpose of which is to agree upon reopening trade with Russia remains problematical. It is true that the Genoa *agenda* may be expanded, but it seems unlikely, considering the definite pledges exchanged between Lloyd George and Poincaré at Boulogne. So far as one can see from London in the first days of March it promises to be a wholly European affair, prompted by European political conditions and surrounded at least by as many doubts as promises, and political crises in Britain, France and Italy may postpone and even prevent it up to the very last moment.

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*Postscript:*—Arriving in Paris after the publication of the American note declining to participate in the Genoa Conference, I found that it was no longer believed that the Conference could have far-reaching consequences.

In general, America's refusal to go to Genoa and her objections to meeting the Russians were welcomed by the French. The Hughes note was disappointing to France, in so far as it was interpreted as a refusal of the United States to take part in European reconstruction. As to the reduction of land armaments, the French have all along held that an army must be available for the collection of the German indemnity, if no real settlement of the reparations problem can be otherwise reached. In fact, the French view is precisely the reverse of the American in the matter of reparations. To the American suggestion that reparations be reduced to a possible figure, and the French armaments cut down until the budget is balanced, the French say that they cannot reduce either reparations or their armies until their own debts are disposed of. France's heaviest budget items are the sums spent in rebuilding the devastated regions, in paying war pensions, and the advances against the ultimate German repayment. The nation is not dominated by a militaristic group. If too much is being spent on the army, it is because of the Frenchman's belief that if he makes a reduction now, Germany will not pay anything.



# THE COAL OUTLOOK

BY FLOYD W. PARSONS

**T**HERE is an old saying that when one begins in mistake, he generally ends in ignominy. The leaders of the United Mine Workers of America, in their fight to maintain wages at a wartime level, completely ignored fundamental economic facts, and are about to pay dearly for the error of their ways. No great American labor organization ever before has started such a hopeless fight or faced such complete disaster as the miners do now.

The coal operators are not a lily-white crowd, and in proportion to their numbers it is safe to say there is no greater degree of virtue among them than exists in the ranks of their workers. However, in the present controversy with their men, the coal-mine owners in standing firm for a reduction in wages are pursuing the only course that is just or practical in this time of industrial reconstruction. It is not fair or possible to stabilize wages in the United States on any basis except one that is uniformly equitable. Neither harmony nor happiness can result in our industrial life when the workers in one or two industries receive a rate of pay that is entirely out of line with the wages paid in other industries for similar work.

Not only is such a plan unjust, but in every case where an effort has been made to establish a situation of this kind, the attempt has proved a failure. The public is ever slow in setting about righting a wrong, but when it gets moving, the evil for the remedy is always forthcoming. Not only will people do without, or curtail their consumption of articles in common use when the prices of these articles are abnormal, but they will cut down on the use of life's so-called essentials when the prices of these things are out of line with the scale of prices generally. The invariable result of such action by the public is to curtail production and cause unemployment in the industry that has tried to force the people to consent to the maintenance of an inflated wage scale. As has been told over and over again by writers in recent weeks, the union miners throughout the country have had this identical experience. The non-union mines, being able to produce

and sell coal at a lower price, have secured the business, and the unorganized workers in these mines have made more money than the men belonging to the union, even though the wages paid to the latter have been double those given the non-union miners.

The coal industry consists of two essential parts—anthracite and bituminous. Approximately one-fifth of the coal produced is hard coal, and the remaining four-fifths is bituminous. The soft-coal industry, being four times as big, is four times as important as anthracite mining. Over the greater part of the country, the people never come into contact with anthracite coal, and many of them have never seen a lump of it. Therefore they are interested only in soft coal and soft-coal prices. On the other hand, in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and other sections of the East, the average householder buys nothing but anthracite, and is concerned only with anthracite prices. The anthracite industry is closely organized, and is entirely able to take care of itself. The bigger and more important bituminous industry is an unwieldy business made up of units having conflicting interests, and therefore does not lend itself to any centralized control. The operators in one State or district in the bituminous field never lose an opportunity to win the markets or secure an advantage over their brother operators in an adjacent competitive district.

## *Ambitions of the Mine Workers*

Just as the operators, forced by necessity, are bitter rivals for business, so the miners in the different States are compelled to give first thought to Number One, and out of this situation has grown a degree of jealousy that bids fair to wreck the immediate future of the United Mine Workers of America. The personal fight between certain factions in the union, or, rather, between the leaders of these factions, has become so filled with hate that one must accept the conclusion that one powerful group of radicals prefer to wreck their national organization, rather than modify their present ambitions and bury their personal animosities. This situation is

unfortunate, for although the public may profit temporarily through the defeat of the miners, it is not pleasant to think of a great army of hard-working American citizens being made pawns in a conscienceless game of industrial politics. Anyone who doubts these facts, or the existence of unrestrained bitterness in the miners' union, need only dig up and read the detailed account of the recent convention of the United Mine Workers at Indianapolis.

At this Indianapolis meeting, the radicals of the union, while being unable to uncrown President Lewis, showed their power by writing into the demands, in spite of the opposition of Lewis, a call for a five-day week and a six-hour day. This demand alone not only killed every chance of the workers to gain public sympathy, but eliminated their only hope of victory, which was to gain the active support of the railroad unions. If the leaders of the railroad brotherhoods know anything—and their records indicate they are not a dull lot—they must understand that the American people are not ready for a thirty-hour week for labor, and that to support such a demand would be suicidal to their own organizations. With the railroad brotherhoods eliminated from the struggle, the only remaining hope of the miners is for Government intervention, and this they will strive to bring about through the exercise of all their power. It goes without saying that the operators will oppose every move that is made to bring the Government into the quarrel.

In their arguments for the maintenance of the present high wage scale, the miners justify their contention on the following grounds: Short running time; large profits made by the operators; excessive charges by the railroads and by coal dealers; hazards and unhealthfulness of the work. President Lewis insists that the union will not take a backward step, and asserts that if all the other excessive charges relating to the mining and handling of coal are eliminated, the prices of this fuel will be reduced to a proper level without it being necessary to lower wages. Says he: "Some other method than a wage cut must be devised for correcting the evils in mining. We do not propose to have a non-union yardstick applied to our standard of living."

In the anthracite mines there is no such thing any more as short running time, when business is normal. Even in periods of slack business, the anthracite mines work at a

higher rate than do steel mills and other industrial plants. In the bituminous field, one curse of the industry is short-time operation and the seasonal nature of the business. But the miners are mistaken in assuming that high wages is the remedy for the part-time operation of the soft-coal mines. The argument of the union leaders that the state of stagnation in the bituminous industry is a sufficient reason for maintaining a high wage scale is unsound. High wage rates, instead of being a cure, are one of the chief causes of the stagnation, and are not only keeping miners out of employment, but are retarding the recovery of business generally and are a contributing factor to the high cost of living for all wage-earners.

#### *Disorganized State of Bituminous Industry*

It is an oft-repeated fact that we have more bituminous mines and more miners than are necessary to supply the normal fuel demands of the nation. It is a further truth that because of this condition the business of mining soft coal has not been a profitable one, except during the months of war and the year of inflation that followed the ending of hostilities. When there is too much productive capacity and too many workers in any line of business, the only remedy for the resulting evils is to cut down capacity and reduce the number of men. Such a change is now taking place in the coal industry, for the mining business has become so unprofitable that more and more companies each day are being forced to discontinue operations. Bituminous mining has again become a field of enterprise where only the fit may survive.

An examination of the bituminous industry over a period of years shows that while there is a seasonal fluctuation of production, this difficulty is not responsible for the disorganized state of the industry. If we take the dullest summer in mining that has occurred in a dozen years, we find that the soft-coal mines of the country actually worked 66 per cent. of the time they operated in the busiest winter that happened during this same dozen years. This means that even in the six warm months of the year, the miners average four days' work per week, which would provide them with a living wage throughout the whole industry if production were evenly distributed among the different mines. Seasonal production is a serious evil, but it is not the big cause of instability.

Overcapacity and overdevelopment of our bituminous fields are the big factors which create instability. It is impossible to remedy this situation by voluntary and independent action of the mine owners. Likewise, there is no way to compel the suspension of any prescribed percentage of our coal mines by law. The only cure for overcapacity is to educate the coal operator and the coal consumer by means of a statistical agency whose accuracy and authority are beyond doubt. The consumer must be informed as to when to buy coal for storage, so that his purchases will always be wisely directed and his supplies will be adequate to safeguard him in case of a railroad or coal strike. The fact that consumers are prepared will reduce the number and seriousness of these strikes.

### *Crying Need of Stabilization*

For a number of years both producers and consumers of coal have consented to the fixing of March 31 as the expiration date of both wage and sales contracts. This compels the buyer to build up his stocks of coal in the period of heaviest consumption. One sure way to stabilize both prices and employment is to change this contract date to, say, June 30, or some other time that would be far more advantageous than March 31 from the standpoint of stability. The belligerent attitude of organized labor in the soft-coal mines is chiefly due to intermittent employment. In the hard-coal mines, where work is more regular, there has not been a serious strike in twenty years. In the bituminous mines during this same time there have been two big national strikes and two violations of a national agreement under threat of strike, all of which has added to the fluctuation of prices and the irregularity of employment. The same officers of the union dictate the policy of the miners in both fields. This leads to the conclusion that if employment can be stabilized, the labor question can be handled by fair dealing.

The competition of union and non-union mines is also a cause of instability; and while this difficulty can be lessened, it cannot be completely cured. No one can deny mine workers the right to organize in a legal manner. On the other hand, no one can deny the right of workers to deal directly with their employer and keep free of union turmoil if they so desire. In the United States at present, approximately one half of the miners in the country belong to the

union, while the other half are non-union workers. The wage schedules in the non-union fields shift to meet economic conditions, while the wage rates in the union districts do not. So long as this continues, neither wages nor prices can be stabilized, and keen competition will continue.

All that can be done to correct this situation is to have an authoritative agency ascertain and publish the cost of living in all the different mining districts, and compile a budget of the miners' families. This would make it practically impossible for an operator employing non-union workers to set up a wage scale too low to afford the miners a decent living. In such a case the public would be the final judge as to whether or not the miners' wages in any field were in line with American standards. Public opinion is becoming more of a force each day, and few employers can stand out against it.

Other factors of instability are the differences in the quality of coal, private coal cars, and mines owned by large consumers. The only way to cure instability resulting from differences in the grades of coal is to fix or limit prices so that the differentials between different grades will become stable, and this is easier said than done, so such action may be dismissed for the present. The use of private coal cars is an evil that has done much harm, and the remedy is to restrain the railroads from giving such cars preferential movement in excess of the commercial distribution of common cars. Car shortage is more a myth than a reality, and at any rate is a blot on the intelligence exercised by railroad managements. As to the operation of mines owned by steel companies and other large consumers, who normally use at their own industrial plants most of the coal they mine, it might be a good idea to have a law compelling these private mine owners to take out licenses to market that percentage of their capacity which they do not consume themselves. For instance, in the case of mines owned by steel companies, the percentage marketable in years of poor steel business should not be permitted greatly to exceed the percentage marketed in years of active steel business. Such a regulation or law could be enacted, certainly by Congress, if not by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

But after all is said and done, we still find no practical way to remove the principal causes of instability, which are the overcapacity and overdevelopment of our bitumi-

nous mines. Neither the owners of the mines nor the consumers of the coal can eliminate these primary evils while the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is on the books. Since the only cure is to change the Constitution of the United States, which is not an easy thing to do, nothing remains except to educate those who produce coal and those who consume it to the great public dangers from disorganization in the nation's basic industry. The coal consumer can be shown that his hysterical method of buying coal is not only unnecessary and unwise, but is extremely costly to him. The operator and the miner both must be convinced that whatever effort is made to stabilize the soft-coal business is wise and just, and that patience must be exercised until satisfactory results are attained.

#### *Wanted: a Bureau of Coal Economics*

Taking all things into consideration, it is difficult to comprehend any real basis for such fears as are entertained by those members of the coal industry who are opposed to some sort of bureau of coal economics. Such an organization would be able to do more than all else in the stabilization of the bituminous industry. It could compile and analyze data on the cost of production and distribution, and could publish facts and figures each month on coal consumption, coal traffic and coal storage. It could also inform the public concerning the cost of living and miners' wages and earnings in each and every coal district. The operators, of course, would be obliged to furnish data, and the bureau of economics likewise would be compelled to destroy all individual reports of operators immediately after such reports had served their purpose in supplying necessary statistics. A further pledge to the coal industry might consist of a guarantee that such a proposed bureau of coal economics would never be employed to formulate regulations, policies or legislation, and that all the information it collected would be inviolate and immune from confiscation.

Only by education is it possible to establish coal mining on a basis of facts rather than on a foundation of rumors and guesses. The miner cannot be misled by professional agitators if a reliable, disinterested and unprejudiced bureau gives him facts. The individual consumer of coal will not refuse to pay a fair price for his fuel if he knows about what it costs to produce it. The public's mistrust of operators and miners would be largely eliminated if it knew approxi-

mately the true earnings of the business and the difficulties peculiar to mining. With the facts made public, operators would not dare profiteer, and on the other hand they would not ruin themselves by engaging in orgies of price-cutting based on erroneous rumors concerning reductions in prices made by their competitors.

#### *Soft-Coal Mining Unprofitable*

The statement of the leaders of the United Mine Workers that the wage scale should not be reduced because the operators make such large profits is an argument without any foundation whatever in truth. There isn't an industry in the United States, not excepting any public utility, that finds it as difficult to raise money in Wall Street or any other financial center for investment as coal-mining. The only large profits bituminous coal operators have made during the last twenty years were earned during the war, and unless there is another world upheaval of some similar nature, they will not pile up any further profits worth mentioning in the production of soft coal. The fact is that, normally, bituminous mining is so unprofitable that the situation existing is a menace to public welfare, for no enterprise can be conducted strictly with an eye to efficiency and the obtaining of low costs when money is lacking to take advantage of the most modern equipment and methods that produce the highest yield eventually, but entail the largest initial outlay to-day.

The miners' contention that railroad freights are excessive is in complete agreement with the opinion of the majority of our citizens. Of course railroad rates should come down, and one way to bring about such a reduction is to reduce the prices the railroads pay for coal. Railroad workers and miners should not expect to go scot-free in the general downward readjustment that is now taking place.

#### *Miner's Life Not a Hazardous One*

The union leaders lay great stress also on the hazards of mining and the unhealthfulness of the work. I spent a large part of three years in the underground galleries of coal mines, and while mining is far safer to-day than it was then, I would like to disagree with anyone who pictures the coal miner's work as a pleasant occupation. There should be a substantial wage differential in favor of the miner, not so much because of the dangers of his job as because of the

dreariness of a life in the darkness and dirt of an underground coal seam. But when it comes to the matter of safety, it is just twice as dangerous to be a doctor as it is to be a coal miner here in the United States. According to the U. S. census figures, the miner, with a mortality percentage of 0.62, ranks twenty-sixth in a list of thirty-five occupations. He is far below the sailor, who heads the list with a mortality percentage of 2.26. The stone mason is fifth, at 1.17; the merchant tenth, at 1.06, while the clerk is twentieth, at 0.77. The fact is that the miner occupies an astonishingly safe position between the stock-raiser and the bookkeeper, and each day the dangers surrounding him are growing less. The truth is that in mining the hazards really are great, and where the hazards are great everyone is forewarned and forearmed; in such a case, the precautions are great.

#### *Operators Forbidden to Enter Interstate Agreements*

At the present time the miners and operators are hurling back and forth charges of bad faith and broken contracts. The miners contend that the operators broke their contract in refusing to meet with them prior to the termination of the present agreement March 31. While it is possible that the operators have made a mistake in refusing to meet with the miners, it is well to remember that a number of these same operators are still under indictment for participating in the four-states agreement which is about to expire. In view of the decision of Judge Anderson in Indiana, the coal owners have been warned by their counsel against participating in any further contract that fixes the wage scale for the four big districts—Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and western Pennsylvania. The wage scale for these four States heretofore has been used as the base on which wages in all other districts have been established.

The operators, in replying to the charges of broken faith, have notified the union leaders that while they will not go into a Central-States meeting, they will be pleased to meet the leaders of the miners in their own districts. Until the Attorney General squashes the indictments that now stand against them, they will enter into no further agreements that may be interpreted as illegal and as a violation of the laws forbidding restraint of trade.

Looking squarely at all the present aspects

of the matter, there is small chance of avoiding a strike. The operators certainly will stand out for abolition of the "check-off" system, which plan the miners consider so vital to their welfare that there isn't one chance in a hundred that they will give up the "check-off" without a fight. The "check-off" simply means that the operators in their contract with the miners agree to deduct a prescribed sum from the pay of each and all of the union workers they employ, and pay over to the union the total of the money thus collected. A disagreement on the "check-off" alone is sufficient to bring about a strike.

#### *Strike Possibilities*

If the miners are not supported by the railroad workers, it is likely their defeat will be a speedy one. The coal supplies on hand are sufficient to last for at least twelve weeks. In the meantime, the non-union mines will be producing at the rate of at least 6,000,000 tons a week, which is about three-fourths of our present coal consumption. If times were normal, the unorganized mines would be able to produce only one-half of what the country would require.

President John Lewis, of the union, is one of the best educated men the miners have ever had for a leader. He is shrewd and determined, but has lost the support of many of his followers through showing a spirit of intolerance. That other leaders of local unions intend to smash Lewis if they can is no secret. All the facts at hand indicate that these enemies of the miners' president will not even hesitate to destroy their national union in order to dethrone their leader. But even in such a case, the State organizations will remain and another and different national could gradually be erected.

The conditions that now exist and have existed for a generation in our great basic coal industry are a national disgrace and a reflection on the intelligence of a civilized people. These recurring coal strikes disorganize business throughout the land and are accompanied by a monstrous and unnecessary waste. If there ever was a psychological moment for securing legislation to insure the proper rights of both capital and labor, and at the same time to guarantee the people of the nation against distress, losses, and the violation of their constitutional liberty, the time is right now. The coal industry must be stabilized if we are to remove the worst canker in our social system.



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AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF THE TENNESSEE RIVER AT FLORENCE, ALA., SHOWING THE MAIN DAM OF THE MUSCLE SHOALS DEVELOPMENT

# THE MUSCLE SHOALS POWER AND INDUSTRIAL PROJECT

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

ONE day last June a man armed with a letter from the War Department called on Henry Ford in Detroit. The letter explained that the Government was looking for somebody who would buy its unfinished water power, electrical and nitrate development at Muscle Shoals, in Alabama, on the Tennessee River.

"Don't know a thing about it," said Mr. Ford; "but if the Government thinks I might help, I'll look into it. Tell me about it."

Whereupon the caller began his tale. He was John W. Worthington of Sheffield, Ala., president of the Tennessee River Improvement Association. For fifteen years he had untiringly sought capital, brains and enterprise wherewith to realize his vision of the project. In America and in Europe, in Wall Street and Threadneedle Street, in the halls of Congress and the offices of high-placed administrators, he had told his story. Time and again success seemed sure, but disappointment always came.

Then, the world war, and success! President Wilson, when the experts could not agree where to locate the Government's plant to produce nitrates for explosives, ordered it to Muscle Shoals; and there a modern Arabian Nights' wonder was worked. In not much over a year Uncle Sam spent \$105,000,000 on nitrate works, steam plants and a gigantic dam across the Tennessee at the foot of the thirty-seven-mile rapids that is Muscle Shoals. With supplemental dams and storage reservoirs, a water power equal to Niagara's was at last in sight.

The nitrate plants were near completion. The great Wilson Dam, largest ever erected, was well under way—when the armistice came.

As soon as it could catch breath and consider the national finances, Congress cut off appropriations—and once more John W. Worthington faced defeat.

But that hundred million investment in unfinished work pleaded for consideration.

Should it be lost, scrapped, wasted? Or finished as a work of peace rather than of war; to make nitrates for cheap fertilizers, power to run the factories of a great new industrial region?

So Worthington went to work to save the plant—and that is how at last he was commissioned to carry the letter to Henry Ford.

They sat in Mr. Ford's office and talked. The manufacturer sent for some of his engineers. They studied maps, diagrams, data, photographs, blueprints; and Worthington, discovering that he was in the presence of a man who could understand his vision, talked as never before. Four hours they had been at it when—

"Let's go to Muscle Shoals," exclaimed Mr. Ford, jumping from his chair. It was now six o'clock.

"When?" demanded his chief engineer, W. B. Mayo.

"At eight o'clock!"

Consultation resulted in a brief postponement; but the interview resulted in Mr. Ford, a few days later, submitting an offer to take the whole bag and baggage of Muscle Shoals. Dams, canals, locks, lands, quarries, factories, storehouses, villages for workers, nitrate works, steam plants—lock, stock and barrel of the \$105,000,000 prize package, unsight, unseen—he would take it all, finish everything, and operate it, provided he could get the chance on his own terms. That was the beginning of the Ford-Muscle Shoals campaign, since grown to nation-wide proportions and interest.

For a long time Mr. Ford's was the only proposal at hand, but more recently two others have been submitted, and Secretary of War Weeks has passed the whole matter on to Congress for determination.

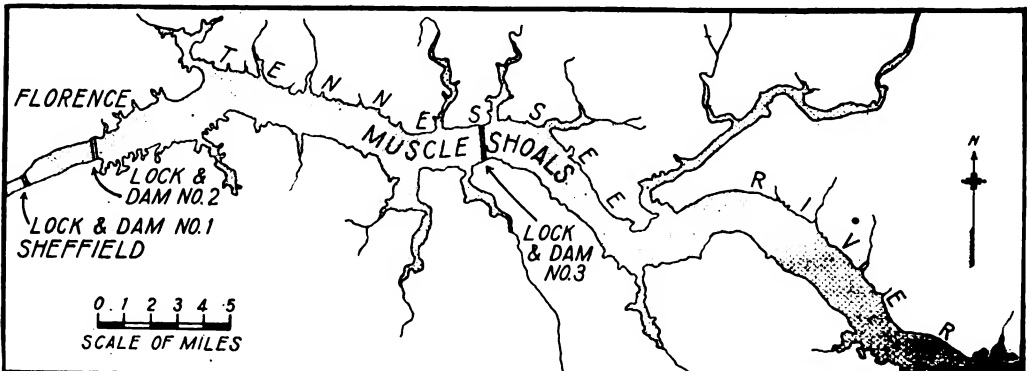
Mr. Ford proposes, in effect, to pay \$5,000,000 for the two nitrate plants and

accessories, in which about \$87,000,000 of the Government's investment has been placed; and to take over the hydro-electric establishment on a hundred-year lease, provided the Government will advance the money to complete it; he, however, to pay 4 per cent. interest on the money thus advanced. He will pay annually, during the life of the lease, \$55,000 for maintenance of the navigation locks; also \$46,746 annually to a sinking fund, which will at the end of the lease, if compounded at 4 per cent., extinguish the \$49,000,000 that the Government is to pay out for completing the works. He will devote a part of the power to producing cheap fertilizers, and will keep the plant always ready to make explosives in case of war.

### *Tennessee River's Unharnessed Power*

These are the very rough outlines of the Ford proposal, which has become the subject of one of the most interesting and instructive inquiries ever conducted by a congressional committee. The House Committee on Military Affairs has gone into the whole question of water-powers, recovery of nitrogen from the air, manufacture and sale of fertilizers, electrification of railroads, electro-chemistry and electro-metallurgy—and, generally, into the whole fascinating realm of the impending hydro-electric revolution in industrial life.

The basis of the whole project is the great water power in the Tennessee. To develop this three dams are proposed. Dam No. 2, the most important, is 4446 feet long, at the foot of the rapids' steepest section. On both sides, the river's banks are high walls of solid rock, and its bed is of the same material. The dam is keyed deep into the bed- and bank-rocks. The dam will be 135 feet high, from foundation footing to the roadway at the top; about 100 feet from natural low



THE MUSCLE SHOALS REGION OF THE TENNESSEE RIVER, SHOWING LOCATION OF THE THREE DAMS



water to the roadway level. This dam will back the stream up seventeen miles and will give the water a useful fall of ninety-five feet to the eighteen great turbines that will turn generators to convert its flow into electricity. According to the water supply, as many as are desired of these turbines can be used. At the high-water stages, with all working, 540,000 horsepower will be produced.

Seventeen miles upstream is the site of Dam No. 3, whose construction is not yet begun. It is considerably longer—6725 feet, but only fifty feet high, giving the water a useful fall of thirty-eight feet to its turbines. At full flow, it will develop about 216,000 horsepower. This dam will back water seventy-five miles upstream.

Dam No. 1 is a minor affair, to carry out the navigation improvement. It will be only fifteen feet high, and its site is two miles below No. 2.

The Tennessee's flow varies, according to measurements covering fifty years, from 7800 to 500,000 cubic feet per second. That means, of course, a very wide variance between its highest and lowest power potentialities. At the lowest stage ever recorded it would produce, with the installation planned, about 100,000 horsepower; at the highest, 756,000, and still leave water capable of developing 1,000,000 horsepower to run unused over the spillways. This is sheer waste; and to prevent it, so far as possible, Mr. Ford proposes to go back to the upper Tennessee, and to some of its tributaries, and build other dams to store this water at times of heavy flow, and free it in periods of low water to enlarge the flow at the power dams. Some of these storage dams would themselves be equipped with turbines and produce additional power.

This wide variability of flow represents the greatest economic difficulty in harnessing "flashy" rivers for power. The power that can be relied on absolutely all the year round is called "primary"; the varying amounts in excess of this are "secondary" power. Muscle Shoals is planned to produce 100,000 primary or minimum constant horsepower. But this minimum would be touched only a few days



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MR. HENRY FORD (AT THE RIGHT) NEGOTIATING WITH THE SECRETARY OF WAR, HON. JOHN W. WEEKS, REGARDING THE PURCHASE OF THE MUSCLE SHOALS PLANT

each year; the rest of the year, the power would be much greater, depending on the water's stage, and reaching a maximum of 756,000 horsepower. Add 120,000 supplemental steam, and include minor water powers which it is proposed to develop and link up, and a round one million maximum is in sight.

#### *Utilizing Secondary Power*

How to organize a great industrial establishment to utilize such widely varying amounts of power is a great problem. Supplemental steam power will be used when the river is low, and cut off when it is high. Storage of water will overcome much of the need for steam supplemental power. Highest efficiency requires that the more expensive steam power be used the fewest possible days. Yet a pretty uniform power must be assured, in order to keep labor and industrial units regularly employed. Cheap power would bring no advantage if it were available at such irregular intervals as to necessitate laying off thousands of workers when water was low and putting them back at work when water was high. Because of the difficulties of the situation, the "secondary" power of a hydro-electric installation is always priced far below the "primary." To get the best possible utilization of the secondary power is a great problem in industrial organization; and Mr. Ford's plans are understood to include some measures, based on the quasi-automatic manufacturing processes for which he has an especial genius, to make the fullest

use of power at all seasons, with the least possible shift of labor. Let me illustrate:

Suppose Mr. Ford wants, as is announced, to make parts for tractors and motor cars. This means a big factory, employing thousands of hands and requiring, say, 100,000 horsepower all the year round. His turbines will produce this all year save about fifteen days. For those days, steam will supply the deficit.

But he has undertaken to produce the equivalent of 110,000 tons of ammonium nitrate during the year, and turn them, with the proper proportions of phosphate and potash, into fertilizers. Suppose, then, that he devises well-nigh automatic processes for this fertilizer industry; processes by which a few men will throw switches, here and there, turning on or off the enormous power needed in this business.

The 100,000 primary power keeps, say, 20,000 men at work in machine shops. The river is low, so the great power-using sections of the fertilizer works are closed. One morning the river begins rising. In a short time the flow represents 300,000 horsepower. Perfectly simple! More turbines are put at work by merely opening the gates which admit the water to them; the automatic machinery of the fertilizer works is started by throwing a few switches and closing the proper circuits—and in an hour 300,000 horsepower, instead of 100,000, is being used!

I don't know how nearly I have guessed Mr. Ford's precise program, but I do know that the illustration points the direction he hopes to travel via Muscle Shoals. A handful of men, comparatively, withdrawn from the shops without any disorganization, would run the power-using parts of the fertilizer plant. Thus the secondary power would be given nearly the full value that commonly attaches only to the primary. If it sounds fantastic, go and see how Ford does things at other places!

The chief element in fixing hydro-electro power cost is capital investment. The plant investment is huge, the operating cost ridiculously small. In a steam-electric plant the reverse is true. Generally, steam power costs from \$25 to \$100 per horsepower in this country. Mr. Ford's primary power at Muscle Shoals should cost about \$10 per horsepower per annum and leave the secondary power practically without cost. If he could organize his industries to get as good returns on the secondary as on the primary power he would have a bonanza—

in theory. But by agreeing to sell his fertilizer at only 8 per cent. above producing cost he has presumably denied himself this.

But not necessarily. To return to our illustration, how would the producing cost of fertilizer be determined? Power being the chief item, all would depend on the book-keeper's appraisal of the primary and secondary powers. The higher the secondary power be priced, the greater the cost of fertilizer. To insure against an unfair charge for power it has been agreed that the fair cost of fertilizer shall be determined by a commission.

### *Popular Interest in the Project*

Congress's investigation has brought forth evidence of widespread interest in these subjects. A nation-wide debate has been inaugurated between the proponents and the opponents of the Ford proposition. There has been demonstration on the one side that Mr. Ford possesses a hold on the popular imagination such as perhaps no other industrial leader has. Chambers of Commerce, civic organizations, the great national organizations of farmers, business bodies of all kinds have recorded themselves in favor of giving Mr. Ford the chance to show what he can do. It is peculiarly interesting to observe the confidence reposed in him as not only a wizard of industry, but as one whose first consideration is the public interest. Deserved or undeserved, Mr. Ford certainly has an enormous following of people who believe it is safe, and highly desirable, to trust him with the opportunity and the responsibility presented at Muscle Shoals.

But the showing has not been entirely unilateral. Mr. Ford has enemies as well as friends, and they have been active in their antagonism. Various business interests not fancying Mr. Ford's competition have protested, while some other influences have been vigorous in denouncing him as a seeker of vast and immensely valuable special privileges.

Of sentiment at large, the great preponderance is undoubtedly on Mr. Ford's side; and there is credible statement that Congress has been polled on his proposition and shown approximately a two-thirds majority in both branches for accepting it. If one will compare this manifestation with the demonstrations of public disapproval, say, when the United States Steel Corporation secured control of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company some years ago; or when the late Mr. Harriman was acquiring railroad

systems every little while and piecing them together into what seemed destined to be a nation-wide transportation control by one man, it must be realized that there is either a striking change in the attitude of the public mind on these questions, or else that Mr. Ford really is a new type of rich man who makes a new sort of appeal to the public.

He asks the nation to complete the Muscle Shoals power development, at a final cost of perhaps \$60,000,000; and then lease it to him for 100 years for 4 per cent. on whatever amount may be required to complete the project. Along with this, he asks the nation to sell him outright for \$5,000,000, properties in which it has some \$85,000,000 invested. Is there another rich man in the world who could, without even trying, muster an overwhelming popular support for such a proposal? It will certainly be doubted.

What is it that has made possible such an anomalous sentiment? Has Mr. Ford hypnotized the public mind? Or is there something uniquely appealing about the Muscle Shoals proposal, which makes people believe its execution is especially important, no matter what the cost?

I think there is a little of both features. For many years it has been vaguely recognized that the nation's water powers, harnessed and converted into electric current, would be of stupendous value. Only very recently has it been realized that the matter is far more elemental than this; that, indeed, water power represents the only ultimate solution of our problems of fuel, industrial power, transportation. With it, we can hold our place as the foremost industrial nation. Without it, we will drop out of the race.

Moreover, time presses. Other countries are advancing by strides into the hydro-electric era; we are yet creeping. Shall we plunge into the race?

I think Ford and the Ford supporters owe their popular appeal to the fact that they have pressed these questions. They have made the country realize that it *must* use its water resources. They have made it believe Ford is the *one man* who can show it *how*. They have convinced it that Muscle Shoals and the Tennessee Valley is the ideal place for the great demonstration.

#### *The Tennessee and Its Rapids*

The Tennessee is rated sixth among American rivers. Rising in Virginia, eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee and North



THE BLACK CIRCLE SHOWS THE LOCATION OF THE MUSCLE SHOALS DEVELOPMENT

Carolina, it flows generally southwesterly, into northern Alabama, where it bends northwest, crosses Tennessee and Kentucky, and flows into the Ohio at Paducah. If geography were an exact science, and strict justice were done to the great rivers, the Tennessee would be regarded as the main stream, and the Ohio, above Paducah, as a branch; just as a square deal to the Missouri would designate it as the great river of the continent, flowing from Montana to the Gulf, with the Mississippi a mere tributary.

If you will look at a map of the southern Appalachian region, you will observe that the rivers contain falls or long rapids where they come down from the mountains to the coastal plain. The geologists say that a long time before Adam and Eve flourished, the coastal plain at some period dropped a varying distance, and that these falls and rapids mark the line of the fault. Muscle Shoals offers the greatest water power merely because the Tennessee is the greatest of these rivers. It presents a drop of 136 feet in 37 miles; at the steepest section, a fall of 100 feet in 17 miles. The Wilson Dam is at the foot of this 17 miles of steepest fall.

It is more than a century since legislation

began to deal with Muscle Shoals. At first it was merely an obstacle to navigation on the Tennessee River. So in 1827 Alabama sold 427,000 acres of public lands and devoted the proceeds to the improvement of the Shoals. A State canal was built, but it was badly engineered, and never valuable in navigation. In 1871 the federal Government started a larger canal, on which work went forward so slowly that by the time it was finished in 1890 it had cost \$3,500,000 and was obsolete. It is interesting that General George W. Goethals, builder of the Panama Canal, was for a time in charge of construction on this canal. Again bad engineering made the canal of little benefit to navigation—a fact for which General Goethals was not responsible, as he did not make the plans. Because of these flukes, Muscle Shoals fell into bad repute. Among all river improvements, it is doubtful if any has been more denounced in Congress, or muckraked in the press.

With the era of hydro-electric development, about the beginning of this century, Muscle Shoals began to be regarded as one of the greatest water-power opportunities, combined with the possibility of at last making navigation practicable between the upper and lower reaches of the Tennessee River. The Tennessee has at all times been one of the most navigated streams; if it were improved and the industrial possibilities of its basin developed, it would be among the world's most used rivers of commerce. It drains 44,000 square miles, having a rainfall of 50 to 70 inches, the largest of any equal area in the country except the Gulf coast of Louisiana. The importance of navigation improvement is greater because the Tennessee Valley's riches are largely in mineral, metal, and agricultural products which run to large tonnages. In 1918 the value of the metal and mineral products produced in the area tributary to the Tennessee River was about \$78,000,000, the agricultural products amounted to \$470,000,000 and the basic or semi-manufactured products were valued at more than \$12,000,000—a total of \$560,000,000 for the region. No other power than that developed from water and used as electricity could bring full utilization of the undeveloped mineral riches, because they require very great and very cheap power.

### *The Hydro-Electric Era*

For that matter, the development of most of the latent riches in the earth's crust must depend on power in such immense units and

tremendous quantities as can be possible only through the use of water power. The truth is that industry is near the end of its coal age. Steam, if the figure may be permitted, is on its last legs. The small, isolated steam power plant, the steam-driven locomotive, in another generation or two, will be almost as truly relics as are the Deadwood stage, General Washington's carriage, or the gilded and bedizened state chariot in which the Lord Mayor of London once a year makes a show of himself by journeying from Temple Bar to the Mansion House in medieval grandeur.

The other day I stood on a high point on the south bank of the Tennessee, at a point where the roaring stream is nearly two miles wide, and suggests the Amazon or Yukon. My engineering friend pointed to the stream, and said:

"At to-day's stage of the river, there is 800,000 horsepower passing us. It is the power which we must harness, here and in hundreds of other places, if we are to maintain our national position industrially. For power derived from steam and coal is utterly inadequate to the demands of industrial chemistry and the electric furnace. Power from coal and steam has been found to be utterly too expensive, save in the most favorable circumstances.

"In this new age of hydro-electric power and industrial chemistry, there will be revolutions in industrial relations. For instance, Italy, the oldest western civilization, well-nigh fell out of competition during the age of steam, because it has no coal. We think of South America as unable ever to develop its mineral and metal wealth because it has no coal. But to-day Italy is fairly launched upon development of its water powers, among the greatest and cheapest. Whenever Italy can command the capital, its water powers will make it one of the first industrial areas in the world.

"Both South America and Africa far surpass North America and Europe in water powers. We think of Niagara, where there is already a commercial development approaching a million horsepower, and imagine that our continent leads the world. But we have only one Niagara, and our water powers in general will prove far more expensive to develop.

"This is the condition we have to look in the face. Our continent is less rich in water power, and we have not made a great advance in developing what we have. Right



THE MAIN DAM OF THE MUSCLE SHOALS PROJECT EXTENDING ACROSS THE TENNESSEE RIVER AT FLORENCE, ALA.

now, Buenos Aires is planning to develop near 1,000,000 horsepower from a falls 700 miles inland and transmit it by cable to the city."

He proceeded to explain the difference between powers like Muscle Shoals, and those produced by falls. At Niagara, which is ideal, a substantially uniform volume of water goes over the falls the year round. Nature has provided her own storage reservoir. Development requires little more than the installation of the machinery. On the other hand, at Muscle Shoals, it is necessary first to build a great dam or series of dams to create your fall. These dams cost vast sums, on which interest must come out of the price of power.

Suppose that two generations hence the great falls in Africa, South America, the Alps, the Apennines, or Scandinavia are harnessed. American hydro-electric power would have to compete with these, and the unit cost of American power would be much the larger. Consequently, it is necessary in our developments to adopt a policy under which ultimately the capital charge will disappear; a plan of amortizing the capital within some fixed period, so that ultimately this charge will not have to be included in the price for power.

To illustrate: Suppose development at Muscle Shoals costs one hundred million

dollars, while an equal development in Italy costs twenty million. Then, at 5 per cent. for capital, the American power would have to be sold at a rate to produce five millions yearly interest, while the Italian power would have to pay only one million. In the hydro-electric age the advantage is going to be with cheapest water power, just as, in the age of steam, it has been with those possessing the most available coal deposits.

#### *Amortization of Capital*

In developing water powers we should therefore amortize capital within a reasonable period. This has been accepted by Congress in its water-power legislation, and emphasized in the hearings on Muscle Shoals. Only thus can we be assured that a century hence our powers will compete with countries more favored in this regard. It is no farther cry from to-day to a future when South America may be highly industrialized than in 1781 it was to a time when North America would be. The future can only be conjectured, but the most imaginative conjecture is likely to prove less than the truth.

Immense capital is required for hydro-electric developments; and, further, after the power is ready, industries must be brought to consume it. So the operation must be spread over a long period. For this reason the Government has enacted that water-

power leases may be made up to fifty years. Mr. Ford has insisted on doubling this period, proposing a plan of amortization to wipe out the capital in that time, so that when the property is returned to the Government at the century's end, it will stand capital-free.

On this point, assume that a water power costs \$200 per horsepower to develop. With interest at 6 per cent., power will cost \$12 for interest and about \$3 for maintenance and operation—total, \$15 per horsepower year, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  mills per kilowatt hour. If the capital can be amortized and eliminated the cost becomes merely the maintenance and operating charges of \$3 per horsepower year or less than one-half mill per kilowatt hour.

In other words, by eliminating the capital charges, we can, in effect, duplicate in the United States the wonderfully cheap powers of Norway, Canada or South America.

### *The Government's Nitrate Plants*

When it became apparent that the United States was being drawn into the European War, the Government entered upon a plan to develop the Muscle Shoals power to take nitrogen from the air for use in explosives. The world's chief source of nitrogen had long been the great deposit in Chile, once regarded as inexhaustible but now recognized as far from it. The nitrogen supplies will have to come from the air. Prime emphasis was laid, in favor of Muscle Shoals, on the water power and the fact that it was far inland and safe from enemy attack. Under the army engineers, plans were made and construction begun. The program fell into two parts: first, the construction of dams and electric power houses; second, the construction of great plants to produce nitrates from the air, and to be operated by the water power, with supplemental steam power.

Under this program there has been expended something over \$100,000,000 by the Government. On the side of power development, roughly \$17,000,000 has gone into the Wilson Dam at the foot of Muscle Shoals. This is now about 30 per cent. finished, and various authorities estimate that from eighteen to thirty-six months will be required to complete it.

While the water-power development was going on, the Government entered upon construction of the supplemental steam plant, which, now complete, is one of the greatest in the world. It has a capacity of 80,000

horsepower and actually cost \$12,326,392.23.

Simultaneously, the Government built nearby two plants for fixation of nitrates from the air. These cost over \$85,000,000.

In order further to supplement the supply of water, the Government contracted with the Alabama Power Company to put in another great steam plant, known as the Gorgas-Warrior plant, about eighty-eight miles southeast of Nitrate Plant No. 2, in Walker County, Ala. This plant cost about \$5,000,000, and has a capacity of about 40,000 horsepower, which is carried to Nitrate Plant No. 2 by an electrical transmission line. At present, however, as the nitrate plant is not in operation, the Alabama Power Company is selling the power elsewhere.

Soon after the war ended, Nitrate Plant No. 2 was completed, and was given test runs which demonstrated its capacity to produce desired results. Since then the plants have been maintained in a "stand-by" condition, ready for utilization if there should be a war demand for explosives.

The fact that \$105,000,000 had been invested without a dollar's worth of product having been secured during the war (though due to the fact that the plant was completed just as the fighting ended) inevitably caused criticism. When, therefore, further appropriations were asked, in peace-time, to continue the development, and to complete the entire project, there was so much opposition that Congress, in 1920, refused. From that time on the disposition of the Government's interests was the subject of much consideration, but no action.

### *Bids by Henry Ford and Others*

Shortly after the present Administration came in, the War Department sought interests that might buy the property. For a time it actually looked as if nobody was going to want, at any price, properties on which more than \$100,000,000 had been spent. Whoever might take them over would be compelled to put in immense additional capital. But finally the Ford proposal came. Mr. Ford and his engineers believe they can finish the water power for \$40,000,000. The government engineers think it will cost \$50,000,000. Mr. Ford proposes to pay \$55,000 annually for the repair and upkeep of the locks and dams, and to furnish electricity to operate the locks.

Since Ford's bid was made, three others have been offered—one by the Alabama

power company; one by Frederick E. Engstrum, a ship-builder; and one by Thomas Hampton, a Washington contractor. The Alabama Power Company, is an important developer and operator of hydro-electric plants. Its bid represents considerable variations from Ford's, and is the only other one as yet at all seriously considered. The Congressional and public discussion has centered chiefly about the Ford proposal.

On the face of it, Ford offers \$5,000,000 for properties that cost \$85,000,000. But this must be reduced by \$13,000,000, which went into Nitrate Plant No. 1, which has been a failure in operation, leaving about \$72,000,000. This again can be scaled easily one-half, to get at something like present cost to reproduce. Yet, assuming that Mr. Ford offers \$5,000,000 for properties that to-day could be reproduced for \$35,000,000, it still looks like a fine bargain.

The other side is that Mr. Ford is binding himself to produce the equivalent of 110,000 tons of ammonium nitrate annually—about one-fourth the present national fertilizer consumption of inorganic nitrogen; and to sell a finished, concentrated, high-grade fertilizer at an advance of only 8 per cent. over cost of production. This makes the appeal to the farmers; while the advocates of war preparedness insist that the Government can well afford to be liberal in view of the offer to keep the nitrate plant always ready to manufacture explosives. For the Government to do this would cost, it is estimated by the Ordnance Department, some \$2,475,000 annually.

#### *The Magic of Compound Interest*

The amortization plan is of absorbing interest to the person with a bent for speculative finance. Mr. Ford proposes to pay \$46,746 annually to this fund; which, invested at 4 per cent. and compounded, will amount to \$49,000,000 at the century's end. Secretary Weeks has pointed out that if the fund be invested at a higher rate, the Government would get the difference; and he presented a tabulation which illuminates the possibilities of compound interest, to which Napoleon once referred as among the most fascinating subjects he had studied. It shows that the annual payment of \$46,746, compounded at 4 per cent., will amount to \$49,071,935; at  $4\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. it will amount to \$58,570,003; at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to \$70,100,949; at 5 per cent. to \$100,868,642; and at 6 per cent. to \$213,134,690.

In other words, \$46,746 invested annually at 4 per cent. will amount to \$49,000,000 in 100 years; but \$40,000,000 invested now, at 4 per cent., will produce \$1,600,000 *every year* for the next hundred years; and then the principal will be intact! Small wonder that the younger Pitt, who invented the scheme of a sinking fund at compound interest to retire the Napoleonic war debt, was able to bedazzle his public and almost make them believe that high taxes were not so very onerous, when they promised so millennial an outcome!

It must be understood that these payments to the amortization fund are independent of 4 per cent. interest on the Government's investment in completing the water power. If this costs \$40,000,000, Mr. Ford will have to pay \$1,600,000 interest besides the \$46,746 for amortization.

Mr. Ford's interests at Muscle Shoals, if his offer be accepted, would fall into two distinct groups. First, he would have a hundred-year lease of the water power; and, second, he would own the nitrate plants and accessories. At the end of the lease, the Government might wish to take over the power, thus leaving Mr. Ford's industries high and dry, without power. To guard against this, he includes a provision that at the expiration of the lease his, Ford's, successors shall have the preferred right to negotiate with the Government for its renewal or for the purchase of the power.

#### *The Government's Attitude*

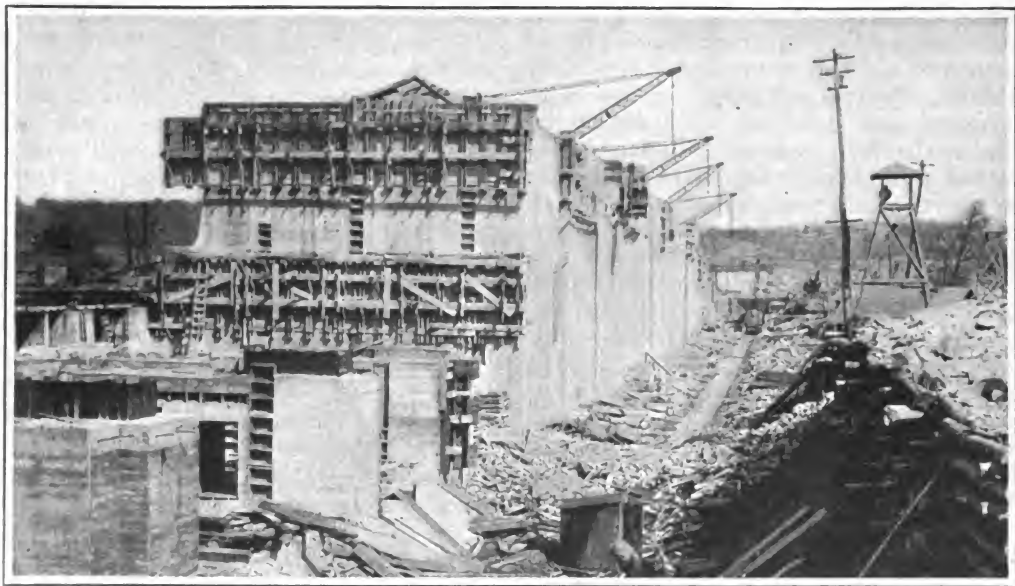
In presenting the subject to Congress, Secretary Weeks forwarded a statement from the Chief of Ordnance estimating that the properties to be sold are worth \$8,812,000 as scrap. But of course, if scrapped, they would not afford either the munition preparedness, or the cheap fertilizer, which their operation would insure.

The revolutionary character of the operation Mr. Ford has in mind is indicated by a remark he made at Muscle Shoals a short time ago. He visited the steam-power plant at Nitrate Plant No. 2, a strictly modern, 80,000-horsepower installation; and after going over it, he said:

"I wouldn't give ten cents for this."

What he meant was that, the plant being about eighty miles from coal supply, its fuel would have to be transported to it by rail; and this made the plant worthless. Yet, he insists that the Gorgas-Warrior steam plant, equally distant, but built at the mine head,





THE WESTERLY SIDE OF THE GREAT WILSON DAM (LOOKING NORTH)—THE SO-CALLED JACKSON ISLAND SECTION

must be turned over to him. In one case, coal would have to be hauled eight-odd miles and then transmuted into power; in the other, the coal would be turned into power at the mine head and transmitted electrically. The same coal, the same power; but the difference in the two modes of transmission made the larger plant worthless, the smaller essential! There could hardly be better illustration of the insistent demands of modern industry for full efficiency.

Secretary Weeks believes the lease to Mr. Ford ought not to run over fifty years. "In my opinion," he declared, "a contract such as that proposed, for a period of one hundred years, is not a wise general policy, in view of the unknown possibilities surrounding water-power developments and the probability of changes which may be made, especially in the transmission of power." He added that if Mr. Ford's proposal (at that time the only one pending) should not be accepted, the Wilson Dam should be completed by the Government and that the benefits from navigation, plus the power development, would warrant the expenditure. That the Government's highest authority favors completing the development, as a project built and operated by the Government, rather than to abandon it, is a highly significant development in the governmental attitude toward great enterprises.

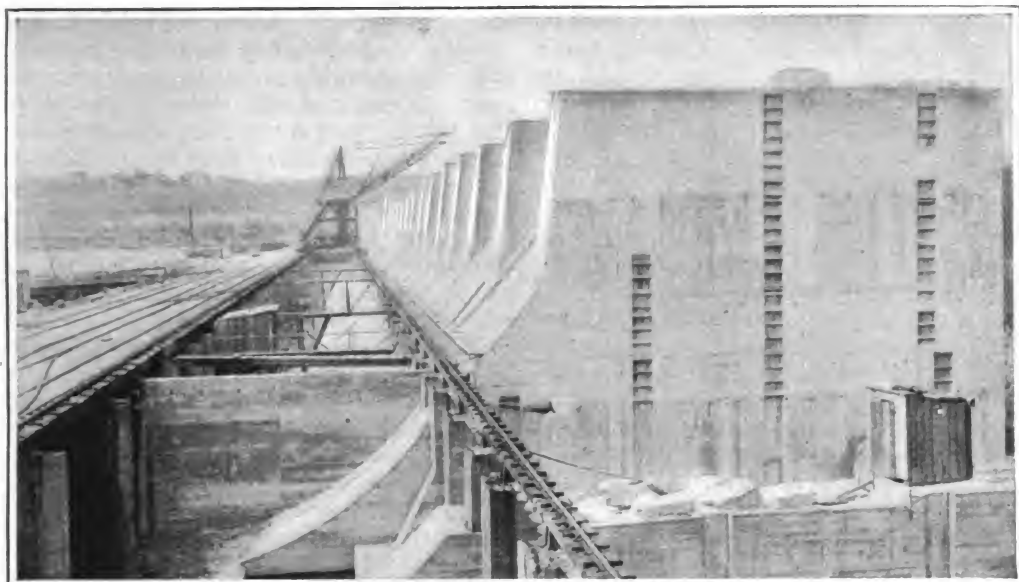
Why such an impressively new view on the part of a responsible government official?

Why so great a concentration of interest on this particular development?

The country's water potentialities are widely scattered; New England, the Middle Appalachian region, the south Appalachian region, the north Pacific area, the Rocky Mountain States, the Lake region, the Mississippi Valley—all have extensive water-power possibilities. But this distribution of undeveloped water power is unrelated to present industrial development. Something like half the water power of the nation is on the Pacific Coast, where there is little industry. The most practicable powers are those adjacent to metal and mineral resources or available for railway electrification.

#### *Natural Resources of the Shoals Region*

Advocates of Muscle Shoals point to the varied riches of the Tennessee Valley and the Southern Appalachian region. Here, they say, is an ideal place to demonstrate a water-power program big enough to serve as a model for the whole nation. Here are railways to be electrified, and enough power to do it and still leave a vast surplus for industrial requirements. Industrial development here would diffuse the national industries, carrying many new enterprises into the South, where industrial development has been retarded. This would help solve the transportation question by moving large manufacturing interests nearer to the consumers. President Harding recently empha-



THE EASTERLY SIDE OF THE WILSON DAM (LOOKING NORTH, THE CONCRETE PIERS RISING TO AN AVERAGE ELEVATION OF 462 FEET

sized the desirability of this in behalf of a more homogeneous and economical adjustment of the industrial balance. The Tennessee Basin has not only water powers, but coal for supplementary steam power.

The availability of this area for producing munitions of war and fertilizers, is particularly dwelt upon. The salt and sulphur of Louisiana and Texas, both necessary in electro-chemical and explosive processes, can be brought by water. The greatest fluorspar deposits are in western Kentucky, with water transport handy. Fluorspar is used in chemical operations, manufacture of glass, high-grade steels, aluminum production, etc. Great deposits of iron and copper are tributary to Muscle Shoals. Phosphate rock occurs in enormous quantities immediately adjacent. Bauxite, from which aluminum is most easily recovered, exists in great deposits, the richest in Arkansas, transportable by either rail or water. The Arkansas bauxite is nearly two-thirds pure alumina.

Aluminum is one of the most plentiful and widely distributed of metals, but its recovery is difficult and expensive, requiring great electrical power. Magnesium rocks, the basis of the "mystery metal" of which the Germans for a time held the secret, are found in this same area. Magnesium and aluminum are the best known of those very light, non-corrosible, and, when alloyed, very strong metals which may be expected to revolutionize many of the metal industries.

If their recovery in great quantities and at a low price is achieved, the effect will be startling. The Muscle Shoals backers have not overlooked any of the appeal that lies in these possible developments.

Pyrites, lead, zinc, barytes and a long list of others likewise are found extensively in this industrial region. Finally, there remain great agricultural resources, particularly the cotton, available for manufacturing.

Not least of the war-time arguments for Muscle Shoals was its interior location, safe from attack. This was emphasized in view of the military understanding that every foreign nation whose general staff has considered the possibility of a war with the United States, has based its plan on a substantial repetition of the strategy of General Burgoyne in 1777. Burgoyne planned to split the colonies on the line of the Hudson River, cutting off the industrial East.

From the point of view, then, of industry, fertilizers, national defense, or more widely diffused manufacturing, or of railroad electrification, Muscle Shoals appears peculiarly available. Electro-chemistry and electro-metallurgy are very modern. They may be defined as the utilization of electricity as heat or power, in the refinement of raw materials or production of chemicals. The electric furnace is simply a gargantuan arc light. A tremendous electric current, resisted by enormous carbon electrodes, is employed to produce a heat far greater than

is possible in the blast furnace; up to 6000 degrees Fahrenheit, against 2200 degrees in the blast furnace. The higher temperature makes possible many processes otherwise not commercially available.

### *"Fixation" of Nitrogen*

In making either fertilizers or explosives, nitrogen is essential. Perhaps the particular element at once most plentiful and most difficult to get at in available form, its natural state is that of a gas, and probably 99½ per cent. of the world's supply is in the air. Air is four parts nitrogen and one part oxygen. The two do not like each other, and, fortunately for humanity, do not combine, but exist in the air as a mechanical mixture, rather than a chemical combination. However much they are stirred up, they remain strangers in a chemical sense, very like water and oil.

Normally a gas, nitrogen seems animated by the eternal purpose of remaining such. If against its will it is converted to other forms, or "fixed," it nevertheless yearns for its free state; and has a way of resuming it with such suddenness and eagerness as to cause distinct annoyance. In the war-head of a torpedo, it achieves this ambition at the moment of impact against, say, a battleship. Without nitrogen there could be no life of any kind, and yet there is no greater or more effective destroyer of life than this same nitrogen.

The fixation of nitrogen may be described as a mechanical inversion of its explosion; that is, taking it as gas, and subjecting it to enough heat and pressure to solidify it. This is where electro-chemistry comes in. For the electric current is the one feasible method of applying the necessary heat and power.

Just as no life can be sustained without nitrogen, so life and growth may be encouraged by ample supplies of nitrogen. Nature has, in the thunder storm, provided its own method of "fixing" atmospheric nitrogen and making it available to the growing plant. The flash of lightning produces the high temperature at which the oxygen and nitrogen combine and form nitrous oxide, which the raindrops catch and carry to the earth. The tremendous luxuriance of vegetation in the carboniferous age was probably caused by the abundance of nitrogen, due in part at least to tremendous electrical disturbances, which, precipitating large quantities of nitrous oxide, encouraged ferns to grow a hundred feet

tall, and trees a quarter mile high, more or less, each decaying generation of plant life adding to the nitrogen supply for the next. Even now, the heavy vegetation of the tropics receives more nitrogen than that of the temperate zones from the same causes. Of the three commercial processes of nitrogen fixation which are best known, one, called the Arc process, is simply an artificial thunder storm, in which an electric flaming arc is used to produce nitrous oxide, which is carried off in a trickle of water. The nitrous oxide, dissolved in the water, becomes nitric acid, which is concentrated and united with lime in nitrate of lime, of which 13 per cent. is pure nitrogen. This process is used in Norway, and its product comes to this country as fertilizer. But it shares with nearly all of nature's processes the disadvantage of being highly inefficient in the use of power, and is commercially possible only where the cheapest energy is available.

Nitrogen enters the stalk and leaves of plants. It gives the leaves their dark, rich green color. Where there is insufficient nitrogen, the leaves are light green or yellow and the plant is frequently stunted. Where vegetation is constantly decaying, as in river bottoms and the tropics, there is no need of nitrogen as fertilizer; but on cultivated uplands and in regions of small rainfall, it is the element most frequently lacking.

Casting about for a less power-extravagant process of nitrogen fixation, chemists sought a substance that, under some practical conditions would combine with the air's nitrogen. By accident it was discovered that calcium carbide would do this. Calcium carbide is produced by fusing coke and lime. Almost pure calcium carbonate is found in the oolitic limestones of the Muscle Shoals area. Quarried, crushed, and burned into quicklime, small lumps of it are mixed with coke, and fed into the top of an electric furnace. This is a brick well, about fifteen feet square and twenty feet deep. In the center are introduced three carbon sticks each about eighteen by eighteen inches and eight feet long. When the powerful electric current is turned on these become incandescent, and the temperature can be raised to about 6000 degrees Fahrenheit. At 4000 degrees the lime and coke fuse into calcium carbide. This material is familiar to everybody who has ever rode a bicycle, for we all used it in our bicycle lamps. Cooled, and crushed, it is next baked in an oven which is heated by means of an incandescent electrode. While

the baking is in process, nitrogen gas is introduced, the heat of incandescent electrode causing nitrogen and carbide to unite as calcium cyanamid. The nitrogen has now been "fixed."

But calcium cyanamid is a poor fertilizer, because it causes certain reactions that destroy the plant food value of the nitrogen. Also, it is so dusty that it is difficult to handle. So it is necessary to separate the nitrogen. Now, nitrogen unites with hydrogen, in the form of ammonia, under proper conditions. In the "cyanamid process" of nitrogen fixation, steam is introduced at high temperature and pressure to the cyanamid; the steam permeates the cyanamid, whose nitrogen unites with the hydrogen of the steam, and ammonia gas is produced.

Up to this point, the process of fixation, by the cyanamid method, for either explosives or fertilizer, is the same. But here they part. If making explosives, you simply burn the ammonia gas to nitric acid and absorb more ammonia gas in the acid, forming ammonium nitrate, an important part of many high explosives; if you are making fertilizer you combine the ammonia with something in which it can be carried to the farm. One method is to let the ammonia gas bubble up through a tank of nitric acid, just as in explosives manufacture, turning it into ammonium nitrate; which when dried contains about 35 per cent. nitrogen, and may become an important element in fertilizers.

But the farmer wants more than nitrogen in his fertilizer. Commonly, he needs a combination of nitrogen and phosphoric acid, and possibly potash. The most common fertilizer is the "2-8-2" combination; which legally means that in one hundred units there are guaranteed to be two of nitrogen, eight of phosphoric acid, two of potash, and eighty-eight parts of inert matter, some of which is simply filler, such as dry earth or sand.

Now, fertilizer experts insist this is not a properly balanced plant ration. Most plants need a larger proportion of nitrogen. There is high authority for saying that a much better fertilizer would include ten parts nitrogen, six phosphoric acid, and two potash. This would leave eighty-two parts of inert matter and filler. For economy in freight—a large element in the farmer's cost—it would be still better to concentrate it further. Accordingly Mr. Ford proposes to produce compounds with as high as 75 or 80 per cent. pure plant food.

As a matter of fact, it is doubted by many

whether in general American soils require much potash. These say that the potash fetich is largely propaganda of the German potash syndicate. Mainly, it is nitrogen and phosphoric acid that American soils need. As to phosphoric acid, there are various deposits of phosphate rock in this country, some of them tributary to Muscle Shoals, from which phosphoric acid can be produced by a rather simple electrical process. The ammonia gas, whose production we have traced, is absorbed in phosphoric acid, forming ammonium phosphate, which is now regarded as the best fertilizer for American uses.

The power and plant required for fertilizer production are also available to manufacture explosives. But many of the processes are largely experimental as yet and revolutionary simplifications are hoped for. This is one reason for the strong support the farmers are giving Mr. Ford. They believe he would make the establishment a gigantic experimental laboratory, constantly seeking better and cheaper methods. He agrees to give them fertilizers at 8 per cent. advance over cost, and calculates that this would reduce present prices about half. His engineers figure that he would make at Muscle Shoals about one-fourth of the present national consumption of commercial fertilizers, thus sharply affecting the price of the rest.

### *Storage of Electric Energy*

In this realm of magnificent experimentation, one of the most alluring possibilities concerns the possible discovery of ways to store electric energy most efficiently. The laboratories have gone much farther on this road than the public yet knows. There is good authority for saying that a substance has been found that will absorb and store away unbelievable amounts of electric energy converted to another form.

"Imagine," suggested one engineer, "the installation of machinery to convert the power of the Zambesi Falls, in Africa, into electrical energy. Then imagine that energy stored away in a substance that you could load into a ship or a railroad car, and haul away to England, where at almost negligible cost the power could be utilized! This is now within range. It is as if you would stow the Zambesi Falls in the hold of a ship, and haul it off to Manchester or Sheffield, to Essen or Pittsburgh! This is the sort of thing the industrial world must be prepared for. It is the reason why we need to be up and about our water development."

There are two intelligence centers in the United States where there begins to be a reasonable conception of these problems. One is in the community tributary to Muscle Shoals, where for many years education has been afoot. The other is the government community at Washington. The other day I talked with Secretary of the Interior Fall about the plans for utilizing the Colorado River's power. At one place it is proposed to build a dam costing some \$40,000,000, which will store the floods, preventing ruinous overflows, conserve waters to irrigate a vast area; and, finally, develop the water power. It is possible to put a string of such dams along the river, probably six of them, each capable of developing about a half-million horsepower! Such a program would mean industry, agriculture, electrified railroads—another such industrial area in the Southwest as the Muscle Shoals people vision for the Southeast.

#### *Confidence in Mr. Ford*

A visit to Muscle Shoals at this time is intensely interesting. For a century or more this territory has been looking to a future of industrial importance. Just about one hundred years ago there was a "boom." Another came in the '80's of the last century; a third started during the war, when the Government took up the development. This third boom oozed out like its two predecessors when work was suspended for want of appropriations. But recently confidence has revived with the renewed discussion of the program, and all through the district speculation has been at fever heat, based on expectation that Ford would be the guiding genius of the new era. Everywhere, there is confidence that "Ford is the man who can do it." His mechanical and industrial genius, his unlimited capital, are relied upon. Along with all this, there is firm belief that Ford is going to accomplish a public benefit because his motive is primarily public service rather than profits.

It would be interesting to have some authority on mass psychology explain this hold of Mr. Ford on the public imagination. Not long ago this man, whose large business career covers hardly more than a quarter of a century, told an interviewer that he supposed his business and properties, capitalized as a going concern, would make him a billionaire. He is generally assumed to be the second wealthiest man in the country. Yet he has never aroused public hostility by

reason of his rapid accumulation of wealth. The popular notion seems to be that Mr. Ford "divides up" with the public so generously that he must not be accounted a malefactor.

Herein I think is explanation of the popular sentiment in favor of Ford's Muscle Shoals proposition. The farmers believe that he is going to give them cheaper and better fertilizers. Labor believes, in view of his record, that it can benefit only by the expansion of his power and sphere.

Nowhere is there apparently so much confidence in Mr. Ford's ability and intentions, as in Detroit. Detroit people have flocked to the Muscle Shoals country, looking for opportunities in industry, mining, town-site operations. The story is told at Florence, Ala., the thriving little metropolis of the district, that one evening a newspaper man, representing a journal hostile to Mr. Ford, dropped in and registered. He was there to learn as much as possible to the disadvantage of Mr. Ford. During the evening he was approached by a prosperous-looking Detroitier who did not know his connections, and asked:

"Have you picked up anything good?"

"Why, yes," replied the journalist; "I've been picking up a good deal. What about you?"

"Oh," replied the other, "I've been doing right well. I've gathered up one fine piece of property six miles out, to plat; and have options on two more about as far distant on the other side of town!"

The same day another Detroit man went to a Florence banker for some advice about a large acreage nine miles out, which he proposed cutting into lots and marketing.

At the time of writing the whole Muscle Shoals problem is under consideration by the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and the Agricultural Committee of the Senate. Many complications have developed, some of them legal, while others involve the competition of important industrial interests. Senator Norris, Chairman of the Agricultural Committee, has said he would introduce a bill requiring the Government to complete, own and operate the entire establishment. There is, however, so much antagonism to Government in business, that it seems altogether probable that some one of the private bids will be accepted. Among these, for the present at least, that of Mr. Ford unquestionably has by far the strongest support both in and out of Congress.



A BROADCASTING STATION WHERE TELEPHONE MESSAGES ARE TRANSMITTED, WITHOUT WIRES, OVER HUNDREDS OF MILES, TO COUNTLESS THOUSANDS OF AMATEURS EQUIPPED WITH RADIO RECEIVING APPARATUS

# RADIO BROADCASTING

BY WALDEMAR KAEMPFERT

THE existence of the ether must be assumed in order to explain how light travels through the air between the stars, and how radio signals are sent through space. A purely hypothetical medium, the ether has suddenly become of more than scientific importance simply because it is freighted with song and speech, with words of love and hate, with messages that affect the destinies of nations. All about us is this pervasive ether. Through our buildings, through our very bodies pass the unseen, unfelt vibrations out of which music and lectures are conjured. The ether is alive. Anybody can tap it with simple instruments, and in that fact we have the whole explanation of radio's astounding, dramatically sudden entry into thousands of homes.

Drop a pebble into a pool of water. Waves ripple out in all directions. In radio communication we deal with waves in the ether—electric waves which, like those in the pool, spread out in ever-widening circles. A telegraph signal, a laugh, a musical note is not transmitted as such. It is first changed into waves at the transmitting station and at the receiving station the waves are reconverted into sound.

All energy travels in waves. Shake a rug at one corner and a wave is set up. Let the wind blow and the sea heaves in waves. The distance from one wave crest to the next is called the "wave length."

Soon we shall all be talking knowingly about "wave lengths," as we must, if we are to make the most of radio. We can form some conception of their importance in radio when we consider the part that they play in light. Color is a matter of wave length only; and light, like radio waves, travels through the ether. Hold a piece of red glass before your eyes and you see the world in one wave length of light—that which we call red. So, yellow, blue, violet and other hues of the rainbow each has its own wave length.

A radio station sends out waves usually of a definite length. It is as if a lighthouse were emitting only red light, or yellow light, or blue light. The wave length in radio may be anything from one hundred meters to thirty thousand meters. Radio amateurs are so scientific that they use the metric system of measurement. It is not difficult to visualize the extent and character of this ethereal upheaval. One hundred meters is three hundred and twenty-eight

feet. Few ocean waves are so long. But what shall be said of 30,000 meters—the wave length used by the powerful stations that telegraph across the Atlantic through space? The ether is shaken into billows so huge that the distance from crest to crest is fifteen, eighteen even twenty miles. In comparison the ocean in the most violent storm seems like a park lake on a summer day.

Nature interferes with radio in unexpected ways. She, too, is constantly sending radio signals through space. When lightning flashes from cloud to earth she shakes the ether terrifically. The atmosphere is always electrically charged, and the charges flash from cloud to cloud. Billions of wireless messages are sent out by nature to one of ours.

All this the radio engineer sums up in the single word "static," which is an abbreviation for static electricity, the kind nature flings hither and thither. "Static" manifests itself in distracting sputtering, crackling, spitting and grinding noises. At its worst (in summer) it drowns out everything in the receiver. Fortunately it is only intermittent, and there are often hours and days when reception is perfect. We may have to accept "static" as a necessary evil, just as we accept the odor of street gas. Still, radio engineers hope that there may be some way of filtering from the ether only the signals that a station cares to receive.

There are about 149 wave lengths of practical value in radio communication. If any transmitting station were permitted to use all of them the ether would be an electrical chaos. For this reason the Government has allotted wave lengths to various classes of operators and stations. The amateurs who have sending stations are restricted to a wave length of 200 meters; yet even with this limitation they have succeeded in sending telegraph signals across the Atlantic. The broadcasting stations to which we owe the sudden popularity of the radio telephone send on a 360-meter wave length. The air mail and other minor Government stations use the 485-meter wave length. Ships communicate with one another and with shore stations on the 600-meter wave length. Radio compass stations, which simply help a ship to find her position, are limited to the 800-meter wave length. The large Government stations and the great commercial stations that have made world-wireless possible, and that send messages from

New York to Honolulu or Germany, operate on wave lengths of 5000 to 30,000 meters.

The receiving stations are not limited. They may "tune in" to receive anything that may be pulsating through the ether. By the mere turning of a knob the ear at the receiver glides from one wave length to another. What is audible on one wave length is unheard on another. The optical equivalent would be putting on one after another spectacles of different colors and seeing the world through them.

There is nothing private about radio communication. In fact a radio telephone conversation is about as public as the sun at noon. Anybody can hear it who adjusts his instrument to the proper wave length. Out of this seeming drawback broadcasting has evolved, and with it a sudden public interest in radio concerts, sermons, lectures and news announcements.

We have been objecting much of late to monopolies of all kinds. But a monopoly of some kind there must be if broadcasting is to develop. Someone must literally own certain wave lengths in the ether. Otherwise broadcasting will be reduced to a radio Babel. More interference occurs on the amateur 200-meter wave length than on any other.

Some of the more ambitious amateurs have taken to broadcasting on their own account. Their phonograph music, their jokes, their calls to their radio mates clog the 200-meter wave length. Unless the Government steps in the ether will become a bedlam, somewhat like the New York Stock Exchange when all the brokers on the floor are shouting at once.

The radio companies that operate on a 360-meter wave length are more considerate. Their broadcasting never conflicts, because they tacitly or expressly agree to transmit at definite hours of the day.

### *Cost of Apparatus*

The first questions asked about the reception of radio concerts can easily be anticipated. How much does a receiving set cost? Can anyone install it and make the necessary connections, or must one be an expert?

The apparatus now available may be classified into four types:

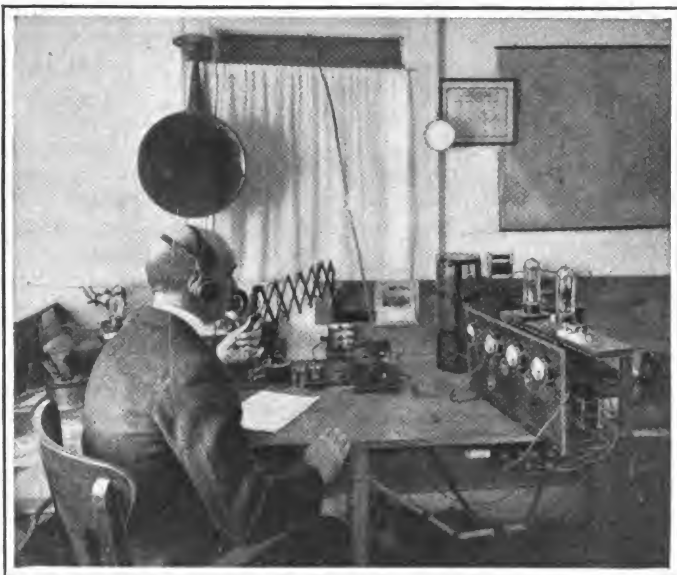
First comes the simple "crystal detector" set, which costs between \$15 and \$25, and which has a receiving range of about ten miles. Its receiving element is a sensitive crystal, which has its limitations. The set



must be used with a telephone headpiece, and only under the most favorable conditions can more than one person hear at the same time. The waves travel down to the crystal detector by way of an antenna, which is erected usually on the roof.

Most radio amateurs soon tire of the crystal detector set and buy a simple "vacuum tube" apparatus, so called because the waves are detected not by a crystal but by a very sensitive tube, which is nothing but a modified electric incandescent lamp, and which glows like one. The cheapest vacuum tube set costs from \$50 to \$100. Its effective receiving range is twenty-five miles. Three head telephones can be connected with the set, so that as many persons can "listen in" simultaneously; but each additional telephone reduces the audibility, and therefore the range of reception. The set has long been popular with boy scouts, who use it with good effect on their "hikes." As in the case of the crystal-detector set, an antenna must be erected.

If the radio enthusiast lives within twenty-five to fifty miles of the broadcasting station, or if he wishes to entertain a whole roomful of people with radio music that issues from a horn, somewhat like a megaphone, he must set up an apparatus of the third type—an apparatus in which the feeble effect detected is miraculously amplified. Such an apparatus, with its antenna, its tubes, its batteries, its "loud-speaker," as the horn is called, will cost about \$230. It has what is called a "tuned regenerative circuit," a term which may seem alarming now, but which we shall soon bandy about just as we do "carburetor" "differential" and the equally technical names of automobile parts. It is the function of the regenerative circuit to amplify the signal detected by a vacuum tube. Two or more vacuum tubes are employed to magnify it still further, so that what would otherwise be a barely audible whisper becomes an earsplitting yell in the telephone headpiece. Of course the yell can be stifled to an



A "WIRELESS" AMATEUR WITH EQUIPMENT FOR RECEIVING AND TRANSMITTING

(This operator can handle messages not only in the dot-and-dash code used in telegraphy, but also in the speaking voice, as over the telephone. Furthermore, after adjusting his instruments to the wave-length and direction of a message being sent out by some other operator, he can discard his headpiece and receive through the loud-speaking horn)

acceptable volume. Because the effect is so powerful, the headpieces can give way to the horn or "loud-speaker," which throws the sound into a whole room, so that the audience listens to it in comfort.

Although such an apparatus ought to satisfy any ordinary craving for broadcasted entertainment, there is a fourth type, which may be considered the supreme achievement of the radio engineer for the time being. The antenna wire is not mounted on the roof. Instead it is wrapped around a simple square frame called a "loop," which can be turned on a pivot in the direction of the waves. The loop may be mounted on a convenient stand; or it may be enclosed with the rest of the apparatus in a cabinet about as large as a trunk. It is evident that the loop is a great convenience; it does away with the necessity of mounting an antenna outside of the house. On the other hand the signals must be enormously amplified in order to be heard in a room, and this is done by a series of vacuum tubes. To describe the method of amplification here would lead one technically too far astray. The apparatus costs from \$300 to \$500, and its flexibility is such that its receiving range is anywhere from ten to 150 miles.

All of these sets are self-contained; that

is they are neatly housed in boxes or cabinets to meet the demand for compactness. The largest and most expensive of them (that last described) occupies the most space, and this is no more than that of an ordinary trunk, as we have said.

Five, ten years hence we shall look back at these sets and wonder at the enthusiasm with which we bought and used them. The instruments of the future will be even more compact, even more easily manipulated. As it is, the progress in radio communication is so rapid that standardization of apparatus is out of the question. The sets of to-day are immensely superior to those of two years ago.

### *Like the Rise of the Phonograph*

At present about 600,000 receivers are in use. Assuming that the average cost of a set is \$50, the American public has invested in an incredibly short time not less than \$30,000,000 in receivers. This is only a beginning. The manufacturers confidently look forward to sales of one thousand sets a day by the end of the year. Only the rise of the phonograph offers anything like a parallel to this amazing development. Never in the history of electricity has an invention so gripped the popular fancy.

Radio engineers realize that the general public will not be bothered with technical details; that it cares nothing about the motor of its phonograph and nothing about the coils and circuits of its radio set. Hence they see to it that no profound technical knowledge is required to set up and manipulate even the most elaborate receiving instruments. Explicit instructions accompany each set. Anyone who can learn to drive an automobile can learn to handle a radio receiving equipment.

Like the automobile the radio set must be repaired from time to time. Manufacturers of tires, automobiles, adding machines and typewriters render what they call "service"; in other words, they inspect and repair their products when called upon to do so. The manufacturers of radio sets are also preparing themselves to render "service."

It was Germany that first opened our eyes to the possibilities of broadcasting. The present German Government saw in radio a convenient means of enhancing its own popularity. Berlin opera was broadcasted—the first experiment of the kind made anywhere in the world. Stations were established in banks and public places where the German

citizen could not fail to hear what his government was doing to make life as easy as possible on the basis of a depreciated mark.

### *Daily Occurrences in Broadcasting*

The first attempts at broadcasting in the United States were made with some diffidence. Would anything be heard at all? The apparatus of a year ago was not what it now is. The stations asked their hearers to answer by letter. The response was overwhelming. Even a few bars of hackneyed phonograph music were received with delight. In marveling at this latest wonder of science the audience quite forgave artistic crudities. It was pleased to hear even a simple "How do you do? This is the radio-telephone."

The crew of a ship 1600 miles south of Sandy Hook recently heard music radiated from Newark and Pittsburgh, and wrote a letter of thanks to the company responsible for the entertainment.

Broadcasting was at first a means of addressing about 300,000 boys and young men who have a sound technical knowledge of radio principles and their application, and who are able to assemble their own apparatus, and even to build much of it themselves. Now the great electrically untutored public has seized upon radio with an avidity that has literally taken away the breath of the manufacturers. Radio telephone receiving sets cannot be produced rapidly enough to meet the demand. Manufacturers and dealers are months behind in filling orders.

A new industry has been born. In thousands of city and suburban homes, in lonely farmhouses, knobs that look like those on safes are twirled in the simple process of "tuning in," so as to make audible the news or the music radiated by a broadcasting station. On Sunday the stations all broadcast sermons, which are heard with as much reverence as if the voice that preaches the reward that awaits the righteous and the evil that befalls the sinner reached the ear directly from the pulpit. At the proper moment, radio congregations have been known to fall down on their knees and pray simultaneously with those in the church from which the directing voice came fifty miles away. One enterprising minister even gave instructions to pass the plate and to send him the collection, all of which was duly performed, quite in the pious spirit demanded by the occasion.

There are at present forty-four private

broadcasting stations, scattered over the country from New York to California and from Wisconsin to Texas. Here is a list of those licensed by the Government to broadcast news, music, lectures, market reports, and time signals on a 360-meter wave length:

# ATLANTIC SEABOARD STATES

STATION	STATE	CALL LETTERS	CONTROLLED BY
Newark	N. J.	WJZ	Westinghouse Co.
Jersey City	N. J.	WNO	Wireless Telephone Co.
New York	N. Y.	WJX	De Forest Radio Co.
New York	N. Y.	WDT	Ship Owners Radio Service
New Haven	Conn.	WCJ	A. C. Gilbert Co.
Hartford	Conn.	WQB	C. D. Tuska Co.
Springfield	Mass.	WBZ	Westinghouse Co.
Medford Hillside	Mass.	WGI	American Radio Research Co.
Washington	D. C.	WDN	Church of the Covenant
Washington	D. C.	WDW	Radio Construction Co.
Washington	D. C.	WJH	White & Boyer Co.
Atlanta	Ga.	4CD	Carter Electric Co.

# MIDDLE WEST STATES

Pittsburgh	Pa.	KDKA	Westinghouse Co.
Pittsburgh	Pa.	WPB	Newspaper Printing Co.
Indianapolis	Ind.	WLK	Hamilton Manufacturing Co.
Toledo	Ohio	WDZ	Marshall Gerken Co.
Cincinnati	Ohio	WMH	Precision Equipment Co.
Detroit	Mich.	WBL	Detroit News
Chicago	Ill.	KYW	Westinghouse Co.
Madison	Wis.	WHA	University of Wisconsin
Omaha	Neb.	WOU	R. B. Howell
Minneapolis	Minn.	WLB	University of Minnesota
Kansas City	Mo.	9ZAB	Western Radio Co.
Lincoln	Neb.	9YY	State University

# MOUNTAIN STATES

Denver	Col.	9ZAF	Reynolds Radio Co.
Los Altos	Calif.	KLB	Colin B. Kennedy Co.
Pasadena	Calif.	KLB	J. J. Dunn & Co.
Los Angeles	Calif.	KQL	Arno A. Kluge
Los Angeles	Calif.	KYJ	Leo J. Meyberg Company
Los Angeles	Calif.	KZC	Western Radio Electric Co.
Hollywood	Calif.	KGC	Electric Lighting Co.
Oakland	Calif.	KZM	Preston D. Allen
Oakland	Calif.	KZY	Atlantic & Pacific Radio Sup.
Sacramento	Calif.	KVQ	J. C. Hobrecht
San Francisco	Calif.	KDN	Leo J. Meyberg Co.
San Francisco	Calif.	KGB	Edwin L. Lorden
San Francisco	Calif.	KYY	Radio Telephone Shop
San Jose	Calif.	KQW	Charles D. Herrold
Stockton	Calif.	KJQ	C. O. Gould
Stockton	Calif.	KWG	Portable Wireless Tel. Co.
Sunnyvale	Calif.	KJJ	The Radio Shop
Seattle	Wash.	KFC	Northern Radio Electric Co.

# GULF STATES

Dallas	Tex.	WRR	Police Department
Austin	Tex.	SZU	State University

In addition to the foregoing there are over two hundred Government stations that broadcast Government news.

It is a curious place—the interior of a broadcasting station. And yet there is nothing unfamiliar about it. It is in fact nothing but a small power-house. Here are the usual switchboards, the usual dials, light and

indicating instruments. Accordingly the visitor refuses to be impressed. Why should he marvel at the outwardly usual? The horn over there, into which the stout woman is about to sing, looks just like the horn that phonograph companies use in record-

making. The announcer precedes the lady. "This is station 'GHX'" he proclaims in rather too nasal a voice, we think. "Madame Burumowska, formerly of the Moscow Opera, will now sing the 'Hymn to the Sun' by Rimsky-Korsakoff." He has some difficulty with Rimsky-Korsakoff's name. The accompanist plays the introduction and Madame Burumowska launches into the song. She never had an audience like this in her life. No one can guess how many it may number. Ten thousand, twenty thousand—who knows? To one accustomed to ovations and curtain calls and hand-clapping and "bravos" it must seem strange not to receive the faintest response of approval. On the other hand Madame Burumowska's feelings are spared if her "Hymn to the Sun" bores her hearers. The gallery in Europe still gives expression to its disapproval of prima donnas. Madame would be safe even in outspoken Italy, where missiles are still employed. If you don't like her you simply turn your tuning knob, whereupon Madame is wiped out of existence, in a radio sense, with a weird, thin wail as if some giant hand had actually seized her by the throat and

strangled her with skilful suddenness. At any rate she is lost somewhere in the ether—and she never knows that you left her on her wave length and proceeded to "listen in" on another. Radio audiences simply must be polite.

The programs leave much to be desired. Proud parents flaunt the talents of their



"LISTENING IN" ON A RADIO CONCERT

(It is with such apparatus as this that wireless amateurs receive time signals, musical concerts, sermons, and other messages sent out by Government or private agencies)

children before unseen radio audiences. There is too much of little Jessie's piano playing—too much because Jessie is only ten and therefore hardly competent to elucidate even "Ripplings on the Mississippi." Of course Jessie can be quietly and painlessly strangled in the middle of a trill, while her fond parents cherish the illusion that her prodigious performance holds fifty thousand spellbound. The standards of the theater, opera, vaudeville and concert must be maintained, if broadcasting is to flourish. There is altogether too much phonograph music. It is the sheer novelty of radio broadcasting that makes us listen to a record that we have in our own phonograph cabinet. Doubtless there will soon be a kind of radio impresario—a man who will engage Sir Harry Lauder to sing his Scotch songs, or Kreisler to play his transpositions of old Viennese waltzes. As it is, a few distinguished artists have already made themselves heard through the ether—gratuitously.

The following is an exceptionally good popular program to which ether tappers within a range of one hundred miles of Chicago recently listened:

#### SATURDAY

Margaret Lester, soprano; William Lester at the piano. Carl Craven, tenor; Blanch Bonn, accompanist. Anthony Dugo, cornetist; Sallie Menkes, accompanist. Marian Chase Schaeffer, dramatic reader.

#### Program

1. (a) "Homing," Del Riego; (b) "Spring Is Awake," Gaines; Margaret Lester.

2. (a) "Dream Tryst," Cadman; (b) "The Enchanted Glade," Barker; Carl Craven.

3. (a) "Sweet and Low," Bamby; (b) "When You and I Were Young, Maggie," Butterfield; (c) "Love's Old Sweet Song," Molloy; Anthony Dugo.

4. (a) "When the Roses Bloom," Reichardt Johnson; Margaret Lester.

5. (a) "The Spring Charmer," Daley; (b) "Antonio Sarto," Daley; Marian Chase Schaeffer.

6. (a) "Mammy, Dear," Grey; (b) "Take Me Back to Babyland," Rooney; (c) "A Little Prayer for Me," Russell; Carl Craven.

7. (a) "Alice, Where Art Thou?" Ascher; (b) "Ben Bolt," English; Anthony Dugo.

8. (a) "The Brownies," Leoni; (b) "The House of Dreams," Lester; Margaret Lester.

9. Pianologues, (a) "Chums," Peyke; (b) "The New Brother," Williams; (c) "Lil' Bit a Sistah," Peyke; Marian Chase Schaeffer.

10. (a) "I Hear You Calling Me," Marshall; (b) "Sweet Little Woman O'Mine," Bartlett; Carl Craven.

#### SUNDAY

The Rev. Alfred S. Nickless of the Albany Park Presbyterian Church, who will conduct Station KYW's chapel service Sunday, March 5, has selected for the theme of his sermon "The Pathway to Sovereign Power."

Broadcasting is bound to become an enterprise in itself, as soon as some way is evolved of making it profitable. At present we all have passes to the greatest radio show on earth. We are welcome eavesdroppers. Some day we may have to buy tickets—buy something, at any rate, that will entitle us to listen to a highly paid tenor or violinist.

Who pays for broadcasting? Principally the companies that manufacture receiving apparatus and a few radio dealers. Hundreds of sets are sold every week by small manufacturers who contribute not a cent to the maintenance of the broadcasting stations. It will not always be thus. If the interest in broadcasting is to be maintained, if broadcasting is to become a profitable enterprise, it must obtain its revenue from some source. There is no immediate prospect of collecting anything from the radio audiences. Wave lengths may be assigned by the Government, but no one owns the ether. Everybody can "listen in." Already we hear rumors of using the ether to advertise anything from soap to automobiles. Will the advertiser be willing to pay the bills, provided that he can have five minutes to explain the virtues of his product between a solo by a Metropolitan Opera tenor and a monologue by a noted black-face comedian?

Not unless he has some assurance that his audience is actually listening. But *will* the audience listen? Is it not likely to turn its

tuning knob and pass out of the advertiser's wave-length into one more entertaining? It is difficult to escape the printed advertisement even by the simple expedient of shutting one's eyes. Sooner or later it thrusts itself to the fore at an unexpected moment. But the ease with which the radio audience can glide out of a wave-length leaves the advertiser who uses the ether absolutely helpless. There is no "net paid guaranteed circulation"

in advertising parlance. In the beginning the novelty of the medium employed will insure a hearing. Department stores who have bargains to announce—after all a form of news—may also succeed in commanding attention. Beyond that the prospects for the radio advertiser seem unpromising.

Will interest in broadcasting die after the novelty has evaporated? We think not. Ten, twenty years hence we will look back at our present efforts with as much amusement as we now contemplate a high-wheel bicycle in a museum. "So we thought that was something wonderful did we?" And indeed, when we recall the motion picture as it was before the days of the thrilling screen play, of the time when we marveled at a film that revealed nothing more exciting than the Empire State Express dashing in photographic silence across the Mohawk landscape, or the surf breaking unheard on the white beach of Atlantic City, who will be bold enough to limit the future of the radio broadcasting station? Metropolitan or Paris opera for Zanzibar and Oklahoma? That is obvious. News of death and destruction—the kind dear to the editors of certain newspapers? We have it now. Only, in the future the stentor who will announce the catastrophic extinction of some tropical town by an earthquake, may do so with a more tragically quavering voice than now. Fairy tales for children? These, too, we have. But our imagination conjures up a radio mother of the future—the Statue of Liberty would answer admirably—crooning songs and telling bedtime stories on a prescribed wave-length to ten million children who may live



A RADIO SCHOOL FOR AMATEURS AT A SUPPLY HOUSE IN NEW YORK

anywhere between Alaska and Florida. Education by radio? Its present rudimentary beginnings will be totally eclipsed by lectures delivered to millions of students by the professors of some radio university located in Chicago and New York. What a chance for some future Einstein to elucidate his conception of time and space to a whole world with an ear cocked to catch the rise and fall of his voice as it wells out of the horn. Symphony orchestras will play to whole continents, peninsulas and islands—perhaps without the usual annual deficit. Even now the Chicago Opera is broadcasted.

When we think that the loneliest ranchman in Idaho or the sailor on a ship steaming in the vast solitude of the Pacific will soon be able to hear the strains of a symphony orchestra in Paris or New York, that he, too, may be a theatrical "first-nighter" at least so far as his ears are concerned, somehow the world seems to shrivel up into a little ball on which Patagonians and Eskimos, Burmese and Apaches are next-door neighbors. We listen to a great violinist or a famous preacher hundreds of miles away as if he were in the next room. When the telephone and the telegraph came, we greeted them as "space annihilators." Space annihilation indeed! We never really knew the meaning of the term until the radio broadcasting station taught it to us with dramatic directness and suddenness. No one telephones from New York to San Francisco except on a matter of the utmost importance. But San Francisco will soon listen to New York's vaudeville trivialities as if it were within handshaking distance.



A STREET SCENE AT CORDOVA, ONE OF ALASKA'S SEAPORTS, IN A RICH COPPER REGION

# THE LAND THAT UNCLE SAM BOUGHT AND THEN FORGOT

BY SCOTT C. BONE  
(Governor of Alaska)

**S**EPARATED from the United States by British water, and of Russian antecedents, Alaska nevertheless is distinctively American territory. Its problems are American problems. It has no complex educational or racial problem to deal with, as have Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii.

Alaska is American through and through. Its foreign-born citizens, in the main, are thoroughly Americanized. Alaska was intensely loyal during the war and patriotically responsive.

## *Completing the Government Railroad*

Inspecting the work on the government railroad in the Broad Pass country, at the then end of steel, mile 306, away off in the interior, I asked Col. Frederick Mears, chairman of the Alaska Engineering Commission, how many of the large force of men thus employed were Americans.

"All of them," he answered.

The superintendent of construction, a robust character out of the West, known as "Hurry-up" Jones, promptly confirmed this statement. "There is not a foreigner

among them," he said. "Every mother's son is an American."

This does not mean that no foreigners were employed in the building of the railroad. On the contrary, in the contract work, hundreds of aliens had a hand in the job. But in the final work, in the Broad Pass region, when steel was being connected, the workmen were practically 100 per cent. Americans.

A giant track-laying machine was pushing rapidly ahead. It delivered and laid the rails and advanced over them. A mile and a quarter per day was the limit set, and this permitted no loitering.

A light snow covered the ground. Frost was in the air, but the chill was tempered by the warmth of a glorious autumn sun. A sweeping vista was presented to the eye. The expanse was endless. Here Montana and the Dakotas, only a little while ago a wilderness like this, seemed magnified and multiplied in breadth and length. Beyond the coastal range tourists talked of the scenic wonders of Alaska, but that was not Alaska. It was only the beginning of Alaska. Here was the real Alaska. After a comatose

lapse of half a century, Uncle Sam, in building the railroad, was taking the first step toward opening the region to settlement and civilization.

To the southward lay the Susitna and Matanuska valleys, sparsely dotted with promising homesteads, and to the northward the richer Tanana Valley, where small farmers during the season had raised and marketed wheat and barley and other products to the value of \$250,000.

It was impressive, inspiring, magnificent, the visualizing of interior Alaska from the railroad. Only a view of towering Mt. McKinley, obscured by distant haze, was lacking to round out and perfect the picture spread out before one.

A monster caterpillar truck came rattling over the hill, bringing supplies to camp; but the road-builders, Americans all, gave no heed to its approach, nor to the inspection party that had come by special train. Big work was doing. The workers were on their jobs, every one. Time was precious. Shortened days were at hand. A forty-mile gap was yet to close. Weather conditions were propitious. Therefore, onward, onward—on and across the Broad Pass to Riley Creek and the joining of steel. "Hurry-up" Jones was in command. His sobriquet fitted him.

Sturdy American labor, speed the watchword, enabled him to measure up to his name, aided by that giant, human-like track-laying machine, and under the general supervision of Engineer of Constructors Hanson.

And so the railroad building proceeded until now the project is completed, save for the mammoth 700-foot single span bridge over the Tanana River at Nenana, which will require two working seasons, 1922-23, for construction. Meantime, freight and passenger traffic are transferred by ferry at that point.

Begun seven years ago, but interrupted by the World War and halted at other intervals while waiting upon appropriations, this government railroad is the greatest achievement in Alaska's history. It extends from Seward, on Resurrection Bay, through the Kenai Mountains to Anchorage, on Cook's Inlet, and thence along the Susitna River,

through fertile valleys, over glacial streams and the Hurricane Gulch and across the Broad Pass, within reach of the entrance to Mt. McKinley Park, and on to Fairbanks, the commercial center of the interior, a distance of 467 miles, with a branch line to the Matanuska and Chickaloon coal fields, making a total mileage of 540.

Its cost in the aggregate is \$56,000,000, which exceeds the original estimate by \$21,000,000. But this outlay does not represent construction alone. It embraces equipment, the mining of coal, the building of town sites, erection of power plants and hospitals, all authorized under the original appropriation and validated by executive orders. The cost represents the railroad in actual operation; aye, in successful operation in that it is to-day maintaining a twice-weekly schedule and already has reduced freight-carrying charges from Puget Sound ports to the rail terminus in the interior by 50 per cent. and upward.

Roughly computed, the construction cost \$80,000 per mile. This is said to be approximately the cost of construction of the Copper River Railroad, from Cordova to Kennicott, 190 miles. If this be true, if the figures be susceptible of proof, after segregation and analysis (the estimate here given is

that of a disinterested engineer officer of the Army not connected with either enterprise), then your Uncle Samuel has done a mighty fine job of railroad-building, of which not only Alaska, but the American Union, may well be proud. But let it be assumed that the Copper River Railroad, built by private capital, cost much less than \$80,000 per mile in normal times—say only \$40,000, to forestall dispute—and that this government railroad cost more than \$80,000 per mile in abnormal times, with labor and materials mounting to the highest level ever reached. The achievement is still altogether to the credit of its government builders.

Only Uncle Sam could have carried this colossal project to completion in such an unprecedented era. Had the construction been let to private contract on the basis of bidding in 1914-15 the contractor inevitably would have thrown up the job or gone into



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COL. FREDERICK MEARS  
(Chairman and chief engineer of the Alaskan Engineering Commission)





ON THE RAILROAD BETWEEN SEWARD AND ANCHORAGE

bankruptcy and Congress might easily have had a sort of De Lesseps scandal on its hands with Alaska becoming merely a streak of rust and pile of junk.

The big, outstanding fact is that the Government has built a railroad in Alaska, penetrating a vast unknown wilderness, 5000 miles distant from the federal seat, and with never a hint of graft or loot.

England has knighted captains of industry for achievements less magnificent and enduring than the completion of this railroad enterprise in Alaska, under the direction of a modest American Army officer, Col. Frederick Mears. Its construction has involved infinitely greater difficulties than those encountered by the builders of the transcontinental lines in the States, who won niches in the hall of fame, and will ever be held dear to American memory.

#### *Can Alaska Make the Railroad Profitable?*

Will the government railroad in Alaska pay?

Had a clear-visioned James J. Hill, instead of our own busy and beloved Uncle Sam, been behind it and built it; had generous Uncle Sam known and comprehended his Alaska as shrewd, path-finding, empire-building James J. Hill knew and comprehended the great West, the question propounded would affirmatively answer itself.

Colonization would have kept pace with track-laying. The country contiguous to the railroad would have begun to be peopled. Occupied homesteads would now dot all the interior valleys. Markets would have been provided and tonnage created. Capital and people would have been invited and made welcome, and aided in their efforts.

Instead of being closed, the door of the Territory would have been open to honest wealth-seekers and home-makers. Instead of a dwindling population of fifty-odd thousand—nearly one-half of them Indians and Esquimaux—the census of 1920 would have shown Alaska going ahead and fast qualifying for statehood. Personal politics would have given place to party politics and schisms and feuds disappeared, along with the visionaries and the doctrinaires, and bureaucratic rule would to-day survive only as a bad memory.

In short, the Land That Uncle Sam Bought and Then Forgot would have come into its own in this year of our Lord, 1922, with the completion of the railroad.

Preoccupied with war and the making of peace, and going through two national campaigns, Uncle Sam's mind was not upon Alaska. He voted the money to build the railroad and let it go at that. Concurrently with the advancement of the great project, no general policy of development was inaugurated.

Franklin K. Lane, as Secretary of the Interior, had a clear and comprehensive view of the concurrent needs and did his best to meet them, but failed. His indictment of red-tapeism was powerful and convincing,



THE SUSITNA RIVER AS SEEN FROM A TRAIN ON THE GOVERNMENT RAILROAD



**ALASKA IN ITS RELATION TO ASIA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE NORTH PACIFIC**

(Locating also the capital city of Juneau, and the railroad extending from Seward northward to Fairbanks)

but ineffective of results. It was impossible in the stress of those sanguinary times to secure either legislative or executive attention for Alaska.

Now Uncle Sam must see and do the things a James J. Hill would have seen and done. Otherwise, his fine job of railroad-building will be slow indeed in yielding returns.

Once the Territory is really opened to capital and people, through liberalized land and mining laws and regulations—and, above all, through the substitution of a practical, business-like system of administration for the chaotic and inefficient bureaucratic system which has fastened itself upon the Territory—then the government railroad will pay and pay handsomely. Already it is justifying itself in delivering sugar and other necessities of life to interior points at one-half the former prices. Its stimulus is helpfully felt in many directions. But constructive policies are required to produce tonnage for the railroad and bring it into its maximum degree of usefulness.

#### *Uncle Sam's Responsibility*

Given a chance, Alaska will become populated and thrive as the country west of the Rocky Mountains grew and thrived—not as rapidly, but just as surely and substantially. It will be Uncle Sam's fault if the census of 1930 discloses such shameful, tell-tale figures as did the census of 1920.

Theodore Roosevelt felt that the building of the Panama Canal was the greatest

achievement of his Administration. Warren G. Harding in Alaska has an opportunity for achievement no less signal and enduring. A statesman of vision, he sees and realizes it. But bureaucracy is in the way and strongly entrenched, and the preliminary undertaking is beset with difficulties.

In the fifty-four years since Alaska was purchased from Russia, thirteen Administrations at Washington have come and gone. From only a few of these has Alaska received more than perfunctory and intermittent consideration.

Harrison (1889-93)

turned his attention to this Northland and betrayed an interest, but Samoa, Chile and Hawaii diverted him and Alaska had to wait.

McKinley (1897-1901) was not unmindful of the Territory, nor indifferent to its needs, but the war with Spain intervened and again Alaska had to wait.

Roosevelt (1901-09) had vision and high aims, and, guided by ultra-conservationists, he reserved most of Alaska, as the first step toward opening and developing it; but Colombia, Panama, and the Canal and the making of a Russo-Japanese peace intervened and, in a worse fix than before, again Alaska had to wait.

Taft (1909-13), practical-minded, started to open the Territory, but a season of insurgency and insensate political strife set in and, bottled up, again Alaska had to wait. (Surveys of the proposed government railroad meritoriously survived this tragic political chapter.)

Wilson (1913-21) turned his "single-track mind" Alaskaward most helpfully and championed the railroad measure and helped to put it through Congress; but legislation to put the Territory on a basis of possible development was withheld and, hopelessly handicapped by red tape and strangled by bureaucracy, the population dwindled under adverse conditions, and again Alaska had to wait.

Yet Alaska has produced wealth in minerals and fisheries approximating a billion dollars!

It is profitless to rehearse the sins of

omission and commission as to Alaska, or to discuss the might-have-beens. It is a sorry, tragic chapter of American history, taken as a whole. Overlooked and neglected for four decades after the Seward purchase, save when the Klondike stampede centered attention upon the Northland; left without courts or laws or a semblance of government for years; grudgingly given piecemeal legislation to meet its most urgent needs and, finally, with reluctance, granted a delegate in Congress and, subsequently, a limited form of territorial government—

Alaska then, as the climax of it all, became a problem of conservation politics, and has since been dealt with academically and as a theory.

Its resources locked up for the benefit of an unborn posterity, it came to a dead standstill (except for individual or private enterprises that had secured footholds here and there) and thus proceeded, naturally, to lose population and go steadily backward. But for the building of the government railroad, which gave employment to thousands of men, the startling shrinkage in the enumeration of 1920 would have been doubled or tripled.

*"Nothing the Matter with Alaska"—  
Except Red Tape*

Now, instead of further academic treatment, Alaska needs and must have the wisdom and common sense that guided the building of the Union. A condition, not a theory, confronts Alaska. It requires the practical-mindedness and the farsightedness of our forefathers. It calls for the restoration of individual initiative and the revival of the pioneer spirit. It involves a return to normalcy in the consideration of Alaska and Alaskan problems. Nothing short of all this will speed the progress and insure the future of the Territory.

A gentleman of attainments and distinction in the Forest Service recently came to the defense of the bureaucratic system of government in a syndicated article entitled, "Nothing the Matter with Alaska," in which he ascribed the going backward of the Territory to natural causes—primarily the



THE GOVERNOR'S HOUSE AT JUNEAU, THE TERRITORIAL CAPITAL

World War and adverse economic conditions produced by war. Certainly these things entered into the equation. But Alaska had begun to go backward before the war. Governmental red tape, official circumlocution, restrictive laws, and repressive regulations had taken the industrial life out of Alaska.

The pioneer spirit had become maimed unto death. Capital looked askance when Alaska was mentioned. The fisheries—a migratory business in Alaska—continued to be operated extensively and successfully and reached an abnormal level of production during the war. Likewise the output of copper to meet the needs of war exceeded all previous records. But simultaneously the shrinkage in population went on apace. Manifestly something was more vitally the matter with Alaska than war and the aftermath of war. The American Legion vouches for the fact that the great majority of sons of Alaska who so patriotically responded to the call to arms and went overseas or to camp and field returned after the armistice. War entailed no heavy drain on this score. Indiana or Illinois or Kansas did not lose one-fourth of its population on account of war, and of business and industrial depression resultant therefrom. And, of course, Alaska did not.

As a matter of fact, having shared least of all sections in war prosperity, although making a proud record in the war, Alaska probably felt the reaction less than any State in the Union. Hence the futility of reasoning that there is "Nothing the Matter with Alaska" other than conditions universally



A GROUP OF SCHOOL CHILDREN, WITH THEIR TEACHER, AT JUNEAU, ALASKA

affecting the American commonwealth and all the world. However, a discussion of these whys and wherefores becomes academic and there is no profit in it. Fruitful only is a consideration of Alaska that is, not Alaska that was, or might have been.

There is a bright side to the Alaska picture—a side that stimulates waning faith and renews a wavering optimism.

In spite of the ups and downs of Alaska and the Topsy-like treatment received by this wonderful Northland; in spite of bureaucratic ills and the kindred affliction of bad personal politics; in spite of the remote aloofness and community closeness that contribute to impaired vision and the loss of the sense of proportion—in spite of all such things, one may be a full-fledged optimist as to the future of Alaska; and I belong to that large species.

Not to be an optimist is not to be an Alaskan. To know Alaska is to love Alaska. To understand Alaskans is to pin your faith to their sturdy characters implicitly. Hope deferred in their case has not served to make their hearts sick. They may, as they proverbially do, become a bit contentious and magnify petty grievances and air their differences—Heaven knows there is little else to do while marking time!—but let one of their number meet with misfortune and they rally to his aid as one man. Never is the helping hand withheld. It is extended spontaneously, warmly, generously. Fixed and irreconcilable hatreds are uncommon, if not unknown. Quarrels are of the surface only. A common lot makes for a communion of

fellowship and at heart a brotherly love which will ever stand the crucial test. When one goes "out" it assuredly means that in due time, God willing, he will be coming "in."

#### *A Land of Happy Homes*

The lure of Alaska, of which you hear, is not mythical. It is real. It exists to the end of the long, long trail. The saying "Once an Alaskan always an Alaskan" is not a mere epigram. It is a fact. It endures to the close of the chapter.

The best aspect of Alaska to-day is that it is fast losing its distinctiveness as almost exclusively a man's country. Woman's fine influence is slowly but surely transforming Alaska. On all God's footstool there are no prettier homes than are to be found in Alaska, and no better-ordered homes.

Sixteen years ago, Governor Brady, in his annual report, set down this paragraph:

*Matrimony*—The males predominate. This is easily accounted for by reason of the life of adventure that is before any young man of health and courage that comes to this country. Many have come and they thoroughly enjoy it, but they have not been as successful in fortune-getting as they expected, yet have not given up the struggle. They have too much pride to return to their old homes for a visit and for a wife. Most of them are as fine specimens of manhood as ever stood on two feet. It is noticed that schoolma'ams and other young women who come here do not reside in a place but a short time before some worthy admirer turns up and tells the story. A number of these chose matrimony during the past year. There should be no such thing as race suicide in Alaska, where we have more than nine square miles per capita.

It is a delicate matter and not easy to arrange, but it is desirable to have more young women of good mind and health try this Western life and home building. Those who have a love of children and desire to rear a family should learn what special advantages Alaska has to hold for them.

It was, indeed, "a delicate matter and not easy to arrange"; but the same good God that watched over Israel and slumbered not nor slept has kept an eye on Alaska and brought to a degree of fruition the hope expressed and hint thrown out. More and more has the old, old story been told. Schoolma'ams innumerable have found worthy admirers and become charming wives and devoted mothers, and the quota has been otherwise multiplied by accessions from the States. Home life abounds in Alaska.

#### *Alaska's School System*

Brightest and best of all the aspects of Alaska and most potent in promise is the increasing number of children—rosy-cheeked, happy, healthy children, who live near to nature in an undefiled atmosphere and grow and thrive in a clime ideally suited to their young lives.

It is distressing to think of Alaska losing 10,000 population in a decade, but how reassuring the fact that the school enumeration in 1920 showed a marked increase! Away with despair or even pessimism in the face of this truth!



GOVERNOR BONE RECEIVING A FLORAL KEY FROM THE DAUGHTER OF MAYOR WOODWARD, OF FAIRBANKS

Alaska has sixty-eight Territorial public schools, of which seventeen are in incorporated towns and fifty-one in districts outside incorporated towns. The total enrolment the first month of the present school year was 3358 pupils. This represents an increase of 252 pupils, or 9 per cent. over the enrolment on the same date last year. The distribution is as follows: Elementary school, 2853; high school, 395. The most marked increase in enrolment has taken place in the high school, where the enrolment is 23 per cent. greater than last year. Think of that! Five high schools are accredited by the University of Washington as follows: Anchorage, Douglas, Fairbanks, Juneau and Ketchikan. Three other high schools, Skagway, Valdez and Wrangell, offer four years of high-school work.

In all there are 169 teachers, and they are more highly trained than the teachers of any State in the Union. Ninety per cent. are either normal-school or college graduates. The percentage of those who have had teaching experience prior to this year is far greater than for the teaching force of any of the States.

The average annual salary of high-school teachers for the school year 1920-21 was \$1600 and of elementary school teachers, \$1500. Superintendents received an average annual salary of \$2160.

Manual training and sewing are taught in schools which enroll one-half of all the pupils, and cooking in schools enrolling one-third, while commercial subjects are a part of the curriculum in high schools which enroll two-thirds of the high-school pupils. Schools which enroll more than one-half the school children of the Territory are equipped with motion-picture projectors. One-fifth of the pupils have an opportunity to use a gymnasium daily for healthful exercise and development, while one-third have access to either gymnasium or playroom.

Until the twentieth century dawned the importance of an Alaska town was measured by the number of its saloons and dance halls. To-day all is changed. The boast of each growing community is its schools and homes. Dancing continues the popular diversion; but the dance hall, like the saloon, is an institution of the past. Instead the art terpsichorean attracts its polite, well-dressed and sober devotees to properly appointed places of entertainment. President Harding may not indulge in the dreamy whirl when he comes to Alaska, but he can hardly escape

leading the grand march in public functions given in his honor.

### *Law and Order vs. John Barleycorn*

Gambling is a memory and heard of only as a reminiscence. "Soapy" Smith's demise at Skagway at the hands of a ready gunman, who himself was not quick enough to dodge a mortal shot, really spelled the doom of the card trickster and hold-up artist. Being a man's country in those days, its moral sensibilities were not easily shocked, but fair play even then was its motto, and subsequently it wisely learned that, as a business proposition, the toleration of gaming houses and brothels did not pay. Therefore, the standard of law and order in Alaska is as high as elsewhere. A frontier, the last of American frontiers, it is without the characteristics of our earlier frontiers.

The knockout blow given to John Barleycorn, once the opportunity offered, fairly took Alaska's breath away, so decisive and final was it. He had overplayed his game, the avaricious old scoundrel. Too well did his erstwhile patrons know him to give him any quarter. The Alaska dry law antedates the Volstead enactment. If it were to be done over, unquestionably the knockout blow would be equally decisive. But this does not mean that Alaska is actually dry any more than Maine or Kansas was ever dry, or than prohibition has made the country dry.

The bootlegger plies his iniquitous calling, in instances on a largely commercialized scale. "Hootch-runners" have waxed rich in Alaskan waters, with Prince Rupert as a base. "White mule" is distilled in out-of-the-way places. Home brew is in declining vogue, after a period of popularity. Only the other day an Indian squaw wound up a wood-alcohol debauch in death, and an alert prosecutor, vexed with law's technicalities, facetiously inquired whether a search warrant would be required to hold a post-mortem.

In Alaska as elsewhere small offenders are caught and punished, and the bigger culprits too often go scot free or escape with fines that mean nothing. The scales of justice operate just as successfully and uncertainly in Alaska as in the States. Ketchikan, in respect to bootlegging, is a Seattle in miniature and Juneau a small counterpart of San Francisco. It is the same relatively the country over. Complicated law-enforcing agencies negative honest effort and increase



AN ALASKA MAID IN LOVER'S LANE, TOTEM PARK SITKA

the difficulties. But the way of the transgressor is becoming harder all the time. An overwhelming public sentiment gives respect to law and support to law enforcement. Bootlegging is under the ban and soon will be largely suppressed. If not dry—if still far from dry—Alaska is freer from drinking and drunkenness by 75 per cent. than before prohibition took effect.

### *President Harding's Promised Visit*

The year 1922 will be the most memorable in the history of Alaska since the Seward purchase. Two events of supreme moment will make it so—the completion of the government railroad and the visit to the Territory of the President of the United States. Thus Alaska will be conspicuously in the public eye. A golden spike will be driven by the President at the point where steel is joined in commemoration of the completion of the government enterprise.

A whole-hearted welcome, truly Alaskan in character, awaits the coming of the President. Ketchikan, Wrangell, Petersburg, Juneau, Cordova, Valdez, Seward, Anchor-

age, Nenana, Fairbanks and Sitka will vie with one another in doing him honor. These fine communities, none of over 5000 inhabitants, comprise the bulk of Alaska's white population, which is in round numbers less than 30,000.

Remarkable as it may seem, the prospective visit of such transcendent historic interest is occasioning no notable animation or expectancy. Why? Because Alaska is slow to believe that it is actually going to happen. So often have fond anticipations been cultivated and come to naught; so habitually have roseate dreams brought cheer and failed of realization, that Alaskans naturally are prone to be in a Doubting Thomas frame of mind.

Until the itinerary is finally made up and dates definitely fixed, and he has really started on his journey to the Northland, Alaska will be prepared to hear that something has intervened to prevent the visitation. Things constantly and chronically intervene in the case of Alaska, and Alaska has to wait. It has been so without variation for half a century and more. But hope deferred has not, as already stated, served to make the Alaskan heart-sick, and now assuredly the unbroken rule is destined to be broken.

President Harding will find that the climate of Alaska, equable, moist and delightful on the coast, is gloriously bright and beautiful, and often hot, in the interior, with the temperature ranging from 80 to 90 degrees in the region of the Arctic Circle. He will see flowers and berries growing in profusion, and Fairbanks a veritable floral bower. He will see the midnight sun and glimpse Mt. McKinley in all its glory.

The vast interior will interest him the most. Its greatness and grandeur, its soli-

tude and loneliness, will overwhelm him. Its fertile valleys, unpeopled and uncultivated, will move him to wonder and inspire increased effort to bring the resourceful domain into its own.

He will go to the Matanuska coal fields and inspect the development at Chickaloon, where 300,000 tons of high-grade bituminous coal have been blocked out for use by the Pacific fleet. At Coal Creek he will view another vast field where 3,000,000 tons are in sight. He will see a going mine at Eska which has produced all the coal needed by the railroad in its construction and operation to date, and at Sutton a mammoth coal-cleaning plant, just completed by the Government at a cost of \$500,000. He will ask himself, no doubt, why this fuel has been locked up all these years and coal consumed by the Pacific fleet imported from Australia or West Virginia.

Seeing this strange, resourceful country at close range and realizing its potentialities, he will marvel at the neglect of Alaska since the Seward purchase.

Although coming in midsummer, the President will learn that Alaska, in midwinter, is not a monumental iceberg or glacier, as the mind's eye erroneously pictures it; that it is seldom snowbound and in the grip of bitter, biting elements; that its ports, save those near the Arctic coasts, are open the year round; that, in fact, the winters, away off up in the interior, are no more severe, and blizzards no more prevalent, than in the far Western and Northern States, and that a million people could live happily and thrive in Alaska if given the chance.

All these truths and more will the President learn about The Land That Uncle Sam Bought and Then Forgot.



GROUSE LAKE NEAR SEWARD, ALASKA





DR. HENRY A. COTTON



MR. BURDETTE G. LEWIS



DR. JOHN W. DRAPER

# THE WINNING FIGHT AGAINST MENTAL DISEASE

BY BURDETTE G. LEWIS

(State Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies of New Jersey, formerly Commissioner of Correction of the City of New York)

**I**NSANITY has been robbed of many of its terrors. It may be conquered if attacked during its incipient stages. Even more advanced cases may be arrested if vigorous effective measures are adopted. This has been demonstrated especially at Trenton State Hospital, where epoch-making recoveries of insane patients reported, during the years 1918 and 1919, by Dr. Henry A. Cotton, Medical Director, have been confirmed by field studies which have just been completed. In a special report just received, Dr. Cotton says:

During 1918 a total of 459 cases were discharged; 360 as recovered, 44 as improved and 55 as unimproved. The present status of those discharged patients is as follows: Recovered, 370; improved, 19; unimproved, 14; died, 24; returned to the Hospital, 32. . . . Of the 32 returned to the Hospital, only 23 belonged to the so-called functional ("incurable") group, and of the cases that have died since leaving the Hospital, only 12 were classified in this group. . . . Out of 360 cases belonging to the functional ("incurable") group, admitted in 1918, only 50 remain in the Hospital to-day, and 9 of them are criminals. . . . We have found that those we considered recovered are earning their

living, taking care of their families, and are normal in every respect.

As a result of the treatments provided during the last three years, 1000 patients classified in the so-called "incurable" group have been discharged. In the last year twenty-five of this number have been readmitted, but eight of these have since been discharged after the previous inadequate treatment was completed. The discharged rate for the functional group has averaged 65 to 70 per cent. of the admissions for three years, as against a ten-year average of only 37 per cent.

Early in 1918 Dr. Cotton surprised the medical profession by stating that the extraction of infected teeth, the removal of infected tonsils and the clearing up of infection in the stomach, the duodenum, the lower intestine and in other vital parts of the bodies of insane patients had resulted in remarkable recoveries, some of them almost immediate. Whether they were merely temporary or permanent remained to be seen. Dr. Cotton was confident of success, for eleven years of careful scientific

experimentation had preceded his announcement, and he had been an important factor in devising a successful treatment of another terrible form of insanity called "paresis."

### *Results Count*

Since then some of the most remarkable recoveries have been achieved with the aid of surgery. Badly diseased or poorly functioning stomachs, parts of large and small intestine, and other vital organs of the abdomen and pelvic regions found to be impaired have been renovated, rearranged, or, in specific cases, removed entirely. Dr. John W. Draper, who has performed these operations, has shown that the insane offer no exception to the well-known biological laws governing operations upon the human abdomen. We are so wonderfully made that when one organ fails to do its part another one may be induced to undertake the work; an interesting example of the law of compensation. The results, as a whole, are as striking and as sensational as previous achievements in the treatment and prevention of arthritis and rheumatism.

The results speak for themselves. On this point Dr. Draper says:

We do everything for these patients that would be done in any up-to-date modern hospital, quite regardless of their mental condition. All the surgery, all the X-ray and the laboratory work, all the dental work and all of the medical work should be performed for these patients as a matter of routine. They are all physically sick. I have yet to see one not suffering from a local focus of infection. Of what use are abstract arguments as to cause and effect when confronted with such tangible evidence of physical disease? Better without delay to grant to these unfortunates the boon of modern medical and surgical treatment than to lose time in an academic discussion as to the origin of their mental peculiarities. Study the physical history of the patients from childhood, and you will find that many of them have never had a normal movement of the bowels, and that in all there is a simple physical explanation for the personality changes which so often come in early adolescence and which later in life may develop into insanity.

The Cotton method of treating the insane is invaluable. It causes recovery from conditions which were previously considered hopeless. It shows that insanity is not a mysterious disease apart from the rest of general medicine, thus linking it to the fixed views of certain gastro-enterologists who have long contended that many disorders of the mind originated in poisons from the intestinal canal. This was emphasized by Satterlee in 1917, who insisted that there was a close relationship between mental and nervous disorders and infections of the gastro-intestinal tract. It is easy to see that out of this simplification of the matter will come early recognition and treatment of the primary physical condition

with resulting prevention of what is now known as "functional" insanity.

It has been the prevailing practice in 80 per cent. of the hospitals for the insane to transfer patients suffering from dementia praecox to the custodial annex, no further effort being made at treatment once this fatalistic diagnosis was established. Now freedom for these patients appears near at hand. The application of all of the well-tested methods of modern medicine, surgery and dentistry has penetrated the mystery which has enshrouded the subject of insanity for centuries and has opened the way for fundamental changes in hospital management.

### *Remarkable Recoveries*

Among the many recoveries reported by Dr. Cotton, I have selected the following typical cases:

Case 1. Single girl, age 36, trained nurse. Admitted May 9, 1911, from Bloomingdale Hospital, White Plains, N. Y., where she had been since 1910. She had suffered for years with severe headaches, accompanied by biliousness and vomiting, and previous to admission had been operated on for appendicitis. She had had four attacks of insanity, the first when she was 19 years old. Upon admission she was most confused, apprehensive, agitated and violent, and at times resistive. She did not improve after five years in the Hospital, and was called a chronic demented patient. In June, 1916, the dentist, after much difficulty, extracted an infected crowned molar. She began immediately to improve, and in October was well enough to be allowed to go home, where she remained for three years. A trained fieldworker called upon her recently, and found her apparently normal.

In January, 1919, she began again to show vague mental symptoms. She was nervous and irritable and had several confused spells. She voluntarily returned to the Hospital and X-ray studies of the intestinal tract in her case revealed a severe lesion of the colon. She was operated upon November 20, 1919, and a large segment of the bowel removed. She made an uneventful convalescence, and her mental symptoms disappeared. She became apparently normal. For some months she took charge of the surgical ward of the State Hospital, but after much hard work she became mildly depressed and attention was again directed to her teeth, which because of her own request had not been thoroughly treated for infection. Six teeth were found to be infected. After these were extracted she made a rapid recovery.

This case illustrates the necessity in searching for and eliminating infection. If mental symptoms recur after the removal of one kind of infection, then further search should be made until the other sources of infection are found and eliminated.

Case 2. A single girl, age 17, born in Russia, but has resided in the United States since she was two years old. She graduated from the

public schools, and was considered exceptionally bright. The onset of the disease was gradual, during three months before admission to the Hospital. She had tried to make money by writing songs, which were not accepted, and this worried her considerably. She developed insomnia. The songs kept recurring to her as she lay awake. She complained of vertigo and buzzing noises in her ears. Her case became so serious that she begged for poison and asked to be killed. She succeeded in injuring herself several times before admission, and was abusive to her parents at various times.

She came to the Hospital voluntarily, and was orderly on March 8, 1918, when she was admitted.

Treatment: All of the remaining upper teeth were extracted soon after admission, but with no results. The tonsils were removed. The stomach examination, July, 1918, showed a normal hydrochloric acid content and streptococci and colon bacilli (tiny infectious organisms) were isolated from cultures. On November 7, 1918, exploratory laparotomy (abdominal incision) was performed, and the appendix removed with both ovaries and tubes. It was noted at this operation that the mesenteric glands throughout the small intestine as well as the colon were enlarged. Cultures taken from these glands showed abundant streptococci and colon bacilli. The findings



ADMINISTERING SALVARSANIZED SERUM TO AN INSANE PATIENT, THROUGH AN OPENING IN THE SKULL

of these organisms in the mesenteric glands determined the subsequent treatment. She was given five doses of anti-streptococcal serum (devised by Dr. Cotton and Dr. John F. Anderson), at three days' interval, 10 c.c. at a dose. Following the administration of the serum the patient improved rapidly. The maniacal excitement subsided and in less than a week she was in a normal mental condition. On January 25, 1919, because of the condition of the colon found at the previous operation, it was decided to operate again, and an ileostomy (artificial resting of colon) was performed. It is interesting to note that the mesenteric glands which were described in the first operation showed decided change in their character. Many of them were small and hard and showed marked regressive changes; some of them had undergone calcification. Cultures taken from these glands at this operation were sterile. We considered that the changes in the glands were due to the administration of anti-streptococcal serum. The ileostomy remained open until July 5, 1919, when it was closed. On July 27th the patient was allowed to go home on a trial visit in care of her aunt, as she had entirely recovered mentally.

After leaving the Hospital the patient continued to improve, and frequently reported at the institution. She took a course in stenography and later qualified as a stenographer and typewriter. Since then she has been continually employed at this work.

Case 3. A married business man, age 35. This man had been a successful contractor, with no evidence of mental trouble until November, 1917, when friends noticed that he acted in a peculiar manner. About Christmas, 1917, he suddenly disappeared, and later was found in a hospital in Chicago, in a confused state. He did not know how he got there, and could not give any account of himself during that period. He was brought back to Trenton and put in a general hospital for treatment by his physician. He



INFECTED TONSILS MUST BE REMOVED IN MORE THAN 80 PER CENT. OF THE CASES AT THE TRENTON, N. J., STATE HOSPITAL

seemed to improve a little, and was taken out, but sent back very much worse. Was depressed, agitated, confused and self-accusatory. He was admitted to the State Hospital March 17, 1918. He was extremely apprehensive and thought he was going to be killed.

In May it was noted that he had four crowned molars. These were extracted and two days following this the patient became normal. He lost all his apprehensiveness and depression, and rapidly improved. He soon gained over 30 pounds in weight. The examination of the stomach showed infection and a vaccine was given. He was discharged June 9, 1918, after which he went to work as a contracting engineer, earning \$160 per month. His work has been entirely satisfactory. He has shown no mental symptoms whatever since his discharge, and is at present, three years afterward, a member of a prominent business concern.

### *Vision and Kindness Win—Restraint Abolished*

The new patient, no matter how disturbed he may be, is ushered into an open modern hospital ward in charge of young women nurses dressed in immaculate white, which harmonizes with the white interior, the snow-white bedding, the white iron beds and the other equipment. In place of the traditional dungeons or strong rooms and burly keepers, these nurses, with the aid of beams of sunlight which burst through the expansive windows, soothe, comfort and win the excited newcomer back to a semblance of quietude and reserved interest in his surroundings. The other quiet patients, who have already learned that this hospital has been freed of those terrors, partly real and partly imaginary, which curse and torment the mind of the insane patient, help to accomplish the desired result. Proper segregation and early treatment mean early recoveries, and early treatment at the Trenton Hospital has reduced the average stay of recoverable newcomers in the hospital from about nine to three months. The serum devised by Dr. Cotton and Dr. John F. Anderson, bacteriologist, has apparently reduced deaths from operations from 30 per cent. to 12 per cent. in six months. This serum can be obtained by any physician, is not made by any secret formula, but in preparation and use somewhat resembles diphtheria antitoxin.

All restraining apparatus has been eliminated at Trenton Hospital, as it has been found to be unnecessary in handling either the new arrivals or the chronic patients. In his Princeton University lectures, now published in book form under the title "The Defective Delinquent and Insane," Dr. Cotton says:

Even to-day, at least 80 per cent. of all hospitals for the insane, throughout the country, continue, to their own shame and to the detriment of the patients, to employ mechanical restraint. There is no necessity for it, as the writer can testify from personal experience. When he took charge of the State Hospital at Trenton in 1907, he found over 90 women in strait-jackets, and all other forms of restraint were in daily use. In less than two months over 700 pieces of restraint apparatus were removed from the wards, and since that time no patient has been put in restraint for any cause.

### *Work Elsewhere*

The work at Trenton has had striking support from the State Hospitals of Illinois. At a recent conference, Charles W. Thorn, then Director of Public Welfare of Illinois, recounted how kindness in dealing with untidy patients in the Illinois State Hospital for the Insane had saved enough in laundry and clothing bills to pay for the materials for these same patients to use in making baskets, rugs, and other useful articles. He cited the case of a patient who had raved like a wild man for years, who suddenly, under this gentle treatment, became quiet and interested in his work and was even in short order trusted to work about the grounds. When asked by the Director why he had changed his attitude, this patient gave this illuminating reply, "When they treated me like a hog, I thought I might as well become one; when they treated me like a man, I was ashamed to be anything else." The statement of this man and the results achieved where the shackles have been removed and abuses eliminated are a challenge to every old-fashioned hospital administrator in the land.

### *Dedication of Two New Buildings for Preventive Treatment*

The significance of the work performed at Trenton was brought out strikingly on the occasion of the dedication of two new treatment units there recently. The principal dedication address was delivered by Dr. Hubert Work, president of the American Medical Association, and now Postmaster General. He said in part:

It is not many years since this institution was a custodial institution not far different from a jail or penal institution. . . . Less than twenty years ago when patients were brought here and left they were bidden farewell by their sorrowing kin who never hoped to see them well again, and perhaps not to see them in life again. . . . Now, when a patient is brought for admission to a hospital like this, the first question asked is, "Doctor, how soon will she be well?"

This is a general hospital; really the first one



THE MODERN RECEPTION ROOM FOR PSYCHOPATHIC PATIENTS AT THE TRENTON, N. J., STATE HOSPITAL

I ever saw that I could approve. It excludes nothing. It takes everyone who comes to it. It regards the mental alienation as a symptom, as most physicians regard a delirium in fever. . . . It does not make a bit of difference what the name for the condition is, provided the cause for that condition is found and eliminated. This hospital, under Dr. Cotton, is a pioneer in that line of work.

### *Ductless Glands*

The so-called ductless glands have been little understood until recently, and are now regarded as of tremendous importance. Apparently medical science is upon the threshold of epoch-making discoveries involving them. Dr. Cotton, of Trenton Hospital, with an entirely open mind, is following in the lead of others in this field. Remarkable experiments have been carried on in many centers. A study of the thyroid gland, which exercises powerful influence over the growth of the body, has been made at the biological laboratories at Princeton University, under the direction of the eminent biologist, Prof. Edwin G. Conklin. By applying iodine to the thyroid gland of tadpoles, the tadpoles have been made to grow into frogs in an incredibly short time. Obviously, underdeveloped and dwarfish persons, if taken in hand in childhood, may be made to grow to normal height or stature. The thymus gland exercises a particularly potent influence over the growth and development of small children.

The pituitary, a pear-shaped gland at the base of the brain, also exercises a potential

influence over the growth and development of the long bones of the body, and other glands also play their part, which is still little understood. Some small children, undersupplied with the secretions of these glands, have been taken in hand by specialists and have been made to grow and to develop fairly normally through the supply artificially of these extracts. But, important as this is, of how much greater import must it be to discover the underlying cause of this glandular insufficiency! Some students of the subject consider the trouble to be a "functional" and hereditary one. But this is vague and inconclusive. Studies have led Dr. Cotton and his associates to the temporary professional conclusion that the attack by bacterial infections upon these glands is more serious in causing the underdeveloped or improper functioning of the glands than is commonly supposed. He says:

If we follow such men as Billings, Barker and others, who have made extensive investigations in these fields, we must conclude that the disturbances of the endocrinal system are in all probability secondary to chronic infectious processes in other parts of the body. In the majority of our cases, elimination of those chronic foci of infection has appeared to cause a readjustment of the disordered system, and as also reported by others, enlarged thyroids (glands in the neck) have been observed to recede following the removal of all chronic infection.

These differing viewpoints are due to different underlying conceptions as to the fundamental nature of insanity. Dr. Cotton and his associates in the so-called physical

field hold that insanity is a disease of the brain and of the central nervous system, and that the disorder of the mind is a result of the brain disease. One cannot expect to have function without form, so argue the believers in a physical basis for insanity; there can be no disordered function without corresponding disorder of structure.

### *Is Insanity a Disease of the Mind?*

Other specialists, such as Dr. Macfie Campbell, Director of Boston Psychopathic Hospital; Professor William MacDougal of England, and many others hold that insanity is primarily a disease of the mind. This is the generally accepted view. It is nihilistic so far as stimulating any efforts for the relief of the insane and its exponents have signally failed to hold in check the alarming increase in insanity. The conflict of viewpoints is not really so serious as this statement would seem to indicate. All in all, important discoveries and all accomplishments in other progressive centers serve to indicate that the hypotheses supplement each other. Dr. Cotton says treat the body and its organs, including the brain and the central nervous system, and then utilize the mental or psychiatric factors as auxiliary methods of treatment. Dr. Campbell and others such as he hold that it is more important to change the environment and thought currents of the patient. Undoubtedly the contributions of the school of thought to which Dr. Campbell belongs are of tremendous significance, particularly in effecting the rehabilitation of the patient, whose brain and nervous system has been freed from the menace of toxic poison and from the functional failure of some of the glandular organs of the body. The treatment of the physical man appeals more to laymen, because treatment of this kind can be more readily understood by laymen and tested in accordance with the technique of the laboratory, and because present results show it to be more effectual.

### *Treatment at Trenton*

Cities and States throughout the Nation, which are contemplating spending millions upon custodial asylums, need to call a halt before any more money is wasted. In response to requests for information concerning New Jersey State Hospital methods, coming from all parts of the world, we offer the following brief résumé of the methods of treatment now carried on at the Trenton Hospital, and which are in

the course of development at Morris Plains, New Jersey, State Hospital. Custodial buildings are found to be of little use, and may turn out to be entirely useless. The equipment demanded for the modern treatment of the insane presumes that every insane patient will be treated as a sick person rather than as an insane patient. We can best describe the work as that of a diagnostic clinic, similar to those established in progressive medical centers. In such a clinic a diagnostic survey of the patient is not complete unless there has been a systematic and routine study of the patient's case, with the aid of a clinical and X-ray laboratory. In no other way can a proper investigation of the whole alimentary canal and of the genito-urinary system be made. All the methods of up-to-date internal medicine must be enlisted. In order to make such investigations for each patient there is a great amount of work to be done and there should be a sufficient force of experts and of laboratory assistants to enable the work to be carried on promptly and with the greatest possible accuracy.

In order to carry out the work at Trenton Hospital, Dr. Cotton has found it necessary to have the usual laboratory for the study of the organs removed from both the living and the dead, and also special laboratories for the study of the various germs, bacteria or organisms found in the different organs of the bodies of patients. The great importance of surgery and treatment is indicated by three well-equipped operating services, two for women and one for men, which are busy most of the time. Every patient has a dental examination, much more complete than that given by the average dentist. Hardly a patient comes to the Hospital free from evidences of infected teeth which need attention, and this is by no means confined to the indigent cases. In at least 90 per cent. of the cases tonsils are infected, and, if the patient or his guardian or friend permits, these are removed. Fiends and degenerates sent from correctional institutions to the Hospital are not exceptions.

### *A New Serum*

Soldiers have become familiar with the wonderful serum which cured lockjaw. Mothers throughout the country have learned to appreciate the powerful serum which has ended that terrible scourge, diphtheria, and the vaccines used to prevent smallpox. The people are therefore prepared for the



WHERE ACCURACY TRIUMPHS OVER GUESSWORK—THE BUSY LABORATORY FOR THE STUDY OF SPECIMENS AT THE TRENTON, N. J., STATE HOSPITAL

use of a remarkable new serum developed by Dr. Cotton and by Dr. Anderson. It is used particularly to kill bacteria which attack the internal incision made by the surgeon's knife, much in the same way as a germicide or an antiseptic. In his special report Dr. Cotton says:

This serum has produced remarkable results. Formerly mortality from resection of the colon was about 25 per cent. In the last six months . . . it has been gratifyingly reduced. . . . In the last forty-two consecutive resections of the colon, only one patient has died as a direct result of the operation; two others died of post-operative pneumonia, one on the day following the operation, and one from bronchial pneumonia, four weeks after the operation.

Without going into a technical discussion of the work carried on at the Trenton Hospital and now being organized at Morris Plains State Hospital, a list of the divisions of work carried on in the hospital at Trenton is sufficient in itself to indicate the contrast between the work there and the work of the usual State Hospitals for the Insane. The surgical clinic has two divisions, one where the studies and surgical operations involving the stomach, the colon and the small intestine are carried out, the other where studies and operations involving the organs of reproduction are done. In addition to this surgical work, which is carried out under the general supervision of Dr. John W. Draper, there is the genito-urinary clinic, presided over by Dr. Frederick Smith, as consultant. There is also a throat and nose clinic, under the supervision of Dr. Edward S. Pope, of New York. Finally, there is a

clinic for the treatment of diseases of women; a dental clinic, an X-ray clinic, and fully equipped laboratories and operating rooms. In brief, it is a modern hospital.

Dr. Draper undertook the development of the surgical studies of the gastro-intestinal tract among the insane at Dr. Cotton's invitation more than three years ago. It was a fitting continuation of his work as former Director of Surgical Research at Columbia University and at the Mayo Clinic, at Rochester, Minn. On behalf of the State of New Jersey, I acknowledge lasting indebtedness to Dr. Draper for the unremitting labor bestowed and for the personal sacrifice which he has made in order to aid Dr. Cotton in the successful prosecution of the work.

#### *Extraordinary Economies*

New Jersey's experience has made the old-fashioned asylums, camouflaged as hospitals, as extinct and as out of date as are the prison grottos of old Venice, or the old Bethlehem Hospital for the Insane, in England, known as "Bedlam," which was so notorious that the word "bedlam" now signifies fury, confusion and misery beyond words. There were actually 55 fewer non-paying patients in the Hospital on July 1, 1921, than on July 1, 1918, instead of a normal increase of 324, which was expected because of previous experience. This has saved about \$116,000 in maintenance charges this year. This saving is, of course, in no way related to the negligible surgical mortality which rules in the conduct of this work; for it



happens that the mortality of the State Hospital at Trenton is one of the lowest of any hospital for the insane in the country. Moreover, voluntary patients have paid more than \$50,000 for treatment this year. Taxpayers should be brought to realize that they pay the staggering sum of \$10,000 for each indigent case committed for life. Under the old conditions *two-thirds* of all commitments are for life, and insanity has quadrupled while the general population has doubled! Simple arithmetic shows what the future has in store unless insanity can be cured or prevented. The extraordinary character of results achieved at Trenton, and at a few other centers, means nothing less than that, if continued, there will be no necessity of building an addition each three years to care for 324 custodial patients ("in for life"), and that a large part of the old asylum section of Trenton Hospital, upon which more than \$2,000,000 had been spent in recent years, can be abandoned before long or converted to other uses.

#### *A Glimpse of the Past*

What could be more fitting than that the Trenton, New Jersey, State Hospital, the first separate State Insane Asylum, founded in 1846, through the efforts of Dorothea Dix, should be one of the first two or three to inaugurate a revolution in the treatment of the insane. Before the work of Dorothea Dix, the insane were confined in jails, almshouses, dingy cellars, outhouses, and even in manacles and in chains. The attitude of public authority toward the insane was thoroughly well expressed a century and a quarter ago by a New York State statute, of 1788, which reads in part as follows:

Whereas, there are sometimes persons who, by lunacy or otherwise, are furiously made or are so far disordered in their senses that they may be dangerous to go abroad; therefore, be it enacted that it shall and may be lawful for any two or more Justices of the Peace to cause such persons to be apprehended and kept safely locked up in some secure place, and, if such Justices find it necessary, to be *chained there*, if the last place of legal settlement be in such city.

It is in a study of such old documents that one finds explanation of the peculiar apathy

and hopelessness which even to-day pervades the care and treatment of the insane. There is still the hereditary fear of the insane: still deep in our hearts the unspoken but fixed conviction that they are "possessed of devils." Here as in other phases of life the undercurrent of primitive beliefs colors the stream of our intellectual development, retards progress and deters us from the achievement, so necessary above all else in the care of the insane of what the late Harold Powell aptly described as the "religion of coöperation."

The attitude of this old New York statute is little less extreme than the opposing early Greek viewpoint, which was that the insane were inspired. Among them insanity was much more than a disease; it was often regarded as a form of inspiration from the gods. At many of the ancient oracles the insane were encouraged to speak, and the priestess of Delphi was probably rendered temporarily insane by the gases escaping from the earth, while her ravings were interpreted by the priests.

New Jersey still has one or two of the old almshouses where the wretched insane poor raved and fretted away their lives. Only seventeen miles southeast of Trenton Hospital stands the New Lisbon Almshouse, more than one hundred years old, with its basement cells deserted long ago, where the insane poor were only "put away" to stifle their cries when they were supposed to be "possessed of demons." The solid cell doors opening upon a cavernous passageway with their tiny peep-holes, the ring-holes in what is left of the decayed wooden floors worn half through by the tramp of excited feet, the curiously carved, scratched and chipped half-plastered stone wall and the tiny grated windows, which open just above the ground, are mute evidences of "man's inhumanity to man." Surely this old building, within a few hundred feet of a more modern custodial asylum, is evidence enough that even the kindly disposed Quakers of "West Jersey" visited upon the insane some of the miseries which shocked Philippe Pinel, of Paris, more than a hundred years ago, and led him to undertake his great work of lifting the insane of France out of the class of wild beasts.

# RECORDS OF NORTHWESTERN PIONEERING

BY ALBERT SHAW

## I. IN HISTORY

THE story of the making of our commonwealths of the Upper Mississippi Valley is not destined to be hidden in the mists of obscurity or to be handed down to future generations by means of doubtful tradition or casual and fragmentary record. Among the most highly civilized communities of the world to-day are such States as Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. No European lands, however remote their origins and however stable their social and political structures, can justly claim to be more solidly founded or better organized than these States of the region that we now call our "Middle West," but known thirty or forty years ago as the "Northwest."

Yet we have a considerable number of people still active in our affairs who remember when the area of Iowa was almost entirely an unbroken prairie, as it had been for centuries; and when Wisconsin and Minnesota were for the most part in a condition of primeval wilderness, largely occupied by Indian tribes and with prairies diversified by parklike groves, lakes, and streams in their southern belts, while vast forests covered the northern portions. In the two decades before the Civil War there had been a great rush of land seekers from our Eastern States to these newer regions. Although only slightly populated, mostly along the Mississippi River, Iowa was admitted as a State in 1846. Two years later Wisconsin entered the Union, while Minnesota's statehood dates from 1858.

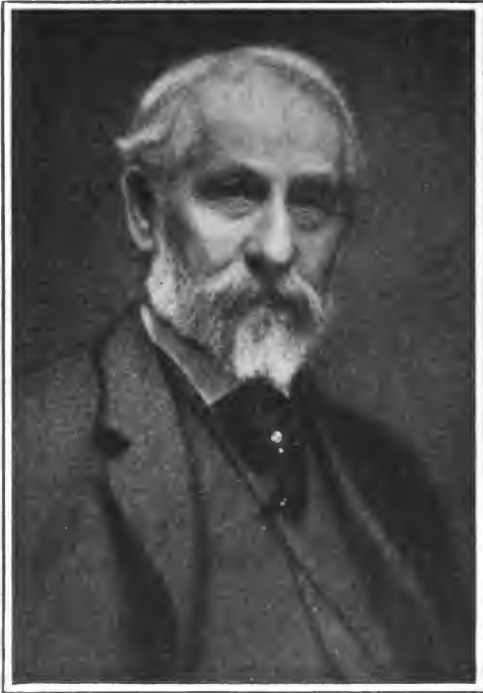
Even as early as fifty years ago, these pioneer communities were showing an interest in their origins, based upon the firm belief that the settlement of the West was a history-making process of real significance. State Historical Societies were established, and local and county histories were published in great profusion, too often prepared in a superficial way to gratify the families of the pioneers whose portraits were inserted. But the State Universities soon recognized the

importance of accurate work in local history; and gradually the State Historical Societies came under the influence and control of men of scholarly attainments. In consequence, there grew up great historical collections, and from time to time the materials thus assembled have been used by men of aptitude and scholarly training, who have produced either permanent works of a general character or special monographs.

Iowa, for example, has been so generous and so intelligent in its support of the work of the State Historical Society (associated with the State University at Iowa City) that in recent years a remarkable collection of able and readable books has been produced, recording the story of the making of the State in almost every conceivable aspect. The State of Wisconsin, through the combined efforts of the University at Madison and the State Historical Society, under direction of brilliant and authoritative scholarship, has created one of the foremost historical libraries of the entire world—a library devoted of course mainly to American materials, but very rich in European backgrounds.

If historical work in Minnesota has not been on so extensive a scale as in Wisconsin and Iowa, it has nothing to be ashamed of; and it is now to be credited with an achievement of the highest order of merit. The State society is engaged in the publication of a *History of Minnesota*<sup>1</sup> in four volumes, from the pen of a man who is not only eminent as a scholar, but who is also the State's foremost citizen, Dr. William Watts Folwell, formerly President of the University of Minnesota. In February last, Dr. Folwell entered upon his ninetieth year. The first volume of his great history appeared a few months ago, the second one is promised for the present year, and the third and fourth are sufficiently advanced to be due in 1923 and 1924. Although such a veteran in years, Dr. Folwell writes with all the narrative charm of a Parkman, and with the freshness

<sup>1</sup>A *History of Minnesota*. By William Watts Folwell. Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. I, 533 pp. Ill.



DR. WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL, OF MINNESOTA

and vigor of our latest historian of first rank, the biographer of John Marshall.

We have had no historical writing of a similar kind that has disclosed greater skill than that of Dr. Folwell in the discriminating use of a multitude of authorities. As the scholarly head of the Minnesota Historical Society remarks in a brief introduction, "For over seventy years the Minnesota Historical Society has been garnering the materials for the history of this State"; and Mr. Buck adds that this new work is "based in large part on those materials." Dr. Folwell tells his friends that he is merely an amateur in technical historical work, his field having been that of economics and political science; but his qualifications manifestly far outstrip those of any mere delver in archives. He was born in western New York, graduated at Hobart College in 1857, taught mathematics, then studied in various European universities, returning to enter the Civil War as an engineer officer, and rising to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He had become a scholar of wide range. He was versed in comparative philology, in engineering, and in mathematics, with an exceptional gift for economics and politics.

In 1869, after four post-war years of varied experience in business and teaching,

Dr. Folwell was made president of the University of Minnesota. He still holds the title of president emeritus of that institution, but he retired from active work at the head of the Department of Political Science in 1907, after forty-eight years of constant service. Through Dr. Folwell's fifty-three years of residence at Minneapolis, he has represented the ideals of scholarship, art, and social science, in the making of cities and States, as few men have ever done in any country. The State Universities of the Northwest have borne a peculiar relationship to the whole institutional structure of their respective commonwealths. That is a subject of itself, and I mention it here merely because Dr. Folwell, like the late President Angell of the University of Michigan, has been so preëminent in the working out of the co-ordinated educational systems of these States, as headed in each case by a university.

His work has brought him into close relationship with political leaders, and his own personal knowledge of men and affairs will have supplied not only a positive source of information for the remaining three volumes of his history, but also—in the negative sense—an invaluable corrective. It has been customary to undervalue first-hand knowledge in historical and biographical writing. There is an accepted notion that some historian as yet unborn will be able to pronounce more accurately upon the affairs of the times in which we are living than anyone who has himself observed and participated. There is much to be said, on the other hand, in favor of the historical work of actual observers, provided these contemporary annalists have a clear sense of proportion and a trained insight which enables them to recognize historical values. Dr. Folwell is one of a group of men who have led through wise foresight in giving dignity and form to the growth of the admirable cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. His service for many years at the head of the Minneapolis Park Board is only one of numerous activities of a public nature, beside his work in the University.

When the four volumes are in hand, it will be time to write more particularly of the History itself. Suffice it to say here that this first volume deals with the period of French discovery, the later exploring of Americans like Lewis and Clark, Schoolcraft, and others, and the territorial period of Minnesota down to the time of the preparation for statehood in 1857. All discriminating readers and students will recognize

the fact that this volume of more than five hundred pages, with its elaborate bibliographical references, covers its field in a definitive fashion.

Dr. Folwell has been too busy through a long and active life to have written very much, and he has never had a high opinion of mere scribbling as such. He has awaited a time when, released from activities as a teacher and a citizen, he may calmly proceed to embody the wisdom of a long lifetime in a monumental work. No man of forty could write with a more virile mastery of his documentary materials and of his intellectual resources than has Dr. Folwell written, as he approaches completion of his ninth decade.

## II. IN BIOGRAPHY

It would be quite impossible to understand the Great Northwest in its social and economic evolution unless, in addition to the facts as stated and interpreted by historians, there should be ample attention given to personal records and family narratives. The making of the United States, with the marvelous evidences of progress summarized in the census statistics of a dozen ten-year periods, has been principally accomplished by westward-sweeping waves from the older States of the Atlantic seaboard, with cumulative force as successive regions had undergone the pioneering experience. In the Western libraries there is an ever-growing mass of biographical material which records and interprets the movement of families from New England to western New York, to Ohio, to Illinois, and to States farther west; or from Virginia and the Carolinas to States north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line.

Millions of European immigrants have, indeed, arrived to help in the process of opening up Western farms and building Western towns; but structurally the West has been made by migrations from the older American populations of the East—literally by the spread of families. These land-seeking and fortune-hunting people of the pioneer instinct have taken with them American ideals and institutions; and these have been only slightly modified by the European traditions of Scandinavians, or Germans, or Eastern Europeans.

In many parts of the Western country the pioneering conditions are still in evidence, although the overwhelming impulse that moved hundreds of thousands of people every year from the East to the West is now

ended for all time. The true story of the Lincoln family, migrating from New England to Pennsylvania, then to Kentucky, then to Indiana, and finally to Illinois, as recorded by such a biographer as Ida Tarbell, gives us a firm grasp of the hardships that many humble settlers had to endure in that period. Hamlin Garland's biography of Ulysses S. Grant was written with a notable appreciation of the environment of a typical Western family previous to the Civil War. Not less worthy of note is the surprisingly frank and explicit record of the Western experience of his own family that Hamlin Garland has now given us in two companion volumes, entitled "A Son of the Middle Border,"<sup>1</sup> and "A Daughter of the Middle Border."<sup>2</sup>

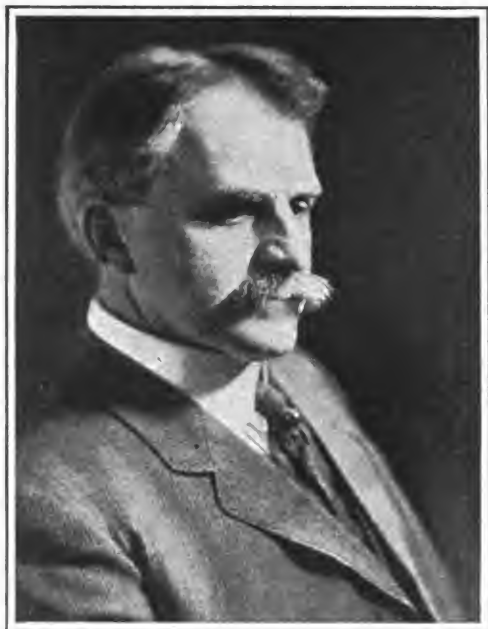
Mr. Garland was born more than sixty years ago in the western part of Wisconsin, where now stands the little village of West Salem. He remembers the return of his father in 1864 from war service in the Mississippi River campaigns under Grant. The elder Garland had in early youth gone West from Massachusetts, had worked as lumberman and raftsmen in the pine forests of Wisconsin, and had settled down as a frontier farmer. He had the restlessness and adventurous spirit of the typical American pioneer, and his farming experiences while his son Hamlin was still a youth led from one homestead to another in Wisconsin, northern Iowa, and South Dakota.

The story of the Garlands is interwoven with that of relatives and neighbors, and it is told with the grace and skill of a highly trained man of letters, who looks back from the vantage point of sixty years. Mr. Garland writes of early experiences with a fidelity to the realities of the plain and simple life of a Western farm boy that will ensure for this book a permanent place in American biography, and give it standing as a valuable picture of our formative life in the Northwest.

With such education as he could acquire in a neighboring Iowa high school, and with a brief experience as a country teacher, Hamlin Garland had the courage to break away and go back to Boston, the home of his ancestors, where, with all the nonconforming stubbornness and sturdiness of a young Felix Holt, he threw himself into forlorn movements for political and social reform, joining

<sup>1</sup>A Son of the Middle Border. By Hamlin Garland. Macmillan. 467 pp. Ill.

<sup>2</sup>A Daughter of the Middle Border. By Hamlin Garland. Macmillan. 405 pp.



MR. HAMLIN GARLAND

the professed champions of the plain people against the "interests." There, as an assistant editor, a story writer, and a reform journalist and political speaker, he began to build up his career as a man of standing among thinkers and writers. With the publication of his "Main Travelled Roads," a volume of realistic tales of pioneer life, he obtained due recognition as an author.

After nine or ten years of Eastern experience, Garland went back West, making Chicago his headquarters but spending much of his time in the Rocky Mountain States, on Indian reservations, on the fresh prairies of Oklahoma, and—for a season's experience—going on the long trail to the Klondike. Out of this constant study of the Farther West came various books of literary merit, all of them reflecting with mature knowledge some phase of American experience in the creation of pioneer States and communities.

The second of these companion volumes of autobiography, called "A Daughter of the Middle Border," is less concerned with pioneering, although it tells of interesting Western travels. It is the story of the family that Mr. Garland himself has founded rather than those of his parents and their relatives. The heroine of this volume was introduced to Mr. Garland as a charming young artist who had just returned to Chicago after several years' study in Paris. She was Miss Zulime Taft, the younger sister

of Mr. Lorado Taft, the eminent Chicago sculptor, and the daughter of a learned old philosopher whose home was in Kansas. Mr. Garland's good fortune in winning the hand of Miss Taft, and the interesting experiences of an American author and his family who are equally at home in New York, Chicago, Colorado, or Arizona, will be followed by hosts of sympathetic readers of this frank recital of the experiences of a pioneering family of the second generation, in contact with the whole movement of the nation's life.

President Roosevelt came to know Hamlin Garland well, and relied upon him greatly in the working out of an Indian policy. Mr. Garland's Indian story, "The Captain of the Gray Horse Troop," will stand as a classic in its field. If one would know how Mr. Roosevelt was able to estimate so accurately the qualifications of men who had lived in the Farther West, one has only to read Mr. Hermann Hagedorn's recent volume, entitled "Roosevelt in the Bad Lands." This is not merely the story of a chapter in the early life of Roosevelt, but it is an astonishingly brilliant and graphic description of the rough frontier life of western Dakota and eastern Montana some forty years ago. Hamlin Garland's story of his own life shows us how it is that Roosevelt could understand Garland, how Garland could understand Lincoln and Grant, and how all these men could understand the essential qualities of the



MRS. HAMLIN GARLAND

country itself, as revealed in the successive conquests for civilization of ever-shifting Western frontiers.

### III. IN FICTION

This tidal westward expansion has naturally enough furnished much material and local color for writers of fiction; and every region finds its own early life recounted in a greater or smaller number of books that blend romantic plots with faithful descriptions of scenes and conditions, and of historic episodes, frequently presented in admirable literary form. Any attempt to specify would involve the listing of hundreds of books, from Cooper's stories of pioneers and Indians in western New York through ever-swelling lists, across Ohio and Kentucky, and every part of the upper and lower Mississippi Valley, to the Texas and the Mexican borders, to the cowboy country of the Mountain States, and to the shores of the Pacific. Every one of the Western States has begun to enroll with hopeful pride its native-born or its adopted writers.

Thus a State as mature as Ohio claims not only a preëminent fiction writer like the late William D. Howells, who wrote about his boyhood in that State, but also lists Mr. Howells's father, who wrote a good book on *Pioneer Life in Ohio*. Indiana in turn cherishes the memory of Edward Eggleston, with his "*Hoosier Schoolmaster*" and other stories of a State which now interprets contemporary life through the pens of such fiction writers as Booth Tarkington. Wisconsin, as we have already intimated, is the native State and early training ground of Hamlin Garland, who has put so much of the essence of Western pioneer life into his short stories and longer works of fiction. Iowa likes to give credit quite as much as does Indiana to literary achievement, and encourages local authorship sometimes with unduly generous recognition.

There are occasions, however, when these States are a little distrustful of locality judgments, and they like to have their native sons and daughters appraised and approved by a broader public. Thus Iowa, for instance, was pleased when James Norman Hall made his position with such ease and grace while still very young; and, naturally, Iowa is pleased that Mr. Herbert Quick somewhat belatedly should just now have been laurel-crowned with genuine enthusiasm by the discriminating critics of the East.



MR. HERBERT QUICK

Mr. Quick was born on a pioneer farm in Iowa more than sixty years ago. His new novel, "*Vandemark's Folly*,"<sup>1</sup> embodies what are perhaps the best descriptions of the Iowa prairies, and their settlement by the land-seekers of the decade preceding the Civil War, that have ever been written.

Mr. Quick has been well known to Western farmers for a long time. He has been writing for them for more than twenty years. For several of those years he was the chief writer of a farm paper, in which he published inspirational editorials, and for which he wrote (as serials) fascinating novels of farm life. From Iowa farm work and the local public schools—as pupil and teacher—Mr. Quick found opportunities to read law; and by the time he was thirty years old he had begun to practise that profession out on the Missouri River at Sioux City, Iowa. Less than ten years afterward he was Mayor of that growing town, and he had made himself felt in local affairs as a strong and fearless supporter of law and order. Editing, writing, and farming, with a few recent years at Washington as a member of the Farm Loan Board, have occupied Mr. Quick's time and energy since the beginning of the present century. He has a farm in West Virginia, but now spends a large part of his time in Washington.

<sup>1</sup>*Vandemark's Folly*. By Herbert Quick. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 420 pp.

It is an idyllic story that Mr. Quick tells in "Vandemark's Folly" about a homeless boy of Dutch family working on the Erie Canal, who is swept westward with the tide of migration, and while still in his teens becomes the owner of a tract of wild land, largely swamp, on the prairies. The tale itself is romantic and delightful; but the book has extraordinary value apart from the dramatic interest of characters and plot (which will doubtless make a great success in the movies), because of its flawless pictures of nature, and of the life of the period with which it deals. Mr. Quick restores for us the pristine beauty of the open prairies, writing from a minute acquaintance with flowers, birds, and animals, and with a keen understanding of agricultural beginnings and of the politics of pioneer farm communities.

Prairie fires, land speculation, blizzards, horse thieves, claim jumping—all the well-nigh forgotten experiences of the first settlers—are recounted in Mr. Quick's pages

with the charm of a skilled pen and the accuracy of a man who has known all these things at first-hand. It is not alone in the writing of biography that accumulated experience is an asset. We have shown that Dr. Folwell, in the writing of history with scientific thoroughness, derives immense advantage from his own knowledge of men and things covering a long period. Mr. Quick, who has a gift for telling stories with an ample supply of heroines and villains, is able to enrich his fiction and give it a place of permanence and dignity, because of his own contacts with the life of the country. Back of his literary achievement is his own record of manly and courageous participation in the plain, hard work of Western farming; of prosecuting boodlers in a Missouri River metropolis; of teaching school, and of writing wise articles and amusing stories to help farm families keep up their spirits, and to help country boys make the best of life. The true record may also be true art.

## DIGGING AT THE ROOTS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

BY MARJORIE SHULER

HOW much of the blame for juvenile delinquency should be thrown back upon the community? How much is truancy to be laid to bad housing conditions, inadequate education systems, the lack of wholesome recreation facilities? What is the responsibility of the community and the responsibility of every resident—man or woman—who helps to make up that intangible but mighty power—the community spirit?

In order to answer these questions, Mr. O. F. Lewis, general secretary of the Prison Association of New York, compiled a list of one hundred questions suitable for a survey of any community, and sent his questionnaire throughout the country. The first State to respond with a completed survey of its towns is Massachusetts, where the survey was undertaken by the Massachusetts Committee of the National Civic Federation, with Mrs. George T. Rice of the woman's department in charge, and by the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs, with Mrs. B. Milo Burke as chairman of the committee. Based on these answers,

Mr. Lewis has prepared a second pamphlet on Minimum Standards for a Square Deal for Childhood, by means of which any community may measure itself.

The one hundred questions which comprise the survey are divided as follows: Three questions on the community itself, its population, racial characteristics, and general morale; fifteen questions on local administration of government, efficiency of officials, type of institutions, the separation of juvenile offenders from adult criminals, probation system, and responsibility of parents; fifteen questions on truancy, qualifications of truant officers, home and school visitors, punishment, and interests of social organizations; seven questions on child labor, vocational guidance, and placement bureaus; three questions on homes, housing problems, poverty, and morale; nine questions on the various types of commercial amusements; twenty-five questions on public recreation facilities, parks, playgrounds, community festivities, school buildings as community centers, school gardens, and recreation offered by organizations; ten questions on self-



improvement, libraries, art, dramatics, and singing; four questions on social hygiene, and five questions on community betterment.

### *The Relation Between Delinquency and Play*

The answers made by Massachusetts towns prove that there is a relation between truancy and adequate school facilities, between delinquency and wholesome organized play. They show that communities where housing conditions are fair, where commercial amusements are well regulated and municipal recreation facilities are plentiful have small recourse to correctional and remedial laws.

The survey proves, furthermore, that the more a community is doing for its young people the more it sees to be done. The city with the best record reported: "Although this town is among the leaders of the country in supplying public recreation, there is opportunity for larger service."

That town has a municipal recreation system under a commission, and with a superintendent in charge. It has twelve playgrounds well distributed, even in the congested sections, ten of them with supervision. It has a gymnasium and public baths, nine public tennis courts, a swimming pool, two athletic fields, several parks, and in the winter has five public playgrounds flooded and one reservoir as well for skating.

Its schools are used for vocational classes and recreation and community-center activities, with classes in dancing, dramatics, baby hygiene, home nursing, carpentry, cane seating, wireless, quiet games, cooking, dress-making, millinery, embroidery, basketry, machine work, electricity, auto repair, gas engines, drafting, and wood turning.

It makes a specialty of organizing its young people into groups, debating societies, dramatic leagues, orchestras, and singing societies. One of its most unique groups is the Happy Rising Society, which was organized by one father and directed by him throughout the childhood of his own four children. "Keep happy till after 9 o'clock" is the pledge of the members, and for years this one father gave up an afternoon a week to the society. What he has done is described by those directing the survey as "taking hold of the gang spirit of the neighborhood and using it for great good."

This town showed a total of thirty-eight truants among 16,000 children last year, while on the other hand, 242 cases of truancy

were developed among 8000 children in a town which reported seven playgrounds in use in the summer, one picnic park, and one small park near the railroad station "frequented by men." In the winter this town has no municipal recreation, but has thirty-five bowling alleys and poolrooms and twelve halls used for public dancing, until lately unsupervised. It has no vocational classes whatever, and its schools are reported as impossible for recreation centers because they are "in use by the regular day pupils for night school, and for continuation school." The woman's club, realizing the need to do something about the dance halls, has recently secured inspection and is now also instituting community dances. Another hopeful indication is the library instruction which is being given to the freshman class in high-school English, the pupils being taught classification and card systems of the library, as well as how to use the different departments, and they are given lists of good books.

Another town with a bad truancy record confessed to six public dance halls open every week night, unsupervised, against five schools open two nights a week for public recreation.

There were 200 cases of truancy among 16,000 children in another town where the public recreation facilities are limited to thirteen playgrounds, only five of them supervised, and where the makers of the survey felt obliged to respond to the question, "Is your community one in which it is felt that the children have the right kind of a good time while growing up?" with this reply: "Not always, and not throughout the entire year."

Another community with a heavy truancy record reported no playgrounds, no parks near the congested area, no recreation features in the schools, no use of school buildings as community centers, no war-time community activities, and no children's librarian, in spite of the fact that 39 per cent. of the books were drawn from the library by children.

### *Where Responsibility Lies*

There was a diversity of opinion as to the responsibility of the family for truancy. The takers of the survey in one community reported that "a very small percentage of the truancy was due to family neglect, but rather to retarded mentality, the nature of the work presented in the classroom, and inexperienced teachers." But in the majority

of instances the blame was laid upon the parents. One report read: "The principal cause of delinquency and truancy is failure on the part of parents and guardians to supervise and discipline properly." Another suggested that the best remedy for truancy is to "make parents more responsible and punish parents." "Parents should be made to pay substantial fines through the courts," read another report.

The serious results of lack of coöperation and proper community spirit are illustrated in the report of one town, where the average of truancy and delinquency is very high, and which admitted that lack of interest and inability on the part of citizens to work together had caused the failure of a "better film" movement, prevented the establishment of a community center, and made it possible for the playgrounds, although budgeted at \$5500, to be "in poor condition, almost entirely without shade, apparatus out of date, and no public swimming pool."

From this it is evident that a community must do more than appropriate money for playgrounds; it must see that those playgrounds are properly administered by a good commission, and it must demonstrate its own interest and friendliness toward the work.

The importance of school attendance officers and school visitors was repeatedly stressed in the reports. One town put its truancy record at "three cases a day," and stated that its only school attendance officers were members of the police force, with no special training for truancy work. Another town, where the woman's club taking the survey stated that "truancy cases are heard in the adult criminal court—we cannot understand why"—reported "considerable truancy, which would be curable to some extent if we had school and home visitors and more system in regard to the work for truant officers."

That regular police officers, if they are of the right type, can handle such work was proved in the report from one community which gave as the main reason for its remarkably low truancy record (only two boys in two years and no girls) "the human fatherly interest of the chief of police." This town reported its juvenile recreation to be guided largely through the schools, with school teams for sports, school gardens, school clubs of all kinds, and talks in the schoolhouses by successful business men.

The survey paid considerable attention to moving picture conditions. Several women's

clubs reported that they were in the habit of censoring the pictures shown in their towns. One club has a committee which views on Friday the films to be shown at the children's matinee on Saturday. Another club submitted a questionnaire of its own to fifty parents before reporting its survey to the State organizations. Among the conclusions from this local questionnaire was that too frequent attendance at the moving pictures made the children "nervous and irritable, and disinclined to listen to music or readings unless accompanied by something to look at."

Many towns reported the showing of sensational, improper films, frequently visited by children; but all of them agreed that in most instances the entrance fees were contributed by the parents.

#### *An Opportunity for Women's Clubs*

It is easy to see how children might fall into idle and unwholesome ways in a community where "the only playgrounds are the schoolgrounds, and the only supervision that of the regular teachers, one park and one green, neither lighted or used for sports; no children's librarian," and where the only recognized diversion appears to be "dishwashing, household work, feeding of chickens, or music lessons," for which the schools give extra credit.

Men's clubs were reported as helping with probation work among delinquents and directing the sports of the older boys on the playgrounds. And women's clubs were said to be managing entire recreation systems, band concerts, public meetings, community centers in the schools, and school gardens.

The results of the survey in Massachusetts have been twofold. In many communities there are organizations, for the first time informed of the actual needs, which are now individually taking hold of the problem; while a State-wide campaign is to be instituted for the improvement of laws governing recreation, child labor, and court handling of children's cases.

Actuated by the example of Massachusetts, national organizations of women are urging surveys in other parts of the country, and a number of States are undertaking to measure their communities by the questionnaire used in Massachusetts and the eighty-three minimum standards for a square deal for childhood which have subsequently been prepared.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## INDIA AS A BRITISH DOMINION

IN view of recent developments in the government of India—notably the resignation of Mr. Montagu and the arrest of Gandhi—the article contributed by an Indian journalist, Mr. P. Chandra Ray, to the current number of the *Asiatic Review* (London) is of exceptional interest. The article is entitled “Indian Swaraj and the British Commonwealth,” and the writer explains that the word “Swaraj” is used to describe the ideal of the non-coöperating Nationalists as distinguished from the Moderates and the Liberal Party, who are seeking to attain the status of Dominion Home Rule for India.

Mr. Chandra Ray explains that when the term “Swaraj” was first used in Indian political literature, at the Indian National Congress of 1906, it meant some sort of responsible government within the British Empire. It has now come to have a wholly different significance. As employed by Mr. Gandhi in the Congress of 1920, the word “Swaraj” means nothing less than an independent sovereign state. Accepting this as the real aim of Gandhi and his lieutenants in the agitation for “non-coöperation,” Mr. Chandra Ray conceives of India as standing at the present moment at the parting of the ways. Shall she start on a new career of “self-determination,” without British protection, or shall she retain the British connection and develop her manhood within that Empire?

It must not be forgotten that India has a long coast line, open to attacks from all sides—in the East, West and South—everywhere excepting the North and Northwest. So long as India is not able to develop her own navy, she must depend upon the British navy for sea-line protection.

Then, as for our northwestern and northeastern frontiers, they have been the floodgates of invasion from the earliest dawn of history. From the earliest day when the Aryans swooped down the Hindukush and settled down in the Indus Valley, ambitious adventurers have used the rugged passes in the Suleman Range for endless

raids into India. The northeastern frontier has not offered very large temptations and facilities to the spirit of conquest; yet now and again seething masses of the yellow and the Mongoloid races have poured into Indian soil and made peace and security of life unstable.

The Nationalists seem to think that India has the finest natural defenses in the world and absolutely no foe in sight—in fact none to knock at her gates and disturb her peace and placid contentment. And yet, would it be believed that in the year of grace 1920 no fewer than 611 raids took place in the settled districts of the northwest frontier province, involving the loss of nearly 300 Indian lives and the wounding of nearly 400 others, to say nothing of over 450 cases of kidnapping? If this state of things is possible even when we have strong forces up on the frontier and British prestige behind them, it would be interesting to know what would happen to us if the British Army did not keep watch and ward over our safety in that part of the world.

So long, therefore, as we cannot think of replacing the British Army and Navy with our own—equally well equipped and well organized—I cannot conceive of India as a self-dependent and self-secured sovereign state. And as to British rule being replaced by Afghan, Russian, Chinese or Japanese conquest, I would certainly not like India to take a leap into the unknown. I have no doubt that eight out of every ten men who understand international politics or know anything of foreign affairs would prefer British rule to any other rule in India. If it is to be a foreign subjection, why not the subjection of the greatest and the most civilized Empire in the world?

There are some other difficulties in the situation of India which have to be seriously considered before India can think of breaking her connection with England. It is the British arms and British rule and British law and order that have welded the multitudinous people of India into a united nation. Once British authority is withdrawn from India, it is more likely than not that provinces and peoples will fall out amongst themselves and try to establish independent governments and seize each other's territories, as was done before the advent, and after the decay of Mogul rule in Delhi. And when India becomes a divided house again, she will become a still more easy prey to the military ambitions of foreign courts, and the idea of a federal government and a united people again will recede to the remote future like a mirage.

I have no doubt in my own mind that, if British overlordship were withdrawn from India to-day, Hindus and Mohammedans would begin to fly at each other's throats to-morrow in all

parts of the Empire and make a hell of Mr. Gandhi's "Swaraj."

In concluding his article Mr. Chandra Ray says:

I fully realize the fact that the status of dominion Home Rule or our connection with England may not be the last word on the subject of our future government. British rule may be credited with many of the evils of our present-day life—our lost arts and industries, and replacement of our stable and metallic coins by a fickle and unsteady paper currency, our high prices and general indigence, our enfeebled physique and incapacity to resist the germs of plague, cholera, malaria, and hookworm, the abandonment of a life of plain living and high thinking, the growing habit of living beyond means, and the new struggle to keep up an exaggerated standard of appearances, our intellectual dead level, our revolting ideas of private, public, and commercial morality, our Penal Code, Evidence Act, and "lawyer government," and our divorce from the realities of an old-world life—but no one will deny that, working in so many different ways, and with such steadfast pertinacity, it has turned a chaos into a nation and

awakened in Indian mankind the faculty of reasoning, which had lain dormant since the days of Gautama Buddha—dispelled the darkness, ignorance, and superstition of centuries, and relaxed the galling conditions of domestic and social tyranny that had, from the days of Manu onward, ground our manhood, taught us the inestimable blessings of liberty, freedom, and social and political equality, emancipated our womenfolk and untouchable classes beyond recognition, like Prometheus unbound, turned vast arid tracts into fertile soil, waving with golden harvest, and has, above everything, brought us into line with other civilized nations of the earth, through the magic influence of a press, platform, and common laws and speech, and the widespread currency of common thoughts and aspirations, given effect to by cheap postage, the ubiquitous telegraphic wire, and forty thousand miles of railways made possible by British capital and British enterprise.

Whatever the character of the British Government be, and whatever evils it may have wrought in India, it would be "satanic" to snap our connection with it, after all that it has done to make a nation of us and to get us out of the rut of a medieval world to place us in the position of a well-developed modern state.

## THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE QUESTION

DISCUSSION of the perennial international language question has recently entered a new stage. The subject has at last been taken up in earnest by the leading academic and scientific organizations of the world. At a meeting held in Brussels in July, 1919, the International Research Council appointed a Committee on an International Auxiliary Language. This committee was charged with the task of investigating the subject and promoting investigation on the part of other agencies, but has no authority to commit the Council to any particular project. Its chairman is Dr. F. G. Cottrell, formerly director of the U. S. Bureau of Mines, and now chairman of the Division of Chemistry and Chemical Technology of the National Research Council, with headquarters at Washington. In September, 1919, the British Association for the Advancement of Science appointed a committee "To Study the Practicability of an International Language." This committee has sought expert advice from various quarters and has recently submitted a report of exceptional interest and value, which strongly favors the adoption of either Esperanto or Ido, in preference to Latin or any modern natural language.

A committee of the American Association

for the Advancement of Science, under the chairmanship of Dr. S. W. Stratton, director of the U. S. Bureau of Standards, rendered a brief report on the international language question at the Toronto meeting, last December. This is published in *Science*. Here we learn that the question has been vigorously taken up by the League of Nations and that committees on it have been appointed by the French and Italian Associations for the Advancement of Science.

In the United States, the following academic bodies have already appointed committees on the subject: American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Council on Education, American Classical League, American Philological Association, National Research Council. The American Council of Learned Societies has authorized the appointment of delegates to confer with the last-named committee in an attempt to work out a plan of cooperation between the two councils. This seems of paramount significance because of the position which these two councils occupy as the American representatives, respectively, of the International Research Council and the International Union of Academies, which latter two organizations constitute the recognized international authorities in natural science on the one hand, and in humanistic studies on the other.

The committee offers some particularly valuable suggestions as to the way in which

the problem of developing a satisfactory artificial language is to be worked out:

It is interesting in this connection to note that the initiative in the present question seems to have come from the natural scientists, chiefly out of their interest as prospective users of such a language, although they have indicated throughout that they clearly recognized the technical side of the question to lie squarely in the proper field of the linguist, to whom they turn for help, much as the engineer and manufacturer have in the past turned to the worker in pure science, insisting that he help them in their practical needs with his expert knowledge from the theoretical side, even though their so-called applied science might not attract him as an aim in itself.

It seems to your committee that, to attain useful practical results in this subject, two things are essential:

First, a searching fundamental study of the principles involved and experimental data available;

Second, authoritative international agreement, both as to linguistic details and as to the practical measures to be taken.

In certain general aspects of the first requirement, members of the American Association may be of direct assistance, as, for instance, the physicist, in the recording and analysis of the sounds in speech, and the psychologist, in the measurement of mental phenomena. Also, in each special field of science and technology, the working out of technical vocabularies will call for close coöperation of all concerned. But we must naturally look to the linguist and the philologist for the greater part of the general framework of fact and interpretation. However, it is just in such new frontiers of knowledge that thorough and intimate coöperation by all groups is most apt to be fruitful.

With regard to the second requirement, the American Association may make its influence

most potently felt through vigorous moral support of the project in general, and especially of the leadership of the work by the two national councils above mentioned, as the logical path for expression of natural academic thought in the international field.

In view of the fact that propaganda in favor of artificial languages, such as Volapük, Esperanto and Ido, has not, in the past, received much support from acknowledged leaders of the intellectual world, the following resolutions formulated by the committee of the American Association mentioned herewith are of the utmost significance.

That the American Association for the Advancement of Science:

(a) Recognizes the need and timeliness of fundamental research on the scientific principles which must underlie the formation, standardization, and introduction of an international auxiliary language, and recommends to its members and affiliated societies that they give serious consideration to the general aspects of this problem, as well as direct technical study and help in their own special fields wherever possible;

(b) Looks with approval upon the attempt now being made by the National Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies to focus upon this subject the effort of those scholars in this country best fitted for the task, and to transmit the results to the appropriate international bodies;

(c) Indorses the heretofore relatively neglected problem of an international auxiliary language as one deserving of support and encouragement;

(d) Continues its Committee on International Auxiliary Language, charging it with the furtherance of the objects above enumerated and reporting progress made to the association at its next meeting.

## ARGENTINA'S MEAT SITUATION

WITH a return to normal conditions meat prices in the Argentine should improve. Since the strike in the meat industry a better relation between employees and employer has been established. Despite low prices realized by the graziers, prices to the ultimate consumer have remained high. This undoubtedly indicates high profits for the middleman and packers, says *La Revista de Economía y Finanzas* (Buenos Aires). To date government investigation has given the people no relief.

The export situation is not satisfactory. For instance, meat prices in England are favorable, while the Argentine prices are not good. There is a total lack of parallel action in the two markets.

Three factors enter into the present crisis:

(1) increased production, (2) decreased consumption and (3) accumulated stocks.

Strong combinations of capital, in the form of trusts, some national, some international, have made a complicated web which controls (to its profit) both production and consumption.

Meat exports from the Argentine show a steady decrease in the past four years:

Year	Head
1918.....	1,600,000
1919.....	1,318,000
1920.....	1,297,000
1921.....	1,150,000 (approx.)

Not only has the number of head decreased yearly. The weight per head, which was 334 kilograms (735 pounds) in 1914, in 1920 had diminished to 278 kilograms



A HERD OF CATTLE ON THE ARGENTINE PAMPAS

(612 pounds). This was due in part to the exportation of younger animals.

The increased European consumption of meat from 1914 to 1918 was due to the war. The cessation of hostilities in 1918 was not foreseen, so that Argentina was not ready to face the actual crisis of decreased demand. Excessive use of credit by producers had led to the present situation. (A buyers' strike has been forced on the consumers—just as it has been forced on the American public.)

The "Rural Society" is seeking to bring all producers more closely together for the purpose of financial coöperation and the dissemination of necessary information. It is also suggested that an export tax be placed on meat to yield 121,000,000 pesos, this tax to be imposed in prosperous years only.

In the present crisis emergency laws may be necessary, but, in any case, the

country's interests must be considered first.

To increase exports it is suggested that meat carcasses from the Argentine should be dressed to meet foreign requirements. In Belgium, for instance, it is said by Mr. A. Crabb (official veterinarian of the New Zealand Government in London) that New Zealand meat (if refrigerated according to Belgian laws) may be sent without including the viscera. This difficulty has not yet been met by Argentine shippers.

Judging by figures published by the *Pastoral Review* (Great Britain) England had about four months' supply of meat in cold storage on November 20, 1921. This would seem to point to an early resumption of imports from Argentina. Another interesting factor is the report that North American meats may be excluded from the British markets.

## ARGENTINE RAILROADS

ARGENTINE railroads, in 1921, reflected the general economic depression, says *La Revista de Economía y Finanzas* (Buenos Aires). The primary causes were increased running expenses, diminution of freight, and the socialistic tendency of legislation and politics.

Of the nineteen roads but five are owned by the Government. Ten are English—the Central of Cordoba, Transandino Argentino, Central del Chubut, Tranvia a Vapor de Rafaela, Nordeste Argentino, Entre Rios,

Sur de Buenos Aires, Oeste, Central Argentino and Buenos Aires-Pacific. Three are French—Provincial de Santa Fé, Compania General de Ferrocarriles in the Province of Buenos Aires, and the Rosario to Belgrano. One is Argentine—the Central of Buenos Aires.

The fourteen roads under private management (and ownership) at the beginning of the year (1921) showed an investment of private capital amounting to 1,278,843,316 pesos oro: as the roads have been maintained



ARGENTINE RAILROADS RADIATING FROM BUENOS AIRES AND EXTENDING TO THE PACIFIC

in good condition and few extensions have been made the same value holds to-day.

The following table (which does not include equipment bought for the recently extended Government lines) shows the comparative trackage and equipment of the Government and private-owned roads:

Roads	Trackage Kilometres	Stations	Locomotives	Coaches	Baggage Cars	Plantation Cars	Freight Cars
5 State.....	6,150	287	528	356	338	670	7,921
14 Private....	29,150	2,072	3,382	2,866	2,448	6,442	64,967
	35,300	2,359	3,910	3,222	2,786	7,112	72,888

Without exception the roads have suffered a loss of traffic equal to nearly 25 per cent.

The private lines carried a total of 32,054,009 tons of freight in 1921, against 41,505,000 in 1920. This difference is represented in greater part by cereals, farm

products and fruits of the country for the narrow and medium-gauge roads and by combustibles and lumber products on the broad-gauge roads.

The number of passengers increased in 1921 more than five millions, since 85,434,836 passengers were carried in the latter year, against 80,111,000 in 1920.

In all systems the proceeds have been sensibly less during the past year than those of 1920. While the receipts obtained during the past year were 193,309,154 pesos (oro), the 1920 receipts were 213,898,000 pesos; the expenses, however, increased to 163,493,020 pesos, against 160,763,000 in 1920. That is to say that, while receipts decreased twenty millions of pesos, expenses increased three million!

The gains of the private railroads have diminished in relation to the previous year by 40 per cent., since in 1920 they showed a gain of 53,135,000 pesos, but in 1921 they showed a gain of but 29,816,134 pesos. The mean interest on capital invested was but 2.33 per cent. The largest earnings were those of the Ferrocarril Provincial de Santa Fé, which were 3.26 per cent., while the least were the earnings of the Central Chubut, which paid only 0.29 per cent.!

In nearly all cases the tariffs in force were the same as those of January, 1920. A commission of Public Works is now studying the question in order to set a tariff fair alike to the owners and patrons of the railways.

Figures recently published in London show the condition of the four largest English-owned railways in Argentina, for a period covering one year, ending June 30, 1921. The combined receipts of these lines diminished £3,287,053, while expenses increased the enormous sum of £7,214,354. The greatest losses in receipts are in the three Southern lines: Buenos Aires-Pacific, Ferrocarril del Sud, and Ferrocarril del Oeste. The Central Argentine road had the most favorable report and, were it not for the increased running expenses, would show very favorable results. This showing was

due to the large traffic of the first half of the fiscal year.

Increased passenger traffic was generally short-distance business. With the reduction of crop movement the long-haul business diminished.





AN ARGENTINE RAILROAD TRAIN AT A MOUNTAIN STATION

The Ferrocarril del Sud has made great progress in the use of liquid fuel. Last June 34 per cent. of the line used this fuel, compared with 10 per cent. during the same month in 1920. The Ferrocarril del Oeste is also using more oil fuel. It spent £14,000 on this fuel during the past year, compared with £2,000,000 the year before. The Buenos Aires-Pacific is interested in the exploitation of oil properties to the extent of £131,970, while the companies of the East and West have contributed a like sum. The Central Argentine Railroad spent £214,216 on oil in 1921, compared with £38,784 the previous twelvemonth (the above figures refer to the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921).

The following table shows the cost of running three of the English-owned railways (per train mile) during the years of 1920-1921 (figured in English currency, £, s. d.):

	1920			1921			Increase
Railroad	£	s	d	£	s	d	
B. A. to Pacific.....	0/13	43¼		0/12	8¾		5.58 per cent.
R. R. del Sud.....	0/15	6.67		0/14	1.38		10.21 " "
R. R. Central Argentine	0/14	9		0/12	9½		15.03 " "

Were it not that these three great (English) roads have put aside large reserves in the past, their present condition would be grave. The past ten years have shown a return on ordinary capital in three of the roads as follows:

R. R. del Oeste.....	4.9 per cent.
R. R. del Sud.....	4.7 " "
Central Argentine .....	4.1 " "

The last decade has been a trying one for all Argentine railroads.

An instance of present conditions is shown by the Central Cordoban Railroad, which in the year 1919-1920 showed a profit of £683,797, and was on the road to rehabilitation. This year, with increased business, it showed but £294,535 profit. This was about enough to pay 4 per cent. on the first debenture bonds, leaving thirteen millions of capital that gained practically nothing, because £196,000 were spent for new locomotives and £80,000 for permanent way.

Frequent strikes cost the roads much money: merchandise and cattle freights fell off 17.4 per cent., owing to decreased shipments of wheat, maize, sugar cane (in the order named). In part this may be traced to the embargo on wheat and flour in 1920. When this embargo was raised foreign

demand for both had almost entirely ceased.

In conclusion: these three English-owned roads state that their increased running expenses came from (1) increased fuel costs, (2) increased wages and (3) shortened working hours (by Government intervention).

The Argentine, then, is faced with a railroad situation similar to that existing in the United States.

## THE SERVICES OF POPE BENEDICT

THE conciliatory influence exerted by Pope Benedict XV during the critical period of his reign is the subject of an article by A. C. Jemolo in *Nuovo Antologia* (Rome). The writer finds that in those seven years much substantial progress was made. Leaving out of account any special activity of the Pope in the course of the World War, his pontificate was marked by a series of great services to the cause of Catholicism throughout the world.

During his reign the reconciliation of the Church with the French Government was realized; the official relations between England and the Holy See, which had been interrupted for four centuries, were resumed; the threatened schism of the Czechoslovaks was ably opposed and was reduced to a minimum; the autonomy of Ireland was favored in a way that offended neither Catholic Ireland nor Protestant England; the dangers menacing the relations of the Catholic Church with the Central Powers in the hour of their defeat were happily overcome, and cordial relations were established with the new states created by the war, especially with Poland; and lastly the attitude of the Holy See toward the Italian Government, which had become strained under Pius X, was made more conciliatory.

To a certain extent these favorable results must be credited to the logic of events. War, even though waged in the name of an ideal, none the less imparts a great lesson in realistic politics, and the World War has everywhere shattered, or at least weakened, the devotion to formulas. The question of the reconciliation of Church and State in Italy had for a long time been regarded by men of all parties as above all a legal question, a delicate question of law which could be resolved by some perfect formula.

The imperceptible but very real evolution started in all minds by the war made the Italians see in this problem, above all, its intrinsic quality. It began to be felt that a reconciliation could be considered to have been attained if, on the one hand, there had disappeared, not only all anti-historical hopes for a return of the past, but also all resentment against the Italian Government, and if, on the other side, all anti-clerical sentiment should have been given up, as well as every thought of making Italy a banner-bearer of rationalism in the world. This renunciation of what were the essential

points of past hatreds constitutes a sufficient basis for a genuine reconciliation, and it is of little importance what precise legal formula may be chosen.

However, the war has not only brought the minds of the Italians to a better sense of reality; it has also showed them that the Papacy occupies a higher and more august position than they were accustomed to believe. The fact that leading states are establishing official relations with it has stimulated the spirit of reconciliation in Italy, and has rendered the idea less repugnant even to those who were formerly opposed.

At the beginning of the pontificate of Benedict XV it would not have been easy to forecast that in seven years' time so much ground would have been covered. A Pope had just passed away, who, rightly or wrongly, had aroused universal sympathy, as well among indifferents as among Catholics. Around this Pope had clustered legends of the parish priest and of the good Italian. His successor, on the other hand, was the favorite pupil of that Cardinal Rampolla, who had been the bitterest enemy of Italy, and the champion of the ideas of Leo XIII, most hostile to Italian unity. The first acts of Benedict XV were not conciliatory. The benediction of the Roman people, which had acquired a conventional value and a special significance according as it was imparted in the interior of St. Peter's or from the outside balcony, was given by Pope Benedict inside this church. There was not lacking the traditional protest against the deprivation of the necessary independence of the Holy See. Two years later, an action imposed upon the Italian Government by public opinion, the seizure of the Palazzo Venezia, was met by a pontifical protest. It was only little by little that the complete absence of any real hostility to Italy on the part of the Pontiff became apparent. In his appeals to the belligerent powers, and in his relations with them, he never made any distinction between those powers favorably regarded by the friends of the Papacy and Italy the daughter of the revolution.

In conclusion, the Italian writer considers that in Pope Benedict's reign all that had a really spiritual significance in the basic principles of the new Italy was maintained, while there was an abandonment by many of the old contentions and the threatened reprisals characteristic of extreme radicalism.

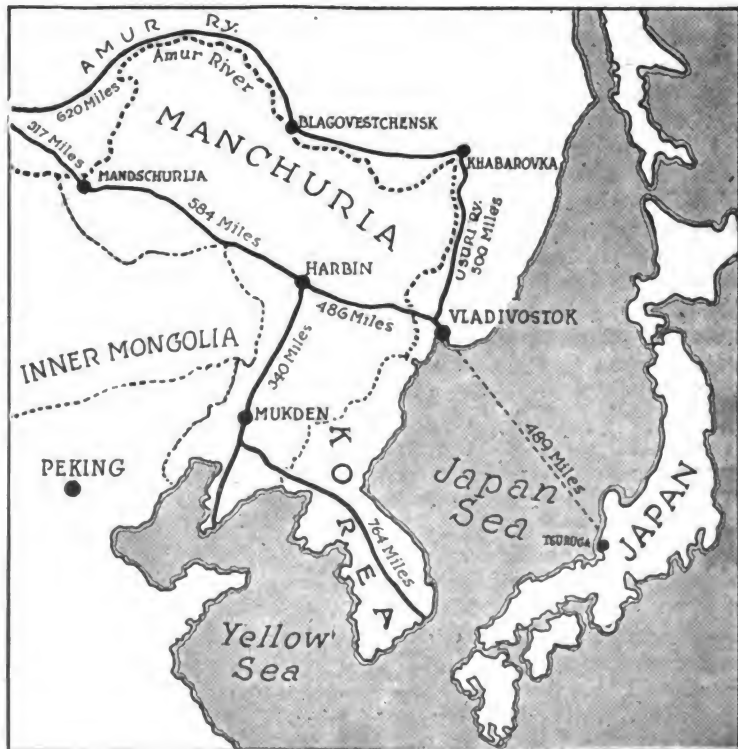
# JAPAN'S POLICY IN KOREA

A WRITER and observer who avows his sympathy with both the Koreans and the Japanese, Mr. E. Alexander Powell, contributes to the *Atlantic* for March an informing statement concerning the motives and results of the Japanese policy in Korea. The primary cause of Korea's loss of independence, Mr. Powell finds, not in her weak and corrupt internal government, bad as that had become, but in her geographical position. He likens the peninsula of Korea to a pistol pointed at the heart of Japan. "So long as that weapon remained unloaded on the table, Japan felt tolerably secure. But when she saw an unfriendly hand moving stealthily to grasp it, she was forced to take decisive action in order to insure her own safety."

Mr. Powell shows how the war between Japan and China in 1894 was fought to prevent the absorption of Korea by the Chinese Empire, and how in subsequent years a far more formidable enemy, Russia herself, reached down from the North and was about to snatch the prize. Finding that she could not keep Russia out of Korea by any other means, Japan made war, and after her victory she determined that a protectorate must be established over Korea, just as England had established a protectorate over Egypt as early as 1882. Japan would not take the risk of another power gaining a foothold in Korea. She sent there her greatest administrator, the Marquis Ito, whose assassination in 1910 really brought about Korea's formal annexation to the Japanese Empire. Then began, in Mr. Powell's opinion, a series of colossal blunders on the part of Japan in the administration of her dependency:

to a Bismarckian policy of blood and iron. Instead of being farsighted enough to grant the Koreans the large measure of autonomy which we have given to the Filipinos and the Porto Ricans, which England has given to the Boers and the Egyptians, they made the mistake of attempting to extirpate the language and the literature of the Koreans, to destroy their national ideals, to root out their ancient manners and customs. In short, they tried to mould these new subjects over again, mistakenly believing that, were sufficient pressure applied, they would emerge from the process as Japanese; though I imagine that it was never intended that they should be anything save an inferior grade of Japanese, subject to restrictions and disabilities from which the islanders themselves were immune.

Far from contending that progressive Japanese opinion favored this policy, Mr. Powell holds that the Korean program represented the views of the military party alone. He finds that there was a very considerable element in Japan which disapproved of the annexation altogether, believing that a country annexed against her will, standing at Japan's very door, would prove a source of weakness to the Japanese Empire, rather than of strength. But the



KOREA IN RELATION TO JAPAN

The conciliatory policy of Marquis Ito gave way



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GOVERNMENT BANK AND POST OFFICE IN SEOUL, THE KOREAN CAPITAL, WHICH UNDER JAPANESE RULE IS RAPIDLY BECOMING A MODERN CITY

military party was in the ascendency, and proceeded to treat Korea in every respect as a conquered nation. Legislation was enacted denying freedom of the press, of speech, and of assembly. An attempt was made to destroy the Korean language by making Japanese the official tongue, even in the schools. All the Japanese teachers in Korean schools wore sabers. The teaching of Korean history was forbidden.

Another source of Korean resentment was provided by the Japanese attitude toward religion. Broadly speaking, religious instruction was forbidden in Korean schools. Religious gatherings of more than five persons were required to obtain a permit from the police, and native Christians had to obtain special authorization to hold religious services. This interference with religious liberty was in itself the height of political un wisdom; but the overzealous police, by their harsh and unintelligent methods of enforcement, turned it into something perilously close to religious persecution. For example, such hymns as "Onward, Christian Soldiers" were forbidden, on the ground that they tended to develop a militaristic spirit among the Koreans—an inhibition only equaled in recent times, in its patent absurdity, by Abdul Hamid's famous dictum against the importation into Turkey of dynamos, because they sounded like dynamite!

At the beginning of 1920 Japan inaugurated a milder and more sympathetic rule

in Korea. At that time the Koreans, according to Mr. Powell, had no less than a dozen distinct and justifiable grounds for complaint against the Japanese administration. These he sums up as follows:

1. Taxation without representation.
2. Denial of freedom of the press, of speech, and of assembly.
3. Measures tending to the eventual extirpation of the Korean language.
4. Educational discrimination.
5. Interference with the religious activities of the people.
6. Abuse of power by the police.
7. Multiplicity of irritating laws and lack of judgment in their enforcement.
8. Expropriation of public lands.
9. Economic pressure against Koreans.
10. Treatment of Korean leaders.
11. Lack of tact, sympathy, and understanding on the part of Japanese officials.
12. Social discrimination.

In spite of all that he has to say against the spirit of Japanese administration in Korea, Mr. Powell freely concedes that the Japanese brought about amazing material progress there:

The old, effete, corrupt administration was swept away. A Cabinet was formed on the model of that in Japan. An elaborate system of local government was adopted. The judiciary was reformed. A sound monetary system was

established and maintained. Prisons were cleansed and modernized. The mileage of the railways was doubled. The inadequate Korean harbors were transformed into spacious ports, equipped with all modern appliances. Remarkable improvements in the public health were effected by Government hospitals and systems of sanitation. New waterworks were built in fourteen cities and towns. The 500 miles of road which existed in 1910 were increased to 8000, it being proposed eventually to cover the peninsula with a network of highways. New industries were introduced, nearly 800 factories, something theretofore unknown in the land, being established, which provided occupation for thousands of Koreans. Handsome and substantial public buildings were erected. Streets were extended and paved, and charming parks laid out. Primary, secondary, technical, agricultural, forestry, and other schools, model farms and experimental stations, were opened.

Agriculture—the mainstay of the country—was enormously developed, the Korean farmer being taught new and profitable side lines: fruit, cotton, sugar-beet, hemp, tobacco, and silkworm culture, and sheep-breeding. Afforestation was pushed forward on a truly astounding scale, no less than half a billion young trees being set out by the Japanese Forestry Service on the bare, brown hillsides. The area of cultivated land was doubled. Fruit production was more than doubled. The output of the Korean coal mines was trebled. Cotton acreage increased by more than 4500 per cent., and salt production by more than 7000 per cent. There were increases of several hundred per cent. in the acreages of wheat, beans, and barley. By the introduction of modern appliances the value of the fishery products was

doubled. The foreign trade of Korea went up from 59,000,000 yen to 131,000,000 yen in seven years. In less than a decade after the annexation, there were a million depositors in the postal-savings banks—and this in a country with a notoriously shiftless and improvident population.

In short, Mr. Powell concludes that in the decade 1910-20 more public improvements were made, civic reforms instituted, and economic progress effected than the Koreans had so much as thought of since their history of 2000 years began. Mr. Powell is convinced that if Japan were to evacuate the country she would leave it under conditions that would soon result in chaos, and the good that she has done would be largely lost. He believes that the annexation of Korea, whatever may be said of the methods by which it was brought about, was in itself justified. The Japanese occupied it to forestall a Russian occupation. The leaders of the Korean independence movement are inexperienced in practical government, and there is nothing to justify confidence in any form of government that they might set up. From personal observation, Mr. Powell concludes that the general condition of the Korean peasantry under Japanese administration is higher than it ever was or could have been under native government.

## PAVLOV AND THE HUNGER CENTER

IT may be recalled that H. G. Wells in his New York *Times* articles on Russian scientists spoke of finding Pavlov in his Petrograd laboratory engaged in the cultivation of potatoes and carrots in order to provide the vitamins necessary to ward off scurvy in his household. Ivan Petrovitch Pavlov is one of the most distinguished of physiologists, and received in 1904 the Nobel prize for his studies in human digestion.

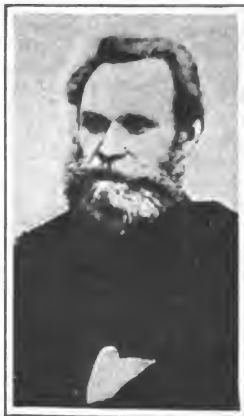
A recent number of the Paris *Journal de Physiologie* gives a summary by Pavlov of his work on digestion in man and animals. Pavlov declares that the much-disputed "hunger center," or the group of ganglion-cells giving off nerves which control the sensation of hunger, exists as surely as the respiratory

center exists in the tissues of the lungs.

The hunger center is observed in active function in the entire muscular system which drives the animal toward food, and in a part of the muscular system when the food is put in the mouth. It is the

hunger center that excites the activity of the salivary glands, the gastric secretion glands of the stomach, and the pancreatic secretory glands in the abdomen.

The hunger center, Pavlov emphasizes especially, must be understood always as a part of the nervous system regulating the chemical equilibrium of the body. It is on one hand extremely complex, composed of several distinct groups of nerve ganglions, and on the other hand it is a receptive center made up of receptive neurons



IVAN PAVLOV

since it reacts to both external and internal stimuli. The conditional or psychic reflexes of the hunger center may be provoked by innumerable agencies.

The experience of daily life shows us that the activity of the salivary glands, for instance, often begins before the food enters the mouth. When anyone is fasting, the sight of food, or even the thought of it, is sufficient to set the salivary glands into activity. This fact is recorded in the homely expression, "to make one's mouth water," current in so many languages. A psychic event, then—the observation and contemplation of food—must be accepted as one undoubted excitant of the nerve center for the salivary glands, which is the hunger center. Considerable variations are observed in the psychic effects of different foods in regard not only to the quantity but even to the composition of the saliva excreted.

Pavlov describes again his celebrated sham feeding or imaginary feeding experiments on dogs, which conclusively demonstrate the psychic stimulus of the gastric and pancreatic digestive secretions. By dividing the dog's gullet and causing both the divided ends to heal separately into angles of the incision, Pavlov achieved the complete anatomical separation of the mouth and stomach cavities. He then made an artificial fistula in the dog's stomach, and inserted a metallic tube into it. The dog was given food and ate greedily, but of course all the food came out at the gullet opening in the neck. But nevertheless perfectly pure gastric juice flowed from the artificial gastric fistula for several hours. The psychic stimulus must therefore be transferred from the brain by the nerves to the gastric glands.

To determine the exact nerve transferring the psychic stimulus, Pavlov severed

the left vagus nerve in the neck and divided the right vagus nerve below its recurrent laryngeal and cardiac branches, which paralyzed the pulmonary and abdominal vagi nerves on both sides. No gastric juice flowed from the stomach fistula after the dog was shown food. Therefore, Pavlov concludes that the specific secretory fibers run in the vagi nerves to the gastric glands.

In like manner Pavlov found, by making an artificial pancreatic fistula, that the nerves of the pancreatic glands are excitable by psychic influence.

The exact location of the hunger center is more difficult to demonstrate. Its existence is proved by a process of exclusion. Thus, it must be admitted that it occupies different portions of the central nervous system. A pigeon, the brain of which has been removed, still shows all the symptoms of hunger after five or six hours' fasting, and when given grain the symptoms subside. Therefore, a nerve group of the hunger center must be somewhere below the brain in the spinal cord. But other nerve groups of the hunger center are undoubtedly seated in the brain, since taste is a phenomenon of consciousness, and is therefore only possible as a center in the brain.

The hunger center, in short, according to the leading authority on the glands governing our digestion, is composed of several distinct groups of neurons, or nerve-cells, some of which are located in the brain for some of the hunger functions and some in the spinal cord for other functions. In other words, the hunger center is a complex nerve mechanism for the regulation of the reception into our mouths and digestive tracts of the proper amount of solid and liquid food required for the living chemical test-tubes of our bodies.

## THE PROBLEM OF PEYOTE

A UNIQUE monthly magazine formerly known as the *Capitol Eye*, and now called the *Congressional Digest*, is published under unofficial auspices at Washington for the purpose of presenting the pros and cons of all important issues before Congress. If it lives up to this purpose and is not, as claimed by its publishers, "controlled by or under the influence of any particular interest, class or sect," it is destined to perform a notable public service.

In a current number of this journal we find abundant documentary information bearing on the various efforts that have been made to secure Congressional prohibition of the use by the Indians of the medicinal and ceremonial plant known as "peyote." The plant is a species of cactus, and is often erroneously called "mescal," from a confusion with the maguey, or century plant. The part eaten is the dried top of the plant, which resembles a button. In view of its alleged

evil effects, several bills for suppressing its use have been introduced in Congress since 1914, and one, the Hayden Bill (H. R. 2890), is now pending.

An account of peyote, with a brief bibliography, will be found in the "Handbook of American Indians," published by the Bureau of American Ethnology. Some additional facts, indicating that the use of peyote has been promoted as a commercial undertaking, were recorded in a report by W. E. Johnson, chief special officer of the Indian Bureau for the suppression of the liquor traffic among the Indians, 1906-1911. This report is quoted in the above-mentioned journal as follows:

About thirty years ago the Carizzo Indians, a small tribe, now obsolete, had their stamping ground in the lower Rio Grande. They had some mystic dances in which they chewed the dried tops of these peyote plants. These dried tops, at a distance, look like large black buttons. In this way locally they have been referred to as mescal buttons or mescal beans. Mescal is another Nahuatl word which got into the Mexican, and from that into the English, and very nearly corresponds to our word "dope." It is applied to most any Southwestern plant that is poisonous or narcotic or anything that will make one wild, like the Mexican marahuana. Properly and specifically, however, mescal is the name for the product secured from pulque, the juice of the maguey, or century plant.

Some of these Indians wandered as far North as to what is now Oklahoma, and there began explaining to the Indians these mystic peyote rites. This resulted in a committee of these Indians going to Laredo, Texas, in search of these same mystic plants. They found that the Mexicans of the lower class were accustomed to use these same things when green, as medicine. They would bind them on their heads for headache or applied them to almost any part of their body where there was a pain. Arrangements were made by the Indians with a company in Laredo, dealers in Mexican products, to supply peyote. In this way traffic sprang up. This company supplied the Indians and in turn got their supply from the vicinity of the inland town of Los Ojuelos, about forty miles southeast of Laredo. The traffic reached such proportions in 1909 that the gathering of these peyotes was almost the entire occupation of the people of this village.

These peyotes are narcotic in character. They are generally chewed, although they are sometimes steeped, and the tea therefrom drunk. They produce visions very much like opium, and they have a distinct effect on the nerves, somewhat like cocaine. I have known of several Indians being killed by eating them to excess.

Around this peyote, a sort of religious cult was developed, churches were organized, and preachers appointed, and even some church buildings were erected. The peyote was used by the Indians for communion. They would eat a few peyotes and take one in their hand, and

pray to it, or rather pray to God through the medium of the peyote. The vision produced by eating the peyote was the answer to their prayers. The effect generally of these practices was demoralizing and degrading.

The *Digest* publishes several pages of extracts from speeches in the Senate and House, reports and letters from individuals and associations, etc., setting forth both sides of the peyote question. The crux of the situation is that the use of peyote forms an essential part of religious ceremonies—its defenders compare such use with that of wine in the communion service of Christian churches—and its prohibition would be regarded by the Indians as an "unwarrantable interference with their freedom of religion" (to quote a petition submitted by members of the Osage tribe). On the other hand, the Indian Rights Association says, in one of its annual reports:

Judging from the results of efforts heretofore made to suppress its use the devotees of peyote evidently maintain lobbyists to oppose legislation intended to place a ban on the drug. It is urged by the Indians who are addicted to the peyote habit that the drug is used in their religious ceremonies and therefore no interdiction should be promulgated regarding its use, since such an effort would be to deny to the cult freedom of religion, in violation of the Constitution. If that view is accepted, any vicious practice or use of drugs which undermines the morals and health may be upheld with equal force if it is associated in any manner with so-called religious ceremonies. The baneful effects upon the followers are soon apparent. The successful farmer neglects his fields and home; his health is often affected, and interest is lost in the things that tend to better living. Several deaths are reported as directly traceable to the habit.

Most of the authoritative evidence offered—scientific, official, etc.—is strongly in favor of prohibiting the use of this plant. The assistant commissioner of the Office of Indian Affairs, Mr. Edgar B. Merritt, says:

We are asking that peyote be placed on the same footing as liquor. Peyote is an article used among many of the Indian tribes of the United States, and its habitual use must be classed with the habitual use of drugs, such as morphine or cocaine, though the substance is not so dangerous.

The Department of Agriculture has regarded the article sufficiently dangerous to prohibit under the pure food and drug act its importation into this country. However, this is not sufficient, for the reason that the article is also grown on our side of the Rio Grande, and therefore is available for the Indians.

Recent statements indicate that the use of this article is on the increase and that there is danger of its being taken up by the whites.



## AMERICANS BY CHOICE

A STUDY of the "Americanization" problem from a new angle is attempted by Mr. John Palmer Gavit in the *Survey Graphic* for February 25. Distinguishing between those of us who are Americans by the accident of birth and those who are Americans by choice, Mr. Gavit comes to the consideration of the alien as material for active membership in our community.

Mr. Gavit recognizes at the outset the absence of exclusive racial marks as the distinguishing physical characteristic of the American:

True of him as of no other now or ever in the past is the fact that he is, broadly speaking, the product of all races. It is of our fundamental history and tradition from the beginning that in America all peoples may find destination if not refuge, and upon a basis of virtual race equality mingle and for good or ill send down to posterity in a common stream their racial values—and their racial defects. Whether we like it or not, this is the fact. We are not a race, in any ethnic sense. At most, we are in the very early stages of becoming one.

Mr. Gavit finds certain distinctive essentials on which to base our definition of the word American. The sum total of these essentials, he says, is without parallel in history. Of America alone it may be said with truth:

That however lamely and insufficiently we have lived up to it, *our country is traditionally the refuge for the oppressed of every land.*

That here the individual has found a fuller freedom to seek his happiness in his own way.

That here only has the individual man from the beginning been deemed the ultimate political unit—"one man, one vote." The country-wide adoption of woman suffrage extends this concept to include women.

That however crudely we have practiced it, we have aspired to estimate essential justice and the common sense of right relationship—fair play between man and man—as the final standard and appeal of human conduct, over against every claim of precedent and authority.

That from the outset of this nation, the distinguishing spirit of America has been a protest against militarism and the domination of the professional soldier, against compulsory military service in time of peace. This one fact, of freedom from military conscription, has been the distinction of America which more than any one thing has attracted Europeans to our fellowship. They have fought for us and with us, but always with the American motive, embodied in the final great fact, which is America's alone—

That when we have gone to war, our civilians armed and fighting with the devotion, courage and effectiveness inspired only by the sense of a righteous cause, it has always been for liberty.

The most interesting section of Mr. Gavit's article is that which summarizes the data obtained from a study of 26,000 naturalization petitions filed in twenty-eight courts during the twelve months from July 1, 1913, to June 30, 1914. That particular period was selected as the latest year of reasonably normal conditions, antedating the war. The courts in which these petitions were filed are scattered through the East, Middle West, and Far West, and the 26,000 petitions represent more than one in five of the whole number of petitions for naturalization filed in that fiscal year in the whole United States.

After studying these petitions and analyzing the compilations of the United States Census, the Immigration Commission of 1907, and the Naturalization Bureau, Mr. Gavit arrives at the following conclusions:

First and most important is the destruction of the legendary presumption of some change for the worse in recent years in the inherent character-quality of immigration to this country, and in the attitude of the typical immigrant of those years toward American citizenship. There has been no such change.

Second, it is evident that such difference as exists among races is not an inherent racial quality but a difference between the political, social, and economic conditions at the time of migration in the country of origin. Those nations whose people are most free from tyranny and oppression and most contented with the conditions under which they live at home, send the fewest immigrants to America; their immigrants come at a later age, and when they do come they retain longest or altogether their original citizenship.

Third, and broadly corollary, is the fact that the major, not to say exclusively controlling, factor in the political absorption of the immigrant is *length of residence*. The longer the individual lives in America the more likely he is to seek active membership therein.

Fourth, the interval between arrival and petition for naturalization—or even the original declaration of intention—is much longer than has generally been supposed. The average immigrant, regardless of racial extraction, does not concern himself about political privileges or activities until after long years of residence and the attainment of a considerable degree of permanent social and economic status.

Fifth, whether from northwestern or from southeastern Europe, whether from the so-called "recent" or "older" immigration, the racial groups show a slower desire for citizenship and a lower rate of naturalization while they are employed in the more poorly paid industries; both the individual interest and the rate increase as the individuals toil upward in the social and economic scale.

## AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN "SUCCESSOR STATES"

THE brief paper on this subject in the *Correspondant* (Paris) of February 10, by M. Guy de Valons, bristles with figures, dates, and detailed information generally. The prevailing policy everywhere is the expropriation of great landowners, and the creation of small farms. Moderation and impartiality were doubly needed to make this a salutary reform, since down to 1918 Austria-Hungary was of all Europe most wholly given over to the old régime of great hereditary domains.

*German Austria.*—Here the assault on the great estates was avowedly socialistic. The grievous lack of food and insufficient production presently made no-less vital the renewal of the rural population. Though practically begun so early as 1916, by the former Imperial Government, the latter effort has been wholly unsuccessful. Even the revival of activity on the deserted estates, which is especially desirable in the Alpine regions, still remains unaccomplished.

A law introduced in the National Assembly on April 30, 1920, would confiscate all estates. The farmer would acquire the land he actually tills by payment to the government of 10 per cent. on a low valuation. The state is to retain control of all alienations, and also the prior right of purchase. Openly aimed at the estates of the crown and a group of great nobles, this measure unduly ignores the benefits of judicious deforestation, breeding of cattle and horses, development of dairies, etc.—all due to the earlier régime, and deserving a more humane treatment. But the ever-growing inaction and incompetence of the present government has left all this the mere outline of an intention.

*Czechoslovakia.*—Bohemia and Moravia, more fertile than any neighborland, were parceled out to Germans and Austrians, Catholic adherents of the Emperor, after the first victory of the Thirty Years War. Only a small minority among the great landholders is of the old native stock. These private domains attain in Bohemia the size of from 400,000 to 500,000 acres, and a single tenant holds as much as seventy-five square miles!

Hence the radical measure of April 16, 1919, apply even to vineyards, hop plan-

tations, or any holdings above 375 acres. For the present, the former owner may retain the privilege of cultivation, but all lands of the crown, of aliens from hostile countries, of enemies to the state, or with titles either held in mortmain or originally created by the Emperor in 1620, are to be confiscated absolutely. Small holders, farm laborers, workingmen, above all, veterans, are to be favored in allotments.

But hardly a beginning has been made, and there is little actual demand for the land. Czechoslovakia alone follows Russia in expropriating even wooded lands, and so will probably despoil herself of her splendid forests. The indemnities, based on the low ante-bellum valuations, become, in net value, all but confiscatory.

Here there is no proper reform, but the extreme of social injustice.

*Jugo-Slavia.*—The older kingdom of Serbia is exempted from the vascillating treatment accorded to the lands acquired from Turkey and Austria. The confiscatory measure aimed at the Beys—Turkish proprietors—has been radically modified since they were needed to complete a governmental majority in the Constitutional Assembly. So now again the Christian tenants in Bosnia, under actual compulsion from Belgrade, have restored much of the land to their old Mussulman taskmasters. Even in Macedonia and Novi Bazar the new "freeholders" must hand over half their total produce to their former landlords. The government now recognizes the general right to full indemnity—whereat again, the privileged Serbians themselves protest bitterly as a ruinous burden of taxation for them.

*Hungary* is in far better condition. The extreme radical acts of Karolyi and Bela Kun were reversed in August, 1919. The present government's chief claim is to be the preferred purchaser for thirty days after any offer of sale. Forests are not to be parceled out at all. Forced expropriation is to be at most a last resort, after all amicable adjustment has failed. Estates of moderate size may hope to remain undisturbed. Old family titles are regarded with respect, in comparison with those of war profiteers, stock companies, and trusts.

Here, then, there is reasonable hope of a salutary agrarian reform, duly consider-

ate of all classes, in contrast to the vague theories of Austria, and the lawless social injustice in the two Slavic lands. Yet it is in Hungary, of all Europe, that the law of entail had produced its extreme results.

A far more healthy condition of the treasury, and a more hearty national unity of spirit, have enabled Hungary to make hopeful progress with a problem on which the three neighbor states have failed.

## THE NEW RUSSIAN BOURGEOISIE

THE war has created a new class in every country, a new bourgeoisie. This class has the same general characteristics everywhere. It is crude and uncultured, primitive and greedy. In America it is called "war millionaires," in France it is the *nouveaux riches*. According to Mr. D. Dalin in the *Sotzialisticheskyy Vestnik* (Berlin), in Russia the old bourgeoisie has disappeared entirely and its place is taken by an entirely new class.

And this new bourgeoisie—there are all kinds of elements in it. Deserters from the army, apprehended or still at large; store clerks, who stole large quantities of goods in the period of requisitions; workmen, who deserted their benches, having appropriated a considerable amount of materials; peasants from the suburbs, who are amassing enormous fortunes from the sale of milk and vegetables; agents of the *Cheka*, metropolitan and provincial; officials and "specialists" of all departments not only are ready to accept a bribe, but can also demand a good price for their services; conductors and railroad engineers who were able to utilize the fantastic differences in prices, carrying food from the remote provinces to the starving capitals; street vendors, enterprising porters, messengers of great personages, common criminals, owners of houses of ill-fame, diplomatic couriers, peo-

ple of all ranks and classes, of all nationalities and races, of both sexes, officers and subordinates, magistrates, expropriators and those expropriated, noblemen, tradesmen and peasants, orphans whose very origin is unknown but who possess a great spirit of adventure which is essential in order to fill one's pockets while risking one's life and emerge dry from the depth of a rushing cataract. All these people have become acquainted in these years with places of confinement, prisons, jails and penitentiaries, have been subjected to searches and raids, have learned to conspire and to use codes, and in general went through fire and water.

According to the writer not a trace was left of the old bourgeoisie, of the respectable, "solid" firms. They have all disappeared, and it will be a long time before reliable business houses are again established in Russia, says Mr. Dalin. He continues:

Reared on constant violation of the law, on swindle and bribery, the new bourgeoisie does not even understand that honesty and punctuality in commercial life may be profitable, may even become a rule. General impunity—the percentage of offenders caught and punished is extremely small—brings forth general piracy. And, therefore, a long time will pass before the bourgeoisie of the European type will be created in Russia, before she will rid herself of this newest



A "MAY HOLIDAY" AT SAMARA, RUSSIA—RED FLAGS IN EVIDENCE

"conqueror" who is "free" in all respects, who fulfills no obligation, who recognizes no contracts, who sells rotten merchandise, who cheats the public and the government, who pays not a cent in taxes, and who at the same time is possessed of unlimited self-assurance, and is immensely proud of his splendid success in life.

The reader will naturally ask: How does it happen that a new bourgeoisie was created when the old was destroyed? Why again this inequality in a country where the law and the government have introduced equality? The writer answers these questions as follows:

Because in Russia there are no promises whatever for economic equality; because the economic life in that country cannot develop within the limits set for it by the government scheme; and because instead of communism—"the collective struggle of humanity against nature"—there has developed, amid the conditions of unheard-of famine, a most primitive struggle for existence—a struggle in which people deprive each other of their last crumb of bread, in which the highest law of morality is the principle: Grab as much as you can and let the others look out for themselves. And each new step along the course of economic disorganization increased the miseries of hunger and poverty, aggravated the chaos, demoralized the national economy, and gave life to new groups of new bourgeoisie which appeared like worms from a decomposing corpse.

Unable to obtain all the necessary supplies for the army and the war industries by its own efforts, the Soviet Government was compelled to turn to private initiative. Since all private trading was forbidden by law, the government evaded it by appointing the men it had to deal with "government contractors" and "agents." Later on, in January, 1919, the Soviet Government issued a decree authorizing the Soviet institutions to purchase goods in the open market, if the state-controlled industries were unable to fill their demand, thus directly though unwillingly encouraging illegal trading—and the growth of the new bourgeoisie. But, according to the writer,

Until the spring of 1921 the bourgeoisie existed illegally. The possession of millions was considered a crime in itself, and no lawful grounds could save the owners from the organs of repression. In the struggle for its existence, the bourgeoisie, therefore, resorted now to an alliance with the Cheka (Extraordinary Commission) by means of bribery and now to secret warfare against it by means of conspiracies. . . .

The new economic policy, therefore, appeared to it as a *Magna Charta*. The future ideologists and historians of the bourgeoisie will mark the decrees of last summer as the most important victory of the capitalistic principle over utopian

communism. The bourgeoisie was not on the battlefield. It had not formulated any political or economic demands. It did not fight, but it won a great many rights. Its victory was a victory of the principle of capitalism. It gained a most important point. The Bolshevik authorities made room for it, recognizing it as a "useful class," and at hundreds of meetings and in hundreds of articles Bolshevik orators and writers have to urge upon their followers a tolerant and respectful attitude toward this new class, caution them against confiscations and requisitions and threaten their younger brethren with dire penalties for the violation of the sacred rights of private property.

Although the new economic policy, according to the author, is not yet capitalism, it is a preparatory step to it, as the new bourgeoisie is only being formed. After establishing itself in the factories and shops, it will consolidate its position as a class, and then turn its attention to its political status. Mr. Dalin says further:

The bourgeoisie is oppressed by Bolshevism, and in its negation of the latter it is ready to go very far. Bolshevism, from the point of view of the new bourgeoisie, is bad not because it represents a régime of rigorous dictatorship, the old autocracy turned inside out; not because it does not recognize and does not want to recognize the freedom of political organization. If the abolition of the terror conforms to the interests of all and is the slogan of all classes, it does not follow that the bourgeoisie is enthused by the ideal of a free democratic government. On the contrary, it respects "firm authority," notwithstanding the four-year experiment of Bolshevism. It combines a haughty disdain for the human mass above which it managed to rise, with the Bolshevik doctrine which instilled communism into the resisting masses by means of the knout and the bullet. It shares with the Bolsheviks their dislike for parliamentarism, for any "ideology," any principles, and shares their view that "you can do nothing with our people; it is impossible to do without the knout."

Not having suffered from the Bolshevik revolution—on the contrary, owing its very origin to Bolshevism—the new bourgeoisie does not hate the revolution, but would like to have it end at the moment it, the bourgeoisie, became a powerful class. The author concludes as follows:

Like any other class, the new bourgeoisie is organizing politically and will engage in the political struggle. Nothing will save the Bolsheviks from the necessity of meeting the new opposition. And the power of the bourgeoisie in the political struggle against Bolshevism, Socialism and democracy will depend firstly upon its own economic weight and secondly upon the terroristic and utopian policy of Bolshevism, which drives to the camp of the enemies of Socialism the large masses of the intermediate classes of the population.

# THE FINANCIAL POLICY OF FRANCE

IN the *Mercure de France* for February 1, M. Ferdinand-Lop writes with stern frankness, at times bitterly, apropos of the passage through the French Parliament, "after discussions which were important and often extremely confused," of the budget for 1922. The whole financial situation, however, indeed the economic condition of the entire nation, is still most grave and difficult.

"Germany will pay," we are told. Verily, Germany should have paid, should have met her full obligations under the Versailles Treaty. But she does not pay, and just now she is demanding a moratorium, which certain Allies would not hesitate to grant her.

And this is the all but hopeless feature in the general disconsolate situation.

Beside the "ordinary" budget, then, appears the "special" one, covering what should be collected from Germany in reparation; with such items as the restoration of the devastated lands, and pensions for widows, orphans, and crippled men. But these are, also, sacred obligations, and if Germany cannot, or will not, France must meet them—and promptly.

As to the various estimates that have been made of the total French losses in the war, they agree at least in this: that the greatly exceed the maximum indemnity proposed. But between January and April of 1921 even the latter amount fell from 136 to 68 billions of gold marks. Out of the entire amount to be exacted, 52 per cent. has been allotted to France as the chief sufferer. However, Germany has declared her inability to meet the very first payment of two billion gold marks on January 15, and at Cannes the French ministers consented to a postponement.

So this whole burden of six or more milliards annually through the next ten years for the recovered lands, and a like outgo over a larger period for pensions (including interest on loans already floated for that purpose) must for the present, at least, be added to the proper burdens of the French taxpayer. At best, the reduced demands now made on the Germans would fail to make good the annual outlay on pensions alone.

The total State debt, at the close of 1921, is stated to be 328 billions—a vague figure, made up with various unit values, for the next words are:

Furthermore, in this is included our foreign indebtedness, chiefly to Great Britain and in the United States, which is calculated not at the present rate of exchange but in gold francs.

This is the nearest to any allusion, in this paper, to the hope of relief through cancellation or scaling down of these war debts—a hope that other recent French publicists treat with cynical pessimism.

The necessary restoration of northern France, covering nine years, is to increase these 328 to an even 400 milliards—more than half the estimated wealth of the country! Other deficits and charges are expected to bring the total to 500.

The "ordinary" budget for 1922 reaches 25 milliards, 20 per cent. of which is offset by certain war credits, sales of stocks, etc., which will not reappear to any such amount among the assets for succeeding years. So the balancing of future annual budgets will therefore become increasingly difficult. Altogether, the prospective yearly deficit, as matters now stand, is figured as seven billions. It is for this sum that additional income, or other means of relief, must be sought outside the present balance sheet.

The policy of seeking further loans is disposed of, not briefly, but decisively. That policy mortgages the whole economic capacity of the nation and of future generations, and drains away, in interest payments, the free capital needed for normal industrial development. While attempting to postpone, it makes more imminent the day of final reckoning, with its possibilities of utter collapse, revolution, or disintegration.

No less vigorously condemned is the proposed handing over of the present Government monopolies—tobacco, matches, and gunpowder—to private hands for more rigorous collection. Instead of this surrender of proper governmental functions, and return to the methods of the Roman "publicani," the writer urges greater energy, efficiency, and economy, as to outgo as well as income.

The present levy can without doubt be somewhat increased, either by new taxes or higher rates for the present ones, but not without impoverishing the nation's very lifeblood. The estimated amount to be realized for 1922 is eighteen billions, about 2½ per cent. of the total national wealth. It is, moreover, 481 francs per capita; and it is promptly added that in Germany the taxation for 1921-22 is 1100 marks per

capita, which at present rates of exchange is but 100 francs. (The rise in French exchange since this article was printed strengthens the contrast.)

For the gaping deficit that remains unmet, the author sees only one recourse—either an annual tax or a serious immediate assessment on wealth, to bear more heavily, so far as practicable, on capital which merely supports luxurious expenditure than funds invested in fruitful industries. Even in present-day France, this is proposed as if likely to be bitterly resisted as an excessively socialistic measure. It is defended as a grim necessity.

If there is any expectation, or hope, that this disconsolate showing may reach the eyes and arrest the attention of cis-Atlantic readers, it lies hid under most un-Gallic reticence. Our very existence is barely once curtly intimated. There is absolutely no hint of any recent or contemplated appeal to any "allied or associated power" for relief, or even for sympathy. That nations have any common interests is nowhere suggested. So much the more striking is the force of the argument for the American student, capitalist, or even statesman. The writer seems fully aware that France stands face to face with the Impossible.

## YALE AS VIEWED BY A FRENCH EDUCATOR

THE first French scholar to be invited to Yale University as an "exchange" professor was Professor A. Feuillerat. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of February 1 he begins an extremely full and valuable account of his experiences and impressions at New Haven. A lecturer on Shakespeare in the Graduate School, he was evidently fully equipped to make his sojourn illuminating to himself, to his countrymen, and also to us, who can most profitably view ourselves through such philosophic, critical, yet appreciative eyes.

The article is, in form at least, an expansion of a journal, opening when a sudden impulse in the midsummer of 1919 breaks off a tour of the Great Lakes, and hurries the author to the scene of the next winter's activities. At first view he deplores especially the loss of the famous civic elms. The three old churches grouped on Temple Street arouse memories of the Puritan founders, giving in barter a few hoes, French scissors, etc., in exchange for a goodly city site. Oftener, however, there is courteous regret for the ruthless march of "improvement," destroying our older buildings, as when Pierson Hall and Peabody Museum were demolished, even to make space for the Gothic splendors of the Harkness Memorial. The constant demolition and reconstruction in our cities tempts him to liken the land to "an eternal stoneyard, where numberless Sisyphuses are condemned to roll stones forever, in the name of Progress." He feels that the University should show reverence for the monuments of our modest

three-century antiquity, even when rearing "the grandest dormitory ever undertaken"—a bit of braggadocio rather mockingly borrowed from the local newspaper reporter.

Within the lofty walls and strong steel gates sometimes needed, he adds in all seriousness, when Town and Gown shock together in assault and defense, "in a land where the law of Judge Lynch is still at times supreme," the stranger finds seclusion and a goodly expanse of turf and flagstones worn by immemorial tread of eager feet, over which to muse—until presently the early throng of sub-freshmen pour in for the fall entrance examinations.

He is amazed at the wealth and architectural luxury of the newer university buildings, generally. His own sketch of the American students' apartment, with its individual sleeping rooms and spacious common study, the well-cushioned embrasure of its mullioned window commanding a sweeping view of the campus, brings up rather bitter memories.

These dormitories have nothing, save the name, in common with the gloomy halls in which the students of our Lycées are huddled. The rich donors desired that studious youth should share something of the luxury which they themselves enjoyed.

Each time I cross the campus, alight with youthful faces, I cannot but remember what our own student-life was, the *chambre meublée* whose furniture had been worn by many generations of passing guests, the hasty meetings and brief greetings we exchanged between lectures, preoccupied still with scholastic thoughts: our sole relaxation a hand of cards in a hall stained and dim with tobacco-smoke: then solitude, in abodes without charm or human interest.

The cosmopolitan scholar sees how the free social and athletic activities perpetuate "that boyishness which the Americans retain through their student years—and often long afterward." It is noted that the serious students themselves often complain of having no protection against the visits of idlers, still less against the general uproar which at times fills the whole building or pervades the entire campus.

The delicate problems of comparative scholarship on either side the ocean are barely hinted at in this instalment, as when in the list of palatial new edifices appear "the Gymnasium and the Artillery School, and beside them crouches in a cottage—is it symbolic?—the laboratory of Experimental Psychology." But no pedantic or petty judgments are to be expected from this wide-traveled philosopher who heartily accepts as "the final goal of education—to hold one's own among peers." One large and burning question, whether a single institution can foster together the collegiate ideal of general culture and the practical aims of the Sheffield Scientific School, is handled with tactful frankness.

Essentially, however, this long first chapter dilates on the magnificent material equipment of a typical American university. At its close are depicted in bold outlines and artistic detail the two most picturesque contrasted scenes of the opening year: the Sophomore and Freshman "rush," and a few hours later the Sunday morning matriculation service attended by the same throngs.

The former sketch has avowedly Homeric glimpses, as when one gigantic hero is with utmost difficulty dragged out, quite unconscious, from his post of honor in the forefront of the *mêlée*, or another, who has lost every rag of clothing in the fray, stands revealed a glistening white figure in the electric light, until discreetly surrounded by a less militant squad of his fellows. Perhaps here especially the lighthearted boyish gallantry of our two million lads in France was better comprehended.

In the crowded church the alien presently confesses:

But now I am no longer listening. (May the eloquent president of Yale forgive me, if ever these pages chance to meet his eye!) It is still the same men, dressed in decorous black, the same seats, the same reverent attitude, but their costumes have something more antique in their austerity. . . . Ah, now I see! I am in Puritan America. . . . James Pierpont, the first president, with his vigorous gestures, is emphasizing, doubtless, the ugliness of sin, and the flames of hell that wait for evil men.

The epigrammatic conclusion is that in three centuries, or many more, on both shores of the Atlantic, the Anglo-Saxon maintains, and impresses on the many other types whom he assimilates, two qualities above all: Pugnacity and Piety.

The sustained study has not a dull line in it. The goodly volume it foreshadows will be heartily welcomed, however searching and critical its conclusions may prove to be.





# THE NEW BOOKS

## AMERICAN HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

[See also pages 419-424]

**American Portraits—1875 to 1900.** By Gamaliel Bradford. Houghton Mifflin Co. 242 pp. Ill.

The first volume of a series in which Mr. Bradford proposes to cover American history, proceeding backward, concerns itself with Mark Twain, Henry Adams, Sidney Lanier, Whistler, James G. Blaine, Grover Cleveland, Henry James and Joseph Jefferson. A glance at this list will suggest a difficulty that Mr. Bradford has encountered, at the outset, in balancing his choice of notabilities—the difficulty of obtaining satisfactory material. "With literary men, such material is always abundant. Politicians have plenty of friends—or enemies—to record their experiences. But the man of science is apt to be expressed wholly in a scientific investigation and the man of business lives his work and does not write it." Mr. Bradford's portraits are in the highest degree analytical of the inner motives and characters of his subjects. He has a veritable passion for distilling the final essence of the writer or artist or statesman. Not the least striking of the conclusions he comes to is that respecting Mark Twain: "So my final total impression of Mark is desolate. I cannot escape the image of a person groping in the dark, with his hands blindly stretching forward, ignorant of whence he comes and whither he is going, yet with it all, suddenly bursting out in peals of laughter." "Grover Cleveland" is an exceptionally fine "portrait"—"a four-square, firm, solid, magnificent Titan who could speak the everlasting 'no,' so rare and so essential in democracy."

**Captains of the Civil War.** By William Wood. Yale University Press. 424 pp. Ill.

In connection with the observance of the centenary of General Grant's birth on April 27, this year, there will naturally be a harking back to his Civil War campaigns from Vicksburg to Appomattox. These, together with the other operations of the war, have been admirably reviewed and summarized by Colonel Wood, the Canadian military authority, in his volume entitled "Captains of the Civil War: a Chronicle of the Blue and the Gray." Like the other volumes in the *Chronicles of America Series*, this book, while it contains much biographical material, is really a history. The author fully recognizes the pre-eminence of Lincoln as the statesman of the war period, and at the same time his treatment of Lee, Jackson, and the other Confederate leaders is fair, and at no time unsympathetic. On the Northern side, Grant, Sherman, and Farragut stand out as the "captains" who brought victory to the Union cause.

**The Study of American History.** By The Rt. Hon. Viscount Bryce. Macmillan. 118 pp.

The inaugural lecture of the Sir George Watson Chair of American History, Literature and Institutions was delivered by Lord Bryce on June 27, 1921, at the Mansion House, London, before an audience that included many American visitors. With his exceptional knowledge of American life and institutions, Lord Bryce accepted this opportunity to promote clearer mutual comprehension of the English and American peoples. During the present year the lectures on this foundation are to be given at different British University centers by former President Hadley of Yale, on "Some American Economic Problems of To-day."

**Maritime History of Massachusetts: 1783-1860.** By S. E. Morison. Houghton Mifflin Company. 400 pp. Ill.

In the first 250 years of her history the old Bay State was distinguished as much for the seafaring of her sons as for anything else. Yet, strange to say, there has never until now been anything like a complete account of the maritime adventuring that brought so much glory to the name of Massachusetts. This volume by Mr. Morison is a history in every sense—the result of many years of preparation, including the most painstaking study of original sources, and utilizing many documents never before made public. The book covers the period between the Revolution and the Civil War. It is a series of thrilling chapters, beginning with the Northwest Fur Trade, and the long voyages to the East Indies, and embracing such episodes as the embargo in the War of 1812, the China trade, the era of the whalers, the California gold rush, and last, but by no means least, the supremacy of the clipper ship. It will surprise not a few readers of today to learn that prior to 1860 steam played only a small part in Massachusetts ocean commerce, and that to the very last of the era of sail the shipping men of Boston firmly believed that the beautiful clipper ship was the last word in naval architecture.

**She Blows! And Sparm at That!** By William John Hopkins. Houghton Mifflin Company. 361 pp. Ill.

Mr. Morison's chapter on the whalers is calculated to whet the reader's appetite for more details in the lives of those Nantucket and New Bedford adventurers who, for many decades, carried the American flag to strange waters. Mr. William John Hopkins has chosen as the title of his new volume the whaling man's cry, once heard round the world, "She Blows!" He gives

the experiences of a whaler out of New Bedford in the '70's. Most of the writings that have told us of the life of those who manned the whalers have had to do with an earlier period—Herman Melville's "Moby Dick," for instance, dated about the middle of the nineteenth century. Mr. Hopkins was himself a New Bedford boy, and early in life absorbed the stories that were retailed by returning Yankee voyagers to the Pacific.

**A Century of Banking in New York:** Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. Edition. By Henry Wysham Lanier. Gilliss Press. 341 pp. Ill.

This beautifully made book deals with the development of New York City as a banking center from 1822 to 1922, a period which has seen the American metropolis come from very small beginnings to be the financial center of the world. It is published to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of the Farmers' Loan & Trust Company, the oldest institution of the sort in the great city. The book begins with the year 1822, when a great plague of yellow fever caused the banks to migrate to the "boom

town" of Greenwich Village—when pigs were roaming through Wall Street, and there was no public water supply, except wells and pumps in various parts of the city. That New York's financial development was exceptionally rapid, even in the early days, is shown by the reproduction of the quaint "Wealth and Biography of the Wealthy Citizens of New York City," originally published in 1845, which records hundreds of citizens worth \$100,000 and over, and sets down John Jacob Astor as already in possession of a fortune of \$25,000,000, with two other entries accounting for \$10,000,000 each. The volume is abundantly illustrated with fascinating rare prints, giving scenes in the early days of the metropolis, and is particularly valuable in its researches into the period before the Civil War. Beginning with the starting of the Farmers' Loan & Trust (the first of the trust companies), Mr. Lanier deals with the opening of the Erie Canal, the great speculation of 1825, the panic of 1836, New York railroad financing, the rise of the great banks about the middle of the century, the war inflation, the panic of 1873, and the new era of the Federal Reserve.

## RAILROAD ECONOMICS AND INDUSTRIAL LIFE

**Principles of Railroad Transportation.** By Emory R. Johnson and Thurman W. Van Metre. D. Appleton & Company. 617 pp. Ill.

Nearly twenty years ago Professor Johnson's book on "American Railway Transportation" became a leading authority in its field. It has had several revisions, and the new work, entitled "Principles of Railroad Transportation," while based on the original volume, contains so much additional material and discusses so many problems that were quite unknown when the first book was written, that it should be regarded as a new work in every sense. There are special chapters on American experience with government operation of the railroads during the war period, and the new transportation act of 1920. Like its predecessor, the new book is likely to take its place as a standard work of reference.

**Railroads and Government.** By Frank Haigh Dixon. Charles Scribner's Sons. 384 pp.

This book gives an account of the relations between the railroads and the government in the United States from the year 1910 to the present time. One finds in Professor Dixon's treatise less of the purely technical features than in most discussions of railroad economics. The author rightfully considers the past decade as an extraordinary one in the relations of railroads and government. He says, "More experience and experiment have been crowded into these ten years than into all the remainder of our railroad history of nearly a century." He believes that the American system of government regulation has great promise, but he is fully convinced that the administrative independence of the Interstate Commerce Commission must be jealously guarded.

**Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific.** By Stuart Daggett. The Ronald Press Company. 470 pp.

One American railroad system, whose history from the beginning was interwoven with the personalities of a quartet of typical empire-builders of their day, was the Southern Pacific. The building of this road—one of the dramatic episodes in the history of our Pacific Coast—is the central theme of Professor Daggett's book. But the romantic features of its construction form only one aspect of the railroad's history. Professor Daggett goes into the important business problems related to the building of the road, and pictures the part played by the builders (Huntington, Stanford, Hopkins, and Crocker) in California politics. Although not hesitating to expose and condemn the corrupt practices that prevailed in that era, the author does not permit these facts to blind him to the immense significance of the financing and building of so great a railroad system in the development of the West and particularly of California.

**The Settlement of Wage Disputes.** By Herbert Feis. Macmillan. 289 pp.

This book is a good illustration of the methods now generally followed by the more advanced economists in dealing with the industrial situation. The author first sets forth the factors that control American wage levels at the present time. He analyzes those particular facts and tendencies which affect the present wage situation in the United States, or may affect it in the near future. Having done this, he proceeds to formulate the principles which he thinks might serve as the basis of a policy of wage settlement. These

principles, as he states them, are derived from his analysis of the general wage situation. He emphasizes the welfare of the wage-earners in each particular industry, as one of the major questions in the conduct of that industry. And he further maintains that when methods are wasteful of either human or material resources, there should be some check on private enterprise.

**Industry and Welfare.** By William L. Cheney. Macmillan. 169 pp.

This new volume in the Social Welfare Library is an excellent brief account of the rise of the factory system in America. It is based on the work of Commons, McMaster, Weedon and other historians of American industrialism, and its purpose is to give the general reader in outline the findings of those who have made special research in this field. The factory system, as we know it to-day in this country, is only a little more than a century old. What it means to the worker can be known only when the conditions in American society which preceded it are understood. Mr. Cheney has told the story in a terse and readable fashion.

**Working with the Working Woman.** By Cornelia Stratton Parker. Harper & Brothers. 246 pp.

When Mrs. Parker answered newspaper advertisements and went in disguise to take jobs in various industries with other working women, she may have been interested in the labor problem, as such; but the book in which she records her experiences discloses a primary interest not in the "problem," but in the human worker. Neither her employers nor her factory mates knew what her purpose was. To them she was merely another woman who had found a job. What she was trying to do was to see factory life as it is to-day, without regard to wage disputes or the

rights or wrongs of unionism or the open shop. Her book is unpretentious and carries conviction of the truthfulness of her presentation.

**Four Years in the Underbrush.** By a Novelist of Note. Charles Scribner's Sons. 315 pp.

Another chapter of experience as a working-woman, gained by a novelist whose anonymity is preserved. This woman remained for four years in what she calls the underbrush—the world of the unskilled workingwoman of New York City. During that time she had twenty-five jobs in almost as many different fields of work. Once she was a saleswoman in a department store, again a waitress in a health resort hotel, and at one time a maid of all work in a family which kept two servants.

**The Soul of an Immigrant.** By Constantine M. Panunzio. Macmillan. 329 pp.

This is the story of an Italian boy who, in his efforts to become Americanized, endured not a few hardships and met with apparently needless rebuffs and discouragements. Yet he held steadfastly to his purpose, obtained an education, entered social settlement work in Boston, and during the war returned to Italy in the Y. M. C. A. service. His book is of real value to all who are seeking the immigrant's point of view.

**Immigration and Labor.** By Isaac A. Hourwich. B. W. Huebsch. 574 pp.

This is a second edition of one of the leading works on immigration written before the war by an opponent of restriction. Dr. Hourwich finds in our experience during and after the war a confirmation of his own theories concerning the effect of restriction. He has added a chapter presenting the lesson to be drawn from our war experience, from his viewpoint.

## OTHER TIMELY VOLUMES

**The Glands Regulating Personality.** By Louis Berman, M.D. The Macmillan Company. 300 pp.

Dr. Berman is a professor of biological chemistry in Columbia University, and he has written a book of such brilliant qualities from the literary standpoint that the general reader might be somewhat afraid of its suggestions and conclusions, but for the fact that the author is undoubtedly well versed in the latest results of scientific inquiry in physiology, experimental psychology and biological chemistry. Just as Dr. Cotton has found that many strange aberrations of personality are due to infections the centers of which may be located and removed, so Dr. Berman shows us in this remarkable study how the thyroid and pituitary and adrenal and other glands are responsible for giving people one kind or another kind of physical and mental character.

Many superficial persons are accustomed to refer to Freud who could not well explain what they mean. This American book will go far to elucidate for the average reader the general field of inquiry in which Freud and his followers have been working.

**A Cruise to the Orient.** By Andrew W. Archibald. Boston: The Stratford Company, 286 pp. Ill.

Descriptive chapters entitled "Round About Rome"; "Round About Athens"; "Round About Cairo"; "Round About Karnak"; "Round About Constantinople"; and "Round About Jerusalem." The author describes many of the antiquities which may be seen by the traveler to the Near East under changed conditions resulting from the World War.

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

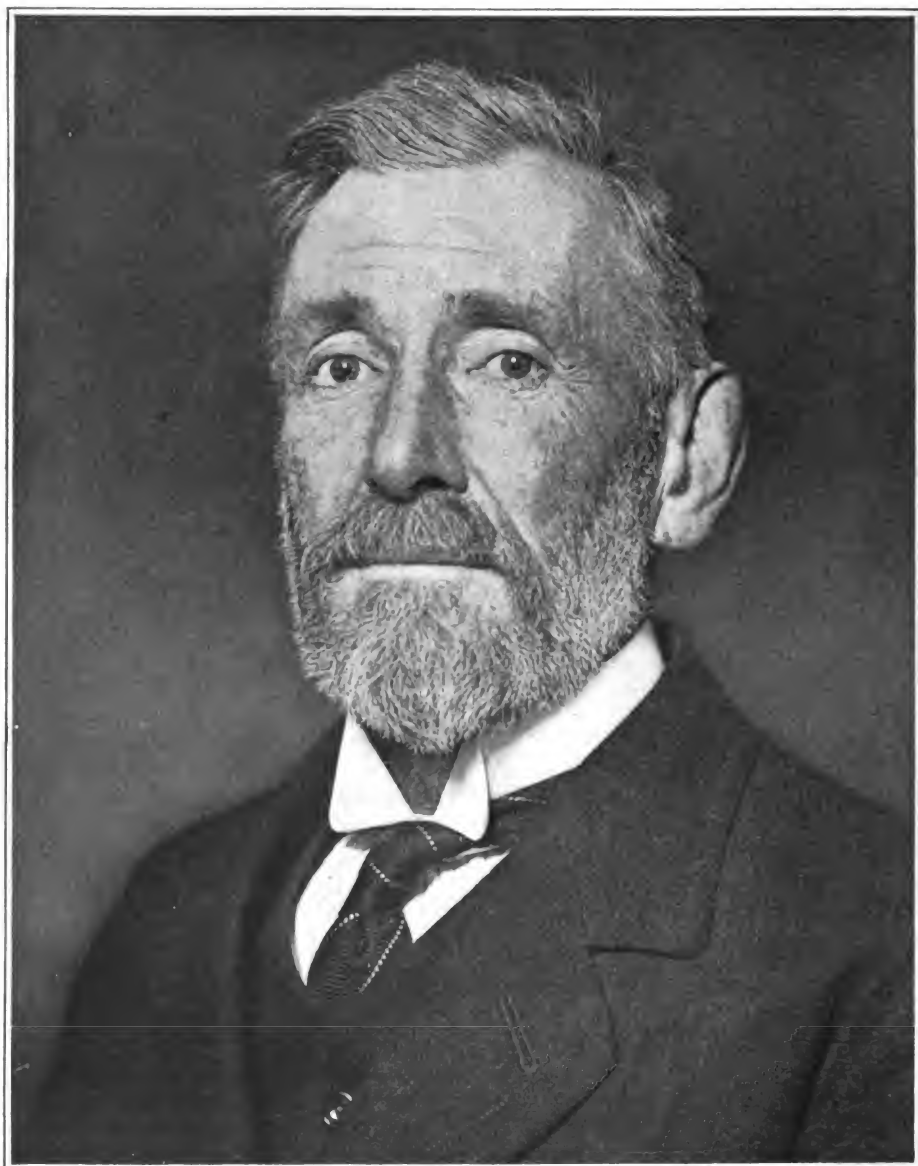
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THE RIGHT HON. SIR HORACE CURZON PLUNKETT, APOSTLE OF A  
MODERNIZED IRELAND

[Sir Horace Plunkett, through a long period, has been engaged in laying the foundations of a new Ireland, believing that economic, social, and educational advancement must prepare the way for the political freedom that was destined to arrive sooner or later. Meanwhile, his spirit of moderation, his wisdom in practical affairs, and his vast acquisitions of knowledge regarding agriculture and the problems of community life have given him a place of remarkable influence throughout the English-speaking world. Mr. Shaw Desmond's article in the present number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS speaks of Sir Horace as the foremost leader of the coöperative movement in Irish agriculture. He has long had interests in the United States, and for a number of years was engaged in cattle ranching on our Western plains. He has been active in helping to improve the condition of Southern negroes, and, among numerous writings, he has published a work on "The Rural Life Problem in the United States." He has held many public positions in Ireland, and in recent years has been foremost in endeavors to promote harmony and heal the breach between Ulster and the South.]

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

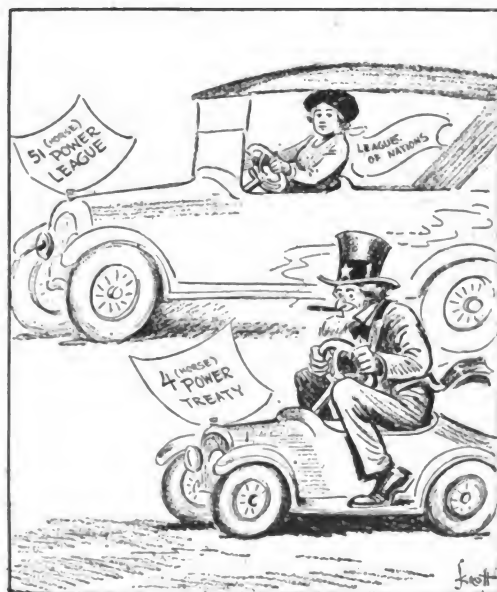
*A Treaty  
and a  
Leader*

In the case of the treaties negotiated at Paris in 1919 (chief of which was the treaty with Germany signed at Versailles) France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium and Japan ratified promptly, and waited expectantly for the United States. There would have been no trouble about that treaty's acceptance here if a Republican had been in the White House, or if the Senate had been strongly Democratic. Apparently nobody in Europe understood the extreme risk President Wilson was running when he sacrificed the controlling advantages of position, afforded by his high office at Washington, in order to spend some months abroad in the exposed rôle of a special ambassador. As it turned out, the principal danger had not consisted in the loss of the Senate's coöperation, but rather in the detachment of the President's own mental attitude from a strictly American focus, and its shifting to a broader standpoint, which encompassed world relationships. In these months of absence, Mr. Wilson had become—in the dreams and hopes of hundreds of millions of people in many lands—the foremost living statesman. Idealists everywhere had fixed upon him as head of a League of Nations, which was about to assume some of the functions of a federated republic of all mankind. He saw a way of salvation for a ruined world, and he could not dicker or compromise.

*An Ever  
Explaining  
Senate*

It was not strange that a good many of those who held to the Wilson doctrines, living in the rare and stimulating atmosphere of their hopes and aspirations, should have regarded the particular document agreed upon at Paris, in all its numerous articles and clauses, as a veritable revelation, a verbally inspired document, the charter of a new religion of

peace and good-will among men. Even its typographical errors were deemed sacred. It soon appeared that the Senate at Washington was willing enough to accept and ratify the Versailles treaty, including this League of Nations project, without a single change or amendment; and the Senate actually voted in favor of such ratification by the requisite two-thirds majority. But the Senate—never visionary, much less fanatical—must ever explain, and go on record as to the obvious. It happened, therefore, that in ratifying the treaty the Senate expressed, in a separate memorandum, some opinions of its own as to how certain clauses should be understood. The chief object in view was to save for Congress its share of responsibility for future decisions involving the use of army or navy.



WELL, A SMALL CAR IS BETTER THAN NONE  
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

Most of these "reservations," therefore, merely explained that the United States would have to act in a regular and lawful way, through its constituted authorities, as a member of the League of Nations. This would have been true of necessity, whether or not the Senate had thought fit to say as much in its ratifying resolution. No important personage in Europe, when the matter was understood, had any particular objections to the Senate's explanatory statements. History's verdict will smile at the Senate's needless technicalities, and regret the President's overstrained insistence.

*Lessons Taken to Heart* As we have now had a longer period through which to consider the settlements of the Versailles treaty, in its vast network of ramifications—its violent map-making and its log-rolling mandates—the only wonder is that the United States Senate accepted it so completely, and made its reservations so few and so comparatively trivial. The deadlock between President Wilson and the Senate grew steadily more serious and more embarrassing to the country's interests, and it lasted through the better part of two years, with the President seriously ill during the last year and a half of his Administration. To recall a date or two, the Versailles treaty was signed June 28, 1919; the President sent it to the Senate July 10; his illness dated from September 26; his term ended March 4, 1921. It may be a good many years before we can hope to have a just and impartial account of this unfortunate period in our governmental history. Doubtless personal and partisan bitterness will grow less, and the President's great aims will be generously remembered. Meanwhile some lessons of a practical nature have been thoroughly acquired. For example, when President Harding had

secured the acceptance of Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, China and Portugal to the Conference at Washington that opened in November of last year, he proceeded to name a strong delegation of four members, two of them being leading Senators, one from each party. In addition to naming these two leading Senators, every effort was made to keep the Senate well informed as the Conference proceeded. The President faced his true responsibilities at all points, but wisely acted through the Secretary of State and the delegates. All of Mr. Wilson's tactical mistakes were kept in mind and avoided.

*Debating the Washington Conference* The Washington Conference was an unprecedented success, judged from many standpoints. It allayed suspicions and cemented friendships. It held the support of American public opinion, regardless of parties, in overwhelming measure. It was similarly endorsed throughout Great Britain and the English-speaking Dominions. Gradually it overcame the distrust of Japan and soothed the injured feelings of China. If the French public was less ardent, it was, nevertheless, sincere in accepting the main decisions. It was realized, furthermore, that the principal problems before the Conference concerned America, Japan, and Great Britain, rather than France or Italy. Although American sentiment had supported the Conference so intelligently and so completely that there seemed no doubt about the concurrence of the Senate, the European Governments had learned a lesson about American political manners and methods. They decided—as if by agreement among themselves—not to ratify the group of Washington treaties until after the United States had set the seal of finality upon its own work. Who could tell what the Senate might do, when it began to inquire, and to explain, and to conjecture, and to wax dialectical and metaphysical?



THE AMERICAN EAGLE AVOIDS THE TRAP  
From *John Bull* (London, England)

*Adoption of Four-Power Treaty* Last month we referred in these pages to the pending debate in the Senate on the ratification of the Four-Power treaty. After several weeks of discussion, the final vote was reached on March 24, sixty-seven Senators supporting the treaty and twenty-seven opposing it. All Republicans who were present supported the treaty except four, namely: Johnson of California, Borah of Idaho, LaFollette of Wisconsin, and France of Maryland. Twelve



Democrats, following the leadership of Senator Underwood, voted with the Republicans to ratify, and twenty-three Democrats voted in opposition. If five votes had been shifted, the treaty would have failed, and the splendid work of the Washington Conference would have been shattered. The object of this Four-Power treaty, as our readers will remember, was to prepare the way for an immediate reduction in naval armaments and a definite ending of the evil of competitive efforts to acquire sea-power. By virtue of this treaty, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was to be abandoned. Great Britain, the United States, Japan and France were to act concertedly for the maintenance of friendly relations among themselves as respects their interests in the regions of the Pacific. This treaty was fundamental to the series of agreements. Its acceptance by the senate relieved many anxious minds here and abroad.

*Senator  
Brandegee's  
Definition*

By a vote of ninety in favor and two opposed, a "reservation" bearing the name of Senator Brandegee of Connecticut was adopted, which reads as follows:

"The United States understands that under the statement in the preamble or under the terms of this treaty there is no commitment to armed force, no alliance, no obligation to join in any defense."

This expression, of course, does not become a part of the treaty, but it may be regarded as having a certain historical value as indicating the opinion of the Senators to the effect that the treaty is what it purports to be, and is not several other things. It should be well understood that this explanatory statement had been accepted in advance by President Harding and Secretary Hughes in order to make sure of securing the votes of two or three Senators who believed it necessary to be explicit in this precise manner. There is one objection of a somewhat serious nature to this Brandegee reservation which did not apply to the so-called Lodge reservations when the Versailles treaty was under debate. The treaty with Germany, including the League of Nations, had already been ratified by European countries. The American Senate's reservations were therefore the only ones possible. And it came to be known that European governments were prepared to regard the American ratification as satisfactory, with or without the Senate's points of interpretation.



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HON. ATLEE POMERENE, SENATOR FROM OHIO

(During the past month, Senator Pomerene has taken a place in the forefront of Democratic leaders. He joined Senator Underwood in the Democratic minority group which saved the Hughes treaties from defeat. He is regarded as a possible rival of ex-Governor Cox for the Presidential ticket in 1924. He was born in Ohio in 1863; graduated at Princeton University and the Cincinnati Law School; was Lieutenant-Governor of Ohio, and is in his twelfth year of Senatorial service.)

*A Victory  
for the  
Conference*

But in the case of these recent Washington treaties it was left to us to be the first ratifying Government; and there was some danger that, if we set the fashion of seeming to modify or qualify the agreements in any respect, there might be a like disposition in other countries to raise points some of which would prove to be serious. Thus there was some real fear lest France might make a reservation or two affecting the naval ratios as agreed upon at Washington. In the course of the Senate debate several actual amendments were offered, all of which were rejected; and numerous reservations were voted down, the only one finally accepted being the one we have already quoted, which is regarded as clarifying, while not in any manner modifying, the Four-Power agreement. However, as soon as the Senate had finished its debate on the Four-Power treaty, accepting it as negotiated (the Brandegee remark serving merely as a comment and not as a change), there was a fairly rapid disposal of all the remaining agreements, with no Senate exceptions or interpretations whatsoever. Altogether, it was a good record.

*Rapid Work  
in the  
Senate*

Thus on March 27, after a few hours of discussion, the Senate unanimously ratified the supplemental agreement, which concerns particularly the United States and Japan. This makes it plain that domestic questions such as immigration do not come under the purview of the Four-Power treaty; that the mainland of Japan is not included in the territories and possessions that are protected under the Four-Power treaty; and that the American rights in former German islands now under British and Japanese mandates are not surrendered. On March 29, with only one opposing vote, the treaty fixing naval ratios and providing for the immediate reduction of the American, British, and Japanese navies was ratified. On the same day there was unanimous acceptance of the treaty that regulates the use in war of submarines and condemns the use of poison gas. On March 30 the highly important treaty which had been signed by all of the nine powers attending the Conference, relating to the sovereignty of China and the rights of that country, was ratified without any opposing vote. Also on that date the final treaty, which provides for a more liberal treatment of China in the matter of customs dues at the so-called Treaty Ports, was accepted with only one Senator opposing—his attitude being due to his not unreasonable opinion that China ought to have still more liberal treatment in a matter involving, theoretically at least, the rights of a sovereign power.

*Foreign Methods  
with Such  
Results*

On the last day of March, Secretary Hughes found himself in the gratifying position of being able to send notes to the European and Asiatic Governments that had taken part in the Washington Conference informing them that Uncle Sam had cleaned up the entire business and was all ready to exchange ratifications. The principal governments of the world do not follow our exact practice of subjecting a treaty which has been duly negotiated to the tender mercies of a parliamentary body before it can take effect. In the case, however, of a treaty that so directly limits the power of Parliament to expand the British Navy beyond an agreed ratio with other powers, it is obvious that His Majesty would seek the explicit approval of the House of Commons. The work of the Washington Conference from beginning to end was evidently satisfactory to the British Empire, and will not fail to have the appro-

val of the Parliament at Westminster and the Governments of the Dominions. Similarly, the French Government will probably submit all of the Washington treaties to the Senate and Chamber of Deputies for debate and approval. Obviously, these Washington treaties relate directly to defensive considerations, which involve the voting of funds and other matters of a legislative and financial character. It is not likely that any reservations that the French might consider would affect the United States in a direct manner. A change of French naval ratio, however, would probably disturb both Italy and Great Britain; while a suggested reservation relating to the arming of merchant ships might meet with serious objections from England. The Italian constitution gives to the King (acting, of course, through his Ministers) the full power to conclude treaties; and in Japan the power of ratification belongs solely to the Emperor. There is no serious doubt as to the prompt acceptance of all the treaties, substantially as signed at Washington, by the countries participating.

*The Dangerous  
Drift  
One Year Ago*

The world had been far more militaristic—and had indeed been indulging in wars both more numerous and more devastating since the armistice and the peace treaties of Paris—than was the case during a period of years just previous to the Great War. We were definitely committed to the building of a navy greater than that of any other power. The British naval authorities were not willing to relinquish their supremacy on the sea, and were entering upon a program aimed to eclipse ours. Japan was building madly, with no apparent object except to dominate the Pacific, on the theory that a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance would soon enable Japan to hold an undisputed leadership in the Far East, both on sea and on land. Italy and France were neither of them in a position to aspire to an important naval rank in the Pacific, but they were to some extent rivals in the Mediterranean, in northern Africa, and in western Asia. Numerous questions relating to China, Manchuria, and Siberia were threatening to grow worse, and to bring various small wars to the climax of another great war, involving Europe and America as well as Asia. That the United States and Japan were moving steadily toward an inevitable conflict was the almost universal opinion entertained by European statesmen and journalists.

*The  
Brighter  
Prospect*

It was under these circumstances that the Washington Conference was called. It will not be said all dangers have been magically overcome through the processes and results of this Conference. Everything must depend ultimately upon protecting the spirit of friendship, confidence, and good-will that was engendered at Washington, and that made the signing of treaties possible. Assuredly long steps have been taken toward restoring the old-time friendship between the United States and Japan. Nothing is so likely to mar the further strengthening of these good relations as reckless and sensational journalism in both countries. The settlement of the Shantung question was one of the greatest of the triumphs of the Washington Conference, and it justifies compliments all around. China's future, thanks to a splendid testing and triumph of international public opinion at Washington, is dependent henceforth upon her own ability to create a unified country, with a strong government.

*America  
and  
Great Britain*

During the debate in the Senate on the Four-Power treaty, an attempt was made by Mr. Borah and other opponents to ascertain whether or not some kind of hidden alliance between Great Britain and the United States was lurking in the background. A distinguished New York lawyer was quoted as having been assured by the American delegates that under certain circumstances the British and American fleets would act together. It is a very pleasant thing to believe that this is true. Great Britain abandoned an actual supremacy at sea, and the United States abandoned a prospective supremacy. The two powers accept the principle of equality in naval strength. The United States and Great Britain already have a general arbitration treaty. The naval treaty at Washington is an act of good faith, showing that these two foremost naval powers have no intention of using force against one another. Clear logic points to their future coöperation for peace and justice. It is inconceivable that they should unite in order to act aggressively against any other power. It is, on the other hand, wholly conceivable that they should act together to defend everybody's lawful rights as against dangerous and unprovoked aggression. Such a conclusion has no anti-Japanese bearing; on the contrary, it is pro-Japanese in the best sense. President Harding and Secretary Hughes were afforded a convenient



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HON. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE

(Mr. Phillips has been chosen to succeed Henry P. Fletcher in the highly important position of Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Fletcher having gone to Belgium as Ambassador. Mr. Phillips is one of the most capable of the younger men who were encouraged by President Roosevelt and Secretary Root to enter our diplomatic service as a career. He graduated at Harvard in 1900, and, after studying law for two or three years, went to London as private secretary to Ambassador Choate. Two years later he was transferred to our legation in China. In 1907 he was brought to Washington to take charge of our Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, and soon became Third Assistant Secretary of State. Next, he was First Secretary of our Embassy at London for three years, after which he served as an officer of Harvard University for two years, again becoming Third Assistant Secretary of State [three years] and Assistant Secretary [three years]. Since March, 1920, he has been our Minister to Holland. As Under-Secretary, he ranks next to Secretary Hughes. Mr. Leland Harrison has been promoted to be Assistant Secretary, succeeding Fred M. Dearing, who becomes Minister to Portugal. It is perhaps true that our State Department at Washington and our diplomatic service abroad are better organized than ever before)

opportunity for saying, what intelligent people in general must already have known, that the Government of the United States has no secret treaties or understandings of any kind whatsoever. Our system of government does not provide for any such arrangement.

*Steps  
Toward a  
Stable World*

For the purposes of this magazine, international news has always been a commodity of prime importance; and we have always had a large number of readers who have known that America ought, for its own sake, to be less self-absorbed and to become better informed

about the sentiments as well as the policies of other countries. Since America's decisive part in the Great European War, the study of foreign affairs has been made a more essential part of the education of every citizen. We are learning that assured peace is a matter of concern to every American farmer, coal-miner, mill hand, and railroad employee. It will be remembered in due time that President Wilson was aiming at a stabilized world through American membership in a controlling association. The nations are moving, however convulsively, toward the adjustment of affairs by conference, and toward the regulation and restraint of militarism. President Wilson's efforts to bridge the chasm, and to reach a symmetrical solution, will be remembered long after his mistakes of judgment and of method will have become obscured. The Washington Conference must be regarded as a part of the great movement for adjustment by conference and by disarmament that began with the armistice of November, 1918. It followed the Paris Conference, further to develop some things, while correcting others. Its successful object was to inculcate reasonableness and good understanding among those leading nations that had coöperated to win the Great War.

*Genoa,  
Another  
Milestone*

The Genoa Conference, which opened on April 10, could not well have been called but for the example set at Washington. Thus one effort for agreement, for harmony, and against militarism paves the way for another. Undoubtedly there will be a great conference for financial and economic settlements in which the United States will take a full part; and such a conference ought to assemble next year, if not sooner. We commented last month upon the decision of the Harding Administration not to be represented at Genoa. This decision was one of immediate tactics rather than of fundamental policy. It was upon the whole a wise attitude that was assumed at Washington. This Genoa Conference is a preliminary effort to remove some of the political obstacles that lie in the way of Europe's return to prosperity. Our Government has made it clear that Americans wish to see eastern Europe harmonious and successful.

*Europe  
Needs "Home  
Remedies"*

The smaller powers of central and eastern Europe have been earnestly endeavoring, under the leadership of broad-minded statesmen like

Premier Benes of Prague (Czechoslovakia), to move in the direction of commercial union. Europe has been physically sick and mentally disordered ever since the armistice. The United States is, relatively speaking, sane and healthy. Europe must proceed farther on the road to recovery before the United States can be of much definite service. A certain sentimental mushiness in the United States toward Europe as a whole, or toward this or that particular government, has become positively harmful. It has never been the habit of European governments to consider any interests except their own, for a single moment. This is due to historical causes and is not said by way of disparagement. The United States in the long run will have most to contribute to the success of Europe by taking a firm and a rather hard-headed view of American interests. This does not mean a narrow view or an assertive one. Generosity is wholly compatible with enlightened self-interest. Europe can "clean house" to a great extent without the services of Columbia as a scrubwoman. As a "paying guest" Columbia has much to offer.

*The  
Logic of  
France*

Mr. Simonds sends us his monthly contribution from Paris, after a few weeks of very close contact with British and French leaders, official and otherwise. He is profoundly impressed with the spirit of the French people as they work along, almost unaided, at the colossal task of restoring their devastated regions. He does not find France militaristic or unduly ambitious. Quite apart from the quarrels among French politicians there is a solidly united France, which holds to the one cardinal doctrine that France must be made secure against another attack, either by the help of other nations, or else by her own continual sacrifices. The French people believe implicitly that Germany is preparing for another war. We were perhaps too optimistic in the United States in thinking that the recent understandings reached at Boulogne between the British and French Premiers had given France the full assurance of England's military support. Evidently the security of France, as well as that of Belgium, must be made a matter of general guaranty, in the not distant future. France is reducing her army as much as immediate conditions will permit. Mr. Simonds does not hesitate to tell us the plain truth regarding French feeling about the Washington Conference and about the United States.



M. LOUIS BARTHOUS, OF THE FRENCH CABINET  
(Who heads the French delegation at Genoa and is one of the leaders of the Conference)



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SENATOR CARLO SCHANZER, OF ITALY  
(Who was prominent in the Washington Conference and now heads the Italian delegation at Genoa)

*America  
Always Favors  
France*

The French are logical, and they derive their conclusions rather mathematically. The acceptance by France of a low naval ratio should be regarded as morally entitling France to the full protection of the American and British navies, as against unprovoked aggression. As we see the matter in America, the naval ratios fixed at Washington are only temporary and are a step toward a coöperative supervision of maritime interests with a virtual abolition of naval warfare. When America finds herself in hopeful accord with the other English-speaking countries, she is thinking in terms of a peace combination that is wholly inclusive of France. Undoubtedly it is a prevailing opinion in the United States that some revised reparations plan should be made workable and explicit; but this American opinion is altogether favorable to the prompt restoration of France. America does not consider that her wartime loans to European governments have anything to do with the mutual financial arrangements of the European Allies. The Parisian press is mistaken in asserting that America has become "anti-French." A real test would show strong friendship.

*The  
Overhanging  
Debt*

Whether France owes most to England, or England owes most to France is a matter which involves several kinds of bookkeeping; and the two countries must make up the balance-sheet for themselves. The loans made through the United States Treasury were borrowings from American investors which have to be met in some way. There is no ambiguity about the obligations. The authorities at Washington have no alternative except to put these things in proper form. The British Government is quite as able to pay back the money which it borrowed from American investors as to pay back that which it borrowed from His Majesty's own subjects. So far as we are aware, the British Government is much more anxious to meet all its obligations than America is anxious to have the money repaid. There is not the slightest indication in any quarter that the United States means to show a bill-collector's urgency toward France, or toward any other country which cannot now meet the obligation. Obviously, the European governments must put themselves on a solvent basis. They should relieve themselves rapidly of their fallacious burdens of domestic war indebted-

ness. It will require great courage to go on the operating table, but the time has come for financial surgery. European governments now pay their bills very largely by printing and issuing paper money. These financial evils of Europe have an international basis, and they are scarcely separable from the problem of German reparation. It is too much to hope that the Genoa Conference will abolish evils that are so enormous and so general; but it may achieve some initial steps in right directions.

*The Whole  
of Europe  
in Conference*

It is not the absence of America that is chiefly to be noted at the Genoa Conference, but rather the presence of Germany and Russia, along with Germany's recent war partners, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Germany is represented at Genoa by able leaders, with Chancellor Wirth at the front, and with Walter Rathenau, a great master of "big business," who is now Germany's Foreign Minister, as perhaps the most influential of the German group. Russia is represented by a number of prominent members of the Soviet Government, with the Foreign Minister, George Tchitcherin, taking the lead. The presidency of the Conference was by common consent bestowed upon Premier Facta of Italy. The principal spokesman for

France, in the opening sessions, is M. Louis Barthou, Minister of Justice in Poincaré's Cabinet. Having noted the experiences of his predecessor, Premier Briand, at Washington, it appears that M. Poincaré thinks it better for him to remain in Paris. It was so evident that the Genoa Conference must move off on its career of adventure under the dominating management and the oratorical pilotage of Mr. Lloyd George that French prestige would have suffered somewhat if the Premier had gone to Genoa as head of the delegation. It was better to let Minister Barthou and others face the clashes of the opening days.

*It Was  
a Rough  
Launching*

These contacts were in truth rather violent. The Bolsheviks made themselves offensive, and M. Barthou met them with more bluntness than suavity. It took all of Premier Facta's skill as a presiding officer, and all of Mr. Lloyd George's persuasiveness, to keep the Conference from ending in a general row during its first week. The delegations are of very irregular size. Some countries have several hundred, and others four or five. The large delegations, of course, have no advantages. They act in the Conference through their leaders. Thirty-four nations are represented. Although the Conference was called by the Supreme Council, consisting of the Allied Prime Ministers, upon whose decision the invitations were extended to Russia and Germany, it is Mr. Lloyd George's theory that the Conference, once assembled, belongs equally to all participants and ceases to be an affair of the Allies. The physical arrangements at Genoa are not satisfactory; and contrasts are noted by the journalists who enjoyed the conveniences of Washington.

*Lloyd George's  
Vote of  
Confidence*

For several weeks previous to the Genoa Conference, there were critical conditions at home which tested Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition Cabinet to the utmost. For a time it seemed likely that the Prime Minister's resignation might create a condition that would greatly imperil the Conference, or at least require its postponement. But Mr. Lloyd George is at his best when difficulties thicken around him. He has kept his hold, partly because of an efficiency in public affairs that brings one surprise after another, but most of all because there is no clear alternative in sight. At a moment when the tide seemed to be running strongly against him, the Prime



GEORGE TCHITCHERIN, WHO HEADS THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GROUP AT GENOA

(Tchitcherin is Foreign Minister under Lenine, and is one of the few Russians now in authority who were in office under the Czar)

Minister turned his back, went to his modest home in Wales for a few days' vacation and rest, and then informed Parliament and the country that they must choose promptly between accepting his resignation or giving him a decisive vote of confidence. Without such a vote, he could not think of facing the tremendous issues that were to be raised at Genoa. At once the clouds began to clear away. The whole Genoa project had been shaped as Mr. Lloyd George's "show." Its object was to open Russia to European commerce, to find markets for British goods, and to relieve unemployment.

*A Crisis  
Safely  
Deferred*

These were things that everybody in England regarded as of supreme importance. There was no rival leader on the British horizon who dared to promise that he could go to Genoa and play that game successfully. The resolution of endorsement was carefully drawn. It related solely to the approaching Genoa Conference. On behalf of the Lloyd George Government, it was moved that "This House approve the resolutions passed by the Supreme Council at Cannes as the basis of the Genoa Conference, and will support His Majesty's Government in endeavoring to give effect to them." Mr. Lloyd George came back from Wales in his best form and spoke on behalf of this resolution for an hour and a half, making one of the most brilliant and persuasive statements of his entire career. Parliament adopted the resolution by a vote of 372 to 94. In view of the whole political situation in Great Britain, this was as strong an endorsement as the Prime Minister could have hoped for. Its meaning was that England intended to postpone the general election for some time to come, and to give Lloyd George a fair chance, with full prestige, to lead the Conference along the difficult paths outlined in his speech of April 3.

*Opening  
His Greatest  
"Show"*

This endorsement occurred exactly one week before Mr. Lloyd George was making another brilliant speech, the second being on Italian soil, as the chief oratorical feature of the Conference opening. The correspondents declared that "the little Welshman" was in his best form on April 10. It was his Conference, and its success or failure would be his, so far as individual leadership was concerned. At the outset, he called it the greatest gathering of European nations in all history, and proceeded:



PREMIER DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, WITH HIS DAUGHTER, MISS MEGAN LLOYD GEORGE, IN THE PREMIER'S LIBRARY AT CHECKERS, ENGLAND, BEFORE STARTING TO THE CONFERENCE AT GENOA

"We meet here on equal terms. We are not here as Allied or neutral States; we are not here as belligerents or neutrals. We do not come together as Republicans, Monarchists, or Sovietists. We are here as the representatives of all the peoples of Europe to seek out in common the best methods of restoring the shattered prosperity of this continent."

That some measure of real success may attend Mr. Lloyd George's efforts must be the ardent desire of all right-thinking people.

*Poincaré  
Also  
Endorsed*

It is to be noted that on April 3, when the House of Commons gave its vote in favor of Lloyd George, and his Genoa plans, a corresponding resolution was pending in the Chamber of Deputies at Paris. Premier Poincaré, on Saturday, April 1, had outlined his views, emphasizing particularly the French demands regarding Russia, and insisting that the Conference must adhere to the Versailles Treaty so far as Germany is concerned. The Chamber of Deputies sustained M. Poincaré by a vote of 484 to 78. In the original plan of the Conference, as adopted by the Supreme Council at Cannes, Russia's invitation was conditioned upon recognition of the property rights of foreigners including pre-war debts.



While the French Chamber was endorsing Poincaré's severe but correct program, the Russian Bolshevik delegates were halting in Berlin on their way to Genoa; and Messrs. Tchitcherin and Litvinoff, the Russian leaders, received a pleasant surprise when the German Foreign Minister, Dr. Rathenau, put them in possession of the splendid establishment in Unter den Linden which had been the former home of the Russian Embassy, but had been sealed up since 1914. This was regarded in Europe as the most substantial recognition of the Soviet régime that had been accorded by any important government. It was perhaps due to this Russo-German fraternizing at Berlin only a week previous that M. Barthou was at so little pains to use diplomatic phrases in rebuking Tchitcherin on the opening day of the Conference. As these pages were sent to the press, the Conference leaders were wrestling with the stubborn and shifty Bolsheviks in the rather hopeless task of agreeing upon some terms for opening Russia to commerce. How vital to European restoration is reform of the stupendous paper-money expansion of Germany is well set forth by Professor J. Laurence Laughlin in an article which will be found in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS (see page 504).

*British  
Empire  
Issues*

The problems to be discussed at Genoa are not made easier by a multiplicity of issues that are concerning various governments in their domestic relations. It is a mark of confidence in the firmness of their political and economic foundations that the British people can face so many changes without bewilderment or fear. Two highly competent British contributors are portraying, in this number of our REVIEW, the situation in Ireland and the situation in India. Mr. Shaw Desmond, some of whose recent literary work we are mentioning in our notes on new books (see page 555), writes upon the Irish leaders of to-day and to-morrow, and the latest phases of the Irish question. England has gained a victory over herself in this long-continued Irish dispute, subduing her natural instinct for domination. She has given the Irish people a fair chance to settle their own political destinies. In one form or in another, Ireland will be associated with the British nations; and freedom for Ireland will strengthen rather than weaken all useful relationships between the neighbor islands. Mr. P. W. Wilson, who has always favored policies for

the encouragement of the people of India, also estimates justly the value to India of the British connection. He sees that the true policy, in a period of unrest and turbulence, lies in a combination of firm decisions with exceedingly liberal policies. Many Englishmen are to-day criticizing their Government with unsparing severity. That, of course, is their privilege. But the world at large, in following the recent trends of British affairs, finds reason for continuing to respect British integrity, the British sense of justice, and the British love of liberty, as qualities which bid fair to carry the British Empire through its pending transformations.

*Democrats and  
the Game of  
Politics*

The great game of American politics began simultaneously with the baseball season. The Jefferson Day dinner on April 8 at New York opened the discussion of Democratic leaders for 1924. Governor Cox was the principal speaker, and is now regarded as the foremost candidate. He will enter the lists holding aloft the banner of the League of Nations. Senator Pomerene of Ohio will be nominated at the Democratic primaries this season for another term. Mr. Pomerene supported the Hughes treaties last month, being one of twelve Democrats who voted with Senator Underwood. Mr. Cox shared the opinions of Senator Hitchcock and the majority group of Democrats who voted against the Hughes treaties. It was intimated last month that Pomerene might contest Cox's leadership of the Ohio democracy and might himself become a presidential candidate. Mr. McAdoo, for reasons of personal choice, has removed from New York to southern California, where the climate is congenial, and where he finds more opportunity for that out-of-door life that he prefers than is possible in the great Eastern metropolis. Mr. McAdoo as a public character is not the creature of a locality; and in the political sense he loses nothing at all by the transfer from one coast to the other. The Democratic situation, however, will be shaped very largely by the State and Congressional elections of the present year.

*Republican  
Tides Are  
Receding*

Several recent tests have indicated a recession of the high tide of Republicanism. Thus there was an election on April 11 in the Thirty-seventh New York District (of which Elmira is the largest city) to fill the seat vacated by Hon. Alanson B. Houghton, who has gone to



SIX OF THE MOST PROMINENT REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, PHOTOGRAPHED AS THEY WERE CALLING UPON PRESIDENT HARDING TO DISCUSS THE PENDING SOLDIERS' BONUS BILL

(Left to right are: Mr. Mondell, of Wyoming, who is Floor Leader; Mr. Fordney, of Michigan, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee; Mr. Towner, of Iowa, chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs; Mr. Campbell, of Kansas, chairman of the Rules Committee; Mr. Longworth, of Ohio, who is a member of the Ways and Means Committee; and Mr. Fess, of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Education)

Germany as Ambassador. In 1920, Mr. Houghton carried the district by a plurality of 29,750. In the special election, Mr. Lewis Henry, a Republican lawyer of Elmira, ran against Judge Frank Irvine, who is Dean of the Cornell University Law School at Ithaca. It was a Republican victory, but the plurality was only about 2500. Judge Irvine was a strong candidate, and he made a point of opposing the Volstead act, while Mr. Henry appealed to the "drys." This particular issue was regarded as dominant; nevertheless the Democrats were entitled to find in it some indications favorable to their party. An election in Maine to fill a vacant Congressional seat had on March 20 shown Democratic gains, although the Republicans carried the district. In certain municipal contests there have been marked indications of Democratic recovery. This, however, was fully expected, and proves nothing in particular. It is frankly admitted by the Republicans that they will not win as many Congressional seats in November, 1922, as they captured in 1920. We have already expressed the opinion that it would be best for the country to elect a Congress that will work with President Harding and the

Administration through the second half of the Presidential term. Deadlocks between the President and Congress are likely to hurt the country, and they benefit nobody.

Many of the political candidates *Primaries and "Machine" Politics* have two distinct ordeals ahead of them; first, that of the primary elections occurring at various dates during the spring and summer, and finally, that of the polls in November. Envied by their less fortunate political friends are those Senators and Congressmen whose renominations will be accorded without serious contest. Generally speaking, the incumbent has advantages in these primary elections over other aspirants. For example, the Republican members of the House of Representatives who were elected in 1920 with President Harding are, as a rule, supported for another term by the regular party organization in their districts; and the "machine" everywhere has learned how to control a primary system that was instituted a few years ago for the express purpose of weakening the grasp of organized politics. Controlling the primaries, however, is a very different matter from winning the election in November. Further-

more, the primaries undoubtedly afford the voters a chance to defeat the machine in the selection of candidates, when some issue is at stake which considerably disturbs the normal lethargy.

*Some  
April  
Surprises*

This, for example, is what seems to be happening already in the earliest of the primaries. Thus the Illinois nominations were made as early as April 11. There were some surprises that affected Washington rather sensationally. Congressman Ira C. Copley, of the Eleventh Illinois District—serving his seventh term in the House, a prominent member of the Ways and Means Committee, and strongly indorsed by Chairman Fordney and other leaders—was defeated in the primaries by Frank R. Reid. Mr. Copley was identified with the soldiers' bonus bill that had been railroaded through the House late in March, and he was urgently supported in the recent contest by the American Legion. His opponent, Mr. Reid, stumped the district against the bonus, while also favoring modification of the Volstead act. It was not understood that Mr. Copley was defeated on personal grounds, but chiefly upon the bonus issue. Congressman Clifford Ireland, of Peoria, was defeated by William E. Hull. Ireland is said to have been one of the most active supporters of the bonus legislation, while Hull opposed it. It remains to be said that Ireland was supported by the dries, and that the Prohibition question may have affected the contest not less than the bonus.

*The Bonus  
in Active  
Politics*

It should be borne in mind that the soldiers' bonus bill was passed in the House on March 23 by vote of 333 to 70, with only four hours of debate, under a rule preventing amendment. This urgency bore no relation at all to the necessities of the service men, but was wholly due to political pressure. Congressmen were informed that to oppose the bill would be to commit political suicide. Some of them began to suspect by the middle of April that they had been stampeded by false alarms. The position of the bill in the Senate, where it had been slated to pass quite promptly, became somewhat less certain. Doubt began to be cast upon the strength and influence of the American Legion leaders who had been pushing the bill. It was reported last month that the aggregate membership of the Legion had dwindled until it included less than 10 per cent. of the men who had worn

the army uniform, while the Legion itself was far from unanimous in its demand for the cash bonus. Evidently the country realizes that the Government is already spending more than a million dollars a day for the disabled service men, and expects to do much more in future. But there is growing indignation against the idea of committing the country to ill-considered and costly projects that are financially unsound and dangerous, merely because several hundred politicians had made embarrassing promises in view of an approaching election. There is no one who believes that the bonus bill would have been forced through the House under suspension of rules, but for political exigencies. It would now seem likely, however, that this attempt to get the bonus out of this year's politics by passing it quickly will prove a boomerang. Whether such issues will have as much effect in the primaries as in the November elections remains to be seen.

*Senators  
Seeking  
Endorsement*

Many of the Senatorial contests of the present season will attract national attention. Thus, in Massachusetts, Senator Lodge will obtain his renomination by general Republican consent; but for State offices there are factional contests developing which may affect Republican fortunes in November. It is to be noted that the Democratic leaders everywhere are giving prominence to their intense desire to see Lodge beaten at the polls. This advertising is not unlikely to help the Senator with Massachusetts people. In New York, Senator Calder is expecting a renomination, and his confidence seems to be justified. The Anti-Saloon League does not favor Calder, but if ex-Governor Al Smith should be the Democratic nominee, the wet and dry issue would not be represented. The Pennsylvania primaries will be held on May 16. Situations caused by the deaths of Senators Knox and Penrose require the choice in these primaries of candidates for both Senatorial seats. For one of these seats, Hon. George Wharton Pepper, now serving in the Senate by appointment, will probably be chosen. Mr. Gifford Pinchot is a candidate for Governor. The Republicans of Ohio are hoping to defeat Senator Pomerene, and for a time there were several tentative aspirants. One after another of these, however, had withdrawn in favor of the Hon. Simeon D. Fess, one of the ablest and most respected members of the House of Representatives. Ohio primaries do not occur until August 8.

*Beveridge  
Opposes  
New*

No contest before the primaries has thus far attracted as much attention as the competition between Senator New and ex-Senator Beveridge for the Indiana Republican nomination. A part of this special interest is due to the fact that the Indiana primary date is May 2, while most of the other Senatorial primaries of the country will not be held until August and September. Mr. New is serving his first term in the Senate. His previous career as an Indiana Republican, in journalism and in the State organization, had made him well known to his fellow Hoosiers, but had not given him prominence outside of his State. Mr. Beveridge served twelve years in the Senate with much distinction as a constructive legislator, but lost his seat through one of the periodical party sweeps that brought Indiana Democrats back into office. It is believed by these Indiana Democrats—and by some Republicans—that another such Democratic wave is due in November of this year. Senator Beveridge's period of retirement has been productive of his greatest personal success. This period gave him an opportunity to write his history of John Marshall as a statesman and as Chief Justice—the most original and valuable work in the field of American political and historical writing that has appeared in recent years. Still in his prime, Beveridge is recognized everywhere as in the front rank of Republican statesmen. Whether in office, or in the further



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HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

pursuance of his literary and historical studies, he will count as a leader. Impartial observers report that Mr. New might be relatively stronger in the primaries, with many regular political workers supporting him, than in the ordeal of November. With both men in private life, Beveridge would be the easy winner at the primaries. New may be said to derive his strength in considerable part from the fact that he is the actual incumbent. Beveridge's speeches in the preliminary campaign have been masterly presentations.

*Money  
in the  
Contests*

The use of money in political campaigns has been so much discussed, since the case of Senator Newberry of Michigan was finally settled, that expenditures will be more carefully scrutinized this year than in times past. If Mr. Newberry had seen fit to resign and to



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SENATOR HARRY S. NEW DELIVERING A CAMPAIGN SPEECH BY RADIO FROM HIS DESK IN THE SENATE OFFICE BUILDING TO VOTERS THROUGHOUT INDIANA

make a personal appeal to the voters of Michigan for a renomination, such an example would have won high praise. Incidentally, it would have saved his colleague, Senator Townsend, from some embarrassment at home. Mr. Townsend now comes up for renomination, and he is facing a fight because of his active championship of Newberry. The Michigan primary is not held until September 12. Mr. Townsend has undoubtedly made an excellent record.

*In the  
Western  
Field*

In Wisconsin, on September 5, the Republican voters will pass upon Mr. LaFollette's renomination. It is not likely that Wisconsin will refuse to give Mr. LaFollette another term, although he may fail to dominate State politics. Minnesota Republicans in June will renominate Senator Kellogg without dispute. In Iowa, on June 5, a candidate will be chosen for the seat now held temporarily by Mr. Rawson, who was appointed by the Governor when Senator Kenyon resigned to become a Federal judge. In Nebraska, the Democrats will renominate Senator Hitchcock, who is the leading representative of the Wilson policies on the floor of the Senate. The Republicans are quite likely to support Mr. R. B. Howell, of Omaha, who is Republican National Committeeman for Nebraska. In Nebraska there is still a good deal of feeling on the Prohibition question; and the wets will support Hitchcock, while the dries will come out strongly for Howell if the Republicans make him their candidate. It should be remembered that the Hon. William Jennings Bryan is no longer a citizen of Nebraska, and that he makes Florida his permanent home. The seat of Senator Trammel, of Florida, is to be filled this year.

*The Issues  
Not  
Clear*

It is increasingly evident that this year's political campaigns, not only for the House of Representatives and some thirty-four Senate seats, but also for Governors and local offices in many States, will involve a number of complicated issues. The party out of power usually makes some gains in what are called the mid-term elections. It is the fashion to criticize Congress, but President Harding's Administration has not lost public confidence. Increasing effort is being made to enforce Prohibition under the Volstead law, but in various parts of the country the wet and dry question will figure in the elections. The

bonus question is quite sure to be prominent, the chances being that the earlier activities of the bonus advocates will be more than offset by the later influence of bonus opponents. If President Harding should veto an ill-advised and hasty bonus bill, he would gain more support than he would lose.

*Army  
and  
Navy*

Mr. Harding and his Cabinet have worked earnestly for economy, but they have had a due sense of proportion. A Congress which has been willing to pass a hasty bonus bill under suspension of rules that would involve billions of expense and seriously affect the country's prosperity has been trying to reduce both army and navy well beyond the point of sound judgment. Everyone is willing to have the navy reduced to the limit agreed upon in the treaty that has just been ratified; but to maintain the navy in efficiency, Secretary Denby holds that Congress must provide money enough to pay for a personnel of 86,000 men, while Congress has been proposing to save money by cutting the force down to 67,000. Secretary Hughes, last month, made a statement supporting Mr. Denby and holding strongly to the view that it is our duty to ourselves and the world at the present time to maintain a navy at the line of strength agreed upon. Another important pronouncement of Secretary Hughes last month related to the unpaid sums due to the United States for the cost of our army of occupation on the Rhine. Our troops had shared in this occupation at the urgent request of France and Great Britain; and under the armistice arrangement Germany was to pay the bills. The Allies have been collecting from Germany, but not allowing anything to the United States. The money due this country amounts to the handsome sum of \$241,000,000. The foreign governments have now admitted the justice of the American position. Meanwhile, our last remaining troops have been ordered home from the Rhine, and the Europe that was so tearfully grateful to the United States in 1918 will learn again in due time to be appreciative of the most unselfish intervention in all the annals of this planet.

*Secretary  
Davis on  
Immigration*

We are publishing in this number an article of uncommon interest on the present immigration law and its enforcement, written for us by Secretary Davis of the Department of Labor, under whose direction the work of

the Immigration Bureau is carried on. This article gives the latest data as to arrivals on the 3 per cent. quota plan. It will be seen that before April 1 Italy had sent in her full quota for the fiscal year that ends July 1. Poland had overworked her privileges, while Germany and the United Kingdom had large margins to the good. Secretary Davis describes the working of his plan for dealing with special cases by means of a board of review. The Senate Immigration Committee has reported a bill extending the present 3 per cent. quota plan for two additional years, namely, to July 1, 1924. There has been a good deal of support for the plan of allotting one-half of the immigration business to American ships as an incidental part of a subsidy system. An ingenious but undesirable plan of colonizing Russians, Poles, and other foreigners in South America, Mexico, and the West Indies for a few months, in order to bring them into the United States by virtue of a "loophole" in the existing law, creates a situation that Congress should relieve at once by amendment.

*The Senate  
Tariff  
Bill*

A permanent tariff bill was passed by the House of Representatives on July 21 of last year. It went promptly to the Senate and was referred to the Finance Committee. For nine months it has been the subject of hearings and consideration by that body. The public was beginning to forget we were making a new and exceedingly important tariff measure when, on April 11, news came that Senator McCumber, chairman of the Finance Committee, had reported its bill to the Senate. It is somewhat difficult to compare the schedules of this Senate bill with those of the measure passed by the House, because the Senate's proposed rates are based on the foreign value of goods. Senator McCumber's committee rejected the much-discussed American valuation plan, championed by Chairman Fordney and his Ways and Means Committee of the House. It should be noted, however, that in eliminating this innovation it is provided that in cases where the true foreign value or export value cannot be ascertained to the satisfaction of the appraising officers, due to fluctuations in exchange or other causes, the American value will then be applied.

*Higher Than  
Payne-Aldrich  
Rates*

The rates named in this Senate measure are decidedly higher than those in the House bill, but owing to the different method of

valuation it is doubtful whether the new bill actually provides for as high duties as those proposed by the House. It is certain, however, that the rates are very high and that they exceed those in the Payne-Aldrich bill. The so-called "agricultural bloc" in the Senate has evidently had its say, for the rates on farm products are the highest ever fixed in a permanent tariff measure. Wheat, for instance, carries a duty of 30 cents. In the Payne-Aldrich tariff the rate was 25 cents. The rates on livestock, meats, milk, eggs, grains, fruits, nuts, etc., are substantially higher than those in the House bill.

*A  
"Flexible"  
Tariff*

In no way does the bill now before the Senate differ from former tariff measures so much as in the provisions giving the President broad powers to change the rates according to the conditions he finds confronting him. The reciprocity policy was rejected, as were the penalty duties. On the other hand, authority is given the President "to modify tariff rates either upward or downward within prescribed limits and in accordance with definite rules laid down by Congress, so that the rates may at all times conform to existing conditions." Also the President may change the basis of assessment from the foreign value to the value of the domestic article in the American market when there is any uncertainty. He may impose penalty duties or prohibit the importation of particular goods, if in his judgment this would prevent unfair methods of competition. The President is also empowered to impose additional duties on imports from any country discriminating against our commerce. The controversial item of dyes and synthetic chemicals brings out a recommendation from the Senate Finance Committee that the embargo provisions in the Emergency Tariff Act should be extended one year and that power be given to the President to extend them a year further if it seems wise to him.

*The  
Much-Hoped-for  
Coal Strike*

The coal strike began on April 1, as had been planned and announced. Doubtless due to the extensive discussion in March, the public took very little interest in the matter; it was only for a day or two that the strike news appeared at all on the front pages of the newspapers, and the securities markets kept on in their remarkable advance of prices—even with some acceleration. Yet it was a large matter and one that seemed, in mid-

April, to contain possibilities of a considerable shock yet to come. A half-million miners had quit work, the largest number of strikers in a single craft that ever walked away from their tasks in a wage controversy. The public had been informed that there was an accumulation of coal above ground sufficient for two or three months, and that with 200,000 non-union miners in bituminous fields still producing four or five million tons a week, the subnormal industrial demands for soft coal—subnormal because of the current depression in manufacturing—could be satisfied for an indefinite period. In the anthracite fields there are no non-union miners; but warm weather was at hand and there were ample accumulated stocks.

*Non-Union Men Go Out* In the very first two weeks, however, there were substantial walkouts of non-union men in consequence of the vigorous efforts of the agents of the United Mine Workers. In the middle of April, the miners' officials claimed that at least half of the non-union miners had already joined the strike and that more were coming to them daily. On the other hand, the official report of car-loadings showed that the entire bituminous production for the second week of April was as much as 54 per cent. of the production in the corresponding week last year, when there was no strike. Many men in the coke industry, too, were persuaded to go out in sympathy with the great strike, and certain steel mills were promptly forced to close down. The operators maintained that many miners wanted an Easter holiday anyhow, and that after it was over they would return to work in large numbers. The first weeks of the strike saw no disorder of consequence; and in fact the operators arranged with the unions to retain some thousands of men in the mines to keep them clear of water and prevent permanent deterioration during the shutdown. Thousands of mules were brought to the surface, animals that had not seen the light of day since they began their life-work, and were turned out in great corrals. Both sides settled back for what they expected to be a long trial of endurance. The important unions of railroad workers promised their moral support to the strike; the Kansas miners went out in spite of the State's Industrial Court, and the Longshoremen's Union engaged to refuse to unload any ships bringing coal from Great Britain to relieve the shortage here.

*The Miners' Demands* There are about 400,000 union workers and 150,000 non-union miners in the 10,000 bituminous mines of the country. The union men demanded maintenance of the wage scale made in 1920, for which the basic wage is \$7.50 a day for common labor; a five-day week with a basic six-hour day and overtime pay. The 150,000 anthracite workers in about 300 mines demanded an increase of 20 per cent. in the contract wage rate and \$1 a day more for day labor. The unions accused the operators of bad faith in refusing to go into an interstate conference to discuss new wage scales, as was provided in the agreement of March, 1920, after the strike of 1919 and the investigation of the industry through President Wilson's Bituminous Coal Commission. The unions maintain strenuously that under existing rates and conditions the mine workers cannot earn enough money to live as American workmen should live. They point out that in many instances the miners are able to get only two or three days' work a week, with resulting average earnings that are totally inadequate to provide for themselves and their families. The spokesmen for the miners charge that the operators have seized on this time as a favorable one to break the unions in the coal industry, and have deliberately brought on the strike through failure to go into the promised interstate conference.

*The Operators' Side* Reductions in wages ranging from 17 to 40 per cent. are insisted on by the operators, who maintain that costs of production in the coal fields must come down if people are to be enabled to buy coal freely; and that the only way to bring them down, aside from some possible revision in freight rates, is through deflation of wages in this industry corresponding to the reductions of wages from their wartime peak in other industries. They contend that the increased wages asked for by the anthracite workers, with their other demands, would result in a further increase in the price of coal to the consumer of \$3 a ton, or \$300,000,000 a year added to the public's total coal bill. The operators admit that many men are not able to earn a living now, but they contend that the only way they can come to earn it is to take a lower rate of wages, which will help to reduce the cost of production and the price of coal to the consumers and so stimulate demand as to give the miners many more



working days in the year and much larger actual earnings than they are making under the higher rates. Aside from the rate of wages, the operators are refusing to continue the so-called "check-off" system which began nearly a quarter century ago, and by which the unions require the employers to collect union dues for them by deducting the amount of a miner's dues from his wages. The operators point out that millions of dollars which they themselves have by this means collected are being used against them in the fight to organize non-union fields.



CONGRESSMAN JOHN I. NOLAN, OF CALIFORNIA, CHAIRMAN OF THE LABOR COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE, CONFERRING WITH JOHN L. LEWIS, PRESIDENT OF THE STRIKING COAL MINERS' UNION

*Have the  
Operators  
Broken Faith?*

Accusation that the operators have deliberately broken their agreement to go into a national conference that might have agreed on wages became important when the Secretary of Labor, Hon. James J. Davis, joined the labor leaders in reproaching the employers for bad faith, and when many leading organs of public opinion asserted that this failure to live up to agreements showed that the operators were, just as the miners claimed, choosing this time deliberately to break the power of the union and stop collective bargaining. The chief spokesman for the operators, Mr. Alfred M. Ogle, and his associates have recognized the seriousness of the charge and have defended their course with vigor. In the first place, they point out that more than 200 operators and union leaders are now under indictment for conspiracy in restraint of trade, because of the last national agreement, and that they could not legally go into a new interstate conference while these indictments were alive. They contend, furthermore, that they offered to make State agreements as a substitute and that, as a matter of fact, conditions have so changed in the past two years that a national agreement would be impracticable now in any case.

*Current  
Proposals  
for Remedies*

In the middle of April it looked as if the great strike would drag along for a considerable time and that the situation was apt to grow a great deal worse before it got much better. There are countless bitter denunciations, only too well justified, of the inefficiency, waste-

fulness, and instability of the coal industry as it is now organized—or, rather, unorganized. But there are very few to suggest anything concrete and practicable in the way of reorganizing it. In the hearings before the Labor Committee of the House, Mr. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, recommended nationalization of the coal mines as the only solution; and this may be accepted as the remedy lying in the minds of the workers. By "nationalization" they do not mean government ownership or a fixing of wages or prices. Their idea is that the Government should take over and operate the mines, leaving the ownership in private hands. Another suggestion to end the intolerable situation is based on the theory that the chief trouble at present comes from the greatly varying conditions in 10,000 different mines. It is said that one dollar in labor will produce as much coal in the richest mines as five dollars of labor will produce in the poorest, so that if the price for coal is fixed at a point that will give the poorest mines some profit, the more fortunate operators will make inordinate gains; while if the price is to be at a point where the rich mines will get only a reasonable return, a great number of others will simply have to shut down. This is a condition closely resembling that of the railroads, and the remedy offered is a wholesale consolidation of ownership in the mines in perhaps a half dozen groups, with the result that each group will contain mines of various degrees of productivity and that

the average cost of production for each group will be close to the average for the whole country.

*The Root  
of the  
Trouble*

Whatever the merits of the consolidated group system as a part of a general reorganization, it certainly does not go to the root of the trouble. This seems to be that the coal industry in America is over-developed, over-manned, and capable of supplying much more coal than the public needs to buy. No other proof of this is necessary than the mere fact that within the past two or three months tens of millions of tons have been added to accumulated stocks, while tens of thousands of miners could not get more than half a week's work. Until this deadly poison of regular under-employment in the industry is eliminated, there can be no permanent peace in the relations between workers and employers, nor can there be any reasonable service and prices to the consumer. Nothing has been suggested as a remedy for the situation that goes to the root of the trouble, other than that a captain or captains of industry, with autocratic powers, should take hold of the coal production in America, close up those mines that ought not to be working in this over-developed situation, turn tens of thousands of miners into other occupations than digging coal, and give every man that is left six days of work every week at lower rates than have been obtaining, but with much larger weekly earnings. If there is any other way to abolish what has come to be a veritable public nuisance, it has not been made public.

*Motor  
Makers Bury  
Again*

The evidence of the securities markets is strong that a revival in business and industry of substantial proportions is at hand. Beginning with the better class of bonds, then proceeding to the average investment securities, and finally coming to the speculative industrial stocks and railroads, prices on the exchanges have been rising consistently for a number of months and have been going up much faster in March and April than in the earlier stages of the recovery. Such a sustained movement in stocks and bonds is never without its underlying cause of improved business conditions already arrived—or about to arrive. Among the individual industries that have "come back," none is so remarkable as the business of making and selling motor cars. A year ago it was impossible to find

anyone, except a few hardy optimists inside the motor-car trade, who did not believe it certain that the saturation point had at last been reached and passed; that the productive capacity of our motor manufactories was vastly in excess of any demand that could be looked for within the next few years; and that most of the concerns making passenger cars and commercial trucks were bound to go to the wall, the more lucky ones to be absorbed by the few great units that, entirely self-contained, might continue to earn some profit when nine out of ten of the smaller businesses must give up the fight. But once more the motor industry, which had already had the most spectacular growth and career industrial history has seen, starts up with a vigor that utterly puts to naught these doleful calculations. The production of motor cars for March was the largest of any month since August, 1920; and by April it became certain that more cars will be produced and sold in 1922 than in 1921.

*Some  
Signs of  
Prosperity*

The unexpected and quick return to prosperity includes all branches of the trade: passenger cars, trucks, tractors, and parts. Especially has the better outlook for farmers given impetus to the sale of small and medium-sized tractors. An interesting social and economic fact is apparent. For years we have all been talking about the coming over-production of "pleasure" cars. We have been saying that such and such a person really could not afford a car, and that there must be millions like him who would soon find out that they could not continue to find the money for such an indulgence. Our mistake came in making the phrase "pleasure car." There is no such thing. Ten years ago there was, but now the pleasure car has practically ceased to exist and in its place is the new and, under modern conditions, essential means of transportation for nearly every kind and condition of people. Along with this striking revival of activity in the motor trade has come a decided betterment in the basic steel industry and an even more marked increase in orders to the railway-equipment manufacturers. The standard railroad systems have been, during the past two months, buying hundreds of locomotives and tens of thousands of freight cars. The business of the electrical companies has received a new impetus from the almost frantic enthusiasm of the public for home radio equipment, some of the larger concerns having orders that they cannot fill for two years.



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THE STATUE OF GENERAL GRANT IN WASHINGTON, BY HENRY M. SHRADY, TO BE DEDICATED ON APRIL 27

*The  
Grant  
Centenary*

On April 27 occurs the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ulysses S. Grant, to whom General Lee surrendered at Appomattox in April, 1865, and who was elected President in 1868 and again in 1872. President Harding was expected to speak on this anniversary in the little town of Point Pleasant, Ohio, where Grant was born. The same date had also been fixed for the official dedication of the great memorial statue of Grant in Washington, which stands at the head of the Mall, near the Capitol, and on a direct line from the Capitol to the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial. Several years ago we published in the

REVIEW OF REVIEWS a special article on this memorial with its colossal central figure, its magnificent cavalry and artillery groups, and its other artistic embellishments. The fame of General Grant grows clearer as the years recede and as the sectional and political strife of his time fades away. The Grant Memorial at Washington occupied more than twelve years of assiduous labor on the part of the young sculptor whose model had been awarded the first prize in 1901 by the most competent committee that this country afforded. The newspapers of April 13 recorded the sad news of the death of this sculptor, Henry Merwin Shrady, at New York, on the previous day.



THE TOWN OF POINT PLEASANT, OHIO, WHERE PRESIDENT GRANT WAS BORN ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO  
(From the cement porch on the left, President Harding is expected to speak at the centenary celebration on April 27)



MR. CHARLES M. LORING



DR. CYRUS NORTHROP

Mr. Shrady  
the  
Sculptor

We shall have occasion in a later number to review the artistic career and achievements of Mr. Shrady. He was the son of the late Dr. George F. Shrady, editor of the *Medical Record*, who was a friend of General Grant and attended him in his last illness. Mr. Henry Shrady was a graduate of Columbia College and a law student whose incidental work as an amateur artist proved so successful that he became a sculptor in earnest. While the great monument at Washington will remain as his chief title to fame, he had also executed a number of other statues of notable merit. The very last task upon which he was engaged before the illness to which he succumbed was an equestrian statue of General Robert E. Lee for the University of Virginia—a beautiful work, which is to be put in place in the near future. Mr. Shrady's modelling of horses in action has hardly been equaled by any other sculptor. At the New York University, on Grant's birthday, April 27, Marshal Joffre is to be present at the unveiling of a bust of Grant, this also being the work of Henry M. Shrady. He was a man of the utmost sincerity and modesty. He had become a trained soldier, the better to do his work, and served as an instructor in artillery during the recent war. He was fifty years old last October.

Two  
Great  
Citizens

In our pages last month, we gave attention to the four-volume History of Minnesota by Dr. William W. Folwell that is approaching completion, Dr. Folwell having entered upon his ninetieth year. In recent weeks, two neigh-

bors and associates of Dr. Folwell at Minneapolis, both of them eminent for public services of a more than local character, have passed away. One of these was Dr. Cyrus Northrop, president-emeritus of the University of Minnesota, who was in his eighty-eighth year. Dr. Northrop was a Connecticut man, a Yale graduate of '57, who studied law and edited the New Haven *Palladium* for a few years, then served as professor of rhetoric and English literature at Yale for a full twenty years. He went to Minnesota in 1884, where his strength of character, his knowledge of human nature, and his courage as well as his eloquence, gave him immediate and enduring success. Mr. Charles M. Loring, who died on March 18, was a little older than Dr. Northrop and a little younger than Dr. Folwell, having been born in 1833. He had gone to Chicago from the East and entered business in 1856, but moved to Minneapolis in 1860, when that city was a small village. Through a long and honorable career, he was identified with the development of Minneapolis as a milling center. Mr. Loring, however, has been best known everywhere as the father of the Minneapolis park system. For several decades he was president of the Park Board, and was known throughout the United States as an accomplished and ardent leader in the improvement and the embellishment of our cities. His usefulness was of an active kind to the end of his long and unselfish career.



THE LATE HENRY M. SHRADY AT WORK ON HIS HEAD OF GENERAL GRANT



THE LAST CONTINGENT OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN COBLENZ ON THE RHINE, JUST BEFORE THEIR DEPARTURE FOR HOME

# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From March 15 to April 14, 1922)

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

March 15.—The Senate unanimously adopts the Lodge resolution postponing the repayment by Austria of \$25,000,000 advanced in the form of food, thus permitting Austria to borrow further to aid her starving people.

March 16.—The House votes to permit 2453 aliens temporarily admitted in excess of their national quotas to stay permanently.

March 20.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah charges the existence of a secret understanding in the Pacific between the United States and Great Britain; Secretary Hughes declares the charges absolutely false.

The Senate passes the Post Office Appropriation bill carrying \$623,773,000, an increase of \$63,309,000 over the House figures, mostly for improved highways.

March 22.—The House Naval Committee decides to report a bill limiting navy personnel to 80,000 enlisted men and 6000 apprentices—10,000 less than requested by Secretary Denby as necessary to operate the fleet to the limit fixed by the treaty limiting naval strength.

March 23.—The House, after many months of discussion, passes a Soldier Bonus Bill, 333 to 70; instead of cash payment the bill provides for twenty-year certificates upon which the veteran may borrow; there are alternative provisions for vocational training and farm and home aid.

March 24.—The Senate ratifies the Four-Power Pacific treaty, 67 to 27, only four Republicans (Borah, Johnson, La Follette, and France) op-

posing it; the Brandegee reservation is adopted, 92 to 2, declaring that "there is no commitment to armed force, no alliance, no obligation to join in any defense"; all other proposed amendments are defeated; twelve Democrats vote with the Republican majority.

March 27.—The Senate ratifies unanimously the supplement to the Pacific treaty, excluding the Japanese mainland from the treaty, and also adopts a declaratory statement reserving American rights in the mandated islands and excluding domestic questions.

The House adds \$15,000,000 to the rivers and harbors section of the Army Appropriation bill, voting 158 to 54.

March 29.—In the Senate, the naval limitation treaty is ratified, 74 to 1; and the treaty regulating submarines and poison gas is ratified unanimously.

The House adopts the Senate measure extending the Austrian debt of \$25,000,000 for grain purchases for not to exceed twenty-five years, voting 142 to 50.

In the House, the Army Appropriation bill is passed with \$288,000,000, reducing army strength to 115,000 men and 11,000 officers.

March 30.—The Senate ratifies the remaining treaties; they are: the Nine-Power treaty relating to international policy toward China, 66 to 0, and Chinese tariff revision, 58 to 1.

March 31.—The House passes an appropriation of \$17,000,000 for additional soldier hospital facilities; it is alleged that not one hospital bed

has yet been provided from \$18,600,000 appropriated March 4, 1921, for the same purposes.

April 3.—The House Labor Committee hears John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, describe the advantages of proposed nationalization of the coal industry.

April 4.—The House Labor Committee invites operators of coal mines in the central competitive field to confer with miners on April 10.

In the House, a bill authorizing deportation of aliens convicted of violating Federal or State prohibition laws is passed by vote of 222 to 73.

April 7.—The Senate, voting 44 to 21, authorizes twenty-three additional judges of the United States District Court and one more Circuit Court judge.

April 10.—The House passes the State and Justice Appropriation bill carrying \$26,000,000, after again refusing to pass funds for prosecuting labor unions or farmers' cooperative organizations.

April 11.—In the Senate, Mr. McCumber (Rep., N. D.) reports the Finance Committee's tariff measure; it is estimated to yield \$350,000,000, an increase of \$50,000,000 over the House bill passed in July, 1921; the Senate measure rejects the House's "American valuation" scheme; the President is given authority to increase or decrease prescribed rates by 50 per cent.

The Senate confirms the appointment to the Debt Refunding Commission of Senator Reed Smoot (Rep., Utah) and Congressman Theodore Burton (Rep., Ohio); the other members are Secretaries Mellon, Hughes, and Hoover.

April 12.—The Senate Committee on Education and Labor starts investigating General Semenoff, Siberia, and the operations of France and Japan in the Far Eastern Republic.

### AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

March 17.—Half a million dollars' worth of whiskey is seized on a vessel at New York, with twenty prisoners, after a half-hour pistol battle.

The New York legislature adjourns, after passing nine of the Housing Committee bills; the Katlin blue sky bill is defeated; the Superintendent of Insurance is given control over fire insurance rates.

The New Jersey legislature adjourns, after passing over veto laws for dry enforcement, repeal of the railroad full-crew law, acceptance of the Sheppard-Towner maternity law, and a highway appropriation of \$40,000,000.

Virginia legislators pass a motion-picture censorship bill, creating a commission of three to bar films obscene, vulgar, or likely to incite crime; the legislature adjourns.

March 18.—At Miami, Fla., 505 cases of fine wines and liquors are seized on a private yacht.

March 19.—Gifford Pinchot announces his candidacy for Republican nomination for Governor in Pennsylvania, on a dry-enforcement platform.

March 20.—In Maine, with a vote only half that of 1920, John E. Nelson (Rep.) is elected to the House of Representatives in the Third District.

In Chicago, Prohibition Director Gregory revokes 125 liquor licenses of druggists for filling illegal prescriptions.

The United States Supreme Court upholds the rent laws of New York as a proper exercise of the police power.

March 21.—President Harding nominates Hoffman Philip (Minister to Colombia) as Minister to Uruguay, and fills the Colombian vacancy by naming Samuel H. Piles.

March 22.—Governor J. B. A. Robertson, of Oklahoma, is arrested for bribery in connection with insolvency of the Guaranty State Bank of Okmulgee, where a number of banks have failed; several prominent citizens are also indicted.

March 24.—Former Prohibition Director McConnell, of Pennsylvania, is indicted for fraud in issuing liquor withdrawal permits; forty-six others are also indicted.

March 25.—At Chicago, 350,000 gallons of wine, whiskey, and beer are dumped into the Chicago River by dry law agents.

March 27.—Governor Miller of New York signs a bill extending to homes built before April 1, 1923, the ten-year exemption from taxes.

March 28.—The steam yacht *Edith* is seized by New York officials and a \$300,000 cargo of liquor confiscated.

Governor Miller signs a law prohibiting aliens from teaching in the New York public schools unless they take immediate naturalization steps.

March 30.—The radio telephone is used for the first time in a political campaign by Senator New, who talks from Washington to Indiana voters 600 miles away.

Four dry law violators are each sentenced to four years' imprisonment at Trenton, N. J., the most drastic sentences yet imposed.

March 31.—Six directors of the American Cotton Exchange are indicted at New York City for "bucketing"; i. e., betting against their customers by failing to execute orders.

April 1.—President Harding orders a shake-up in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, dismissing its director, James L. Wilmeth, and twenty-eight executive heads.

April 3.—Four immigration inspectors at New York are indicted for taking graft from incoming aliens.

The Maryland House of Delegates passes the Soldier Bonus bill providing that a \$9,000,000 bond proposal shall be submitted to the people; veterans would receive \$10 for each month of service with 25 per cent. additional for overseas service.

April 4.—Governor Miller signs bills increasing the number of courts and prosecutors in New York City and warns the District Attorney and the police that the crime wave must be checked.

April 7.—The New York City police force is increased by 1192 men.

April 10.—President Harding permits publication of a statement by him that the employees of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving who were dismissed were dropped without impugning their character for the good of the service.

National Prohibition Commissioner Roy A. Haynes, at Philadelphia, announces that fines should amount to two and a half times the \$10,000,000 estimated cost of prohibition enforcement.

The United States Supreme Court holds invalid contracts requiring retailers to handle the prod-



ucts of the selling producer exclusively as lessening competition.

April 11.—The New York Thirty-seventh Congressional District elects Lewis Henry (Rep.), of Elmira, to succeed Hon. Alanson B. Houghton; the high Republican majority of 1920 is cut from 29,750 to 3,000.

Former Assistant Prohibition Director of New York, Herbert G. Catrow, is indicted for conspiracy to defraud the Government.

In the Illinois primaries, two "dry" Congressmen who voted for the Soldier Bonus bill are defeated for renomination by "wet" candidates.

April 12.—The New York State soldier bonus law is signed, providing \$1,000,000 for immediate relief of disabled service men out of employment.

April 13.—The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court holds women now eligible to any State office.

### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

March 15.—The disorders resulting from the South African gold miners' strike are declared definitely suppressed.

March 16.—Sultan Ahmed Fuad Pasha is proclaimed King of Egypt.

The Prince of Wales concludes his tour of India, leaving for Japan on the warship *Renown*.

At Athens, Demetrios Gounaris forms a new cabinet; he was defeated a week previous; George P. Baltazis is Foreign Minister.

March 18.—Mohandas K. Gandhi is sentenced to six years' imprisonment in India as a result of his non-coöperative sedition movement against the British Government. . . . Viscount Peel is named as successor to E. S. Montagu as Secretary for India.

March 20.—On the Irish Free State-Ulster border there is extensive guerrilla fighting between Ulster "specials" (police) and Republican insurgents, the latter raiding the north.

March 23.—A new Chilean Cabinet is formed to succeed the one resigned February 3; Foreign Minister Ernesto Barros Jarpa holds over.

March 27.—The Irish Free State agreement bill passes the House of Lords.

March 28.—Before the German Reichstag, Chancellor Wirth denounces the Reparations Commission for demanding a tax levy of 60,000,000,000 marks by May 31 as impossible and presumptuous.

George Michalski, Polish Minister of Finance, announces that on December 31, 1921, the national debt was 534,000,000,000 Polish marks.

March 29.—At Dublin, the *Freeman's Journal* office and presses are wrecked, supposedly by Republicans; two Ulster special police are killed in ambush at Culloville; 200 Free State troops are put out of Benmore Barracks at Galway by Republican rebels.

In England, 850,000 men are ordered locked out by the Engineering Employers Federation; there is a big strike in the shipyards at Teeside, Middlesbrough, Borrow on the Tyne, Jarrow, and Sunderland.

March 30.—At London, representatives of Ulster, the Irish Free State, and the British Government sign an agreement for equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants on Belfast



AHMED FUAD PASHA, PROCLAIMED KING OF EGYPT

(With the withdrawal of British suzerainty, the former Sultan or Khedive was last month proclaimed King of Egypt)

police, uniforming and numbering of special police, cessation of Republican army activity, and other provisions for securing peaceful conditions.

The Wirth Government in Germany is supported by a vote of 248 to 81 on its reparation policy.

March 31.—King George assents to the Irish Free State treaty, and the British authorities turn over all powers to Messrs. Griffith and Collins; the House of Lords acquiesces in withdrawing its amendments.

April 2.—At Dublin, 3000 rebel troops of the Irish Republican army parade in defiance of the Free State and renounce the Dail Eireann.

April 3.—Lloyd George, making a notable defense of his Genoa policy, criticizing Labor, and twitting the "die hards," wins a 372 to 94 vote of confidence in his premiership.

Premier Poincaré obtains a vote of confidence, 484 to 78, from the French Chamber of Deputies for his Genoa program.

April 4.—The German Reichstag passes Chancellor Wirth's tax program of January 26, compelling a 1,000,000,000 gold marks loan with interest only after three years, repeal of post-war profits tax, passage of a 2 per cent. business tax, a 40 per cent. duty on coal, and fifty marks duty per 100 kilograms of sugar.

April 11.—The Irish Labor party issues a manifesto protesting against the "rule of gun and bomb" by irresponsible individuals.

Hayti elects Luis Borno as President, to succeed President D'Artiguenave.

April 12.—Chow Tzu-chi, former Minister of



Finance, is appointed Acting Premier of China in the absence of Premier Liang Shih-yi.

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

March 19.—The British flag, it is announced, has been raised by a party sent out by Vilhjalmur Stefansson on Wrangel Island, northwest of Alaska.

March 20.—President Harding orders home the American troops remaining on the Rhine.

Washington officials call attention to the discovery and claim of Wrangel Island by Americans, who took possession in August, 1881.

March 21.—The United States buys a palace in Forestal Park, Santiago, for the American Embassy in Chile at a cost of \$146,000, the first American embassy to be purchased in South America.

March 22.—The Reparations Commission demands of Germany 720,000,000 gold marks cash and 1,450,000,000 gold marks in goods this year, with an ultimatum until May 31 to comply with certain economy and tax provisions, as laid out at the Cannes Conference.

Secretary Hughes demands of the Allies priority of payment for the cost of America's Rhine army, on a parity with them.

March 26.—Allied Foreign Ministers sign an agreement for revision of the treaty of Sevres demilitarizing the Dardanelles; Constantinople and Eastern Thrace are to be held by Turkey; Greece gets Adrianople and the Gallipoli Peninsula; Smyrna is under special régime, but all the rest of Asia Minor is to be Turkish.

March 28.—The Swiss Government sends a 150-page report on the Colombia-Venezuela boundary dispute to the respective parties; the decision in general favors Colombia; a commission is to settle specific frontier questions on the ground before December 31, 1924.

March 30.—Austria, ratifying the statutes of the International Court of the League of Nations, is the sixteenth nation to sign the obligatory jurisdiction clause.

April 1.—The Panama Government assigns a \$500,000 site to the Gorgas Memorial Institute.

April 3.—Japanese forces report an attack by Chita troops near Spasskoye, after a demand by the Japanese that the Far Eastern Republic troops disarm.

April 4.—Great Britain notifies France that upon demand by the United States for interest on British war debts, Britain will require France to pay interest to her on French war debts.

April 6.—General Gregory Semenov, the former Siberian anti-Bolshevik leader, is arrested in a civil debt action on his arrival at New York City.

April 7.—Britain concedes the right of the American Standard Oil Company to explore in Palestine mandate territory for oil.

April 8.—Turkey accepts the Allied armistice proposals and will begin negotiations in three weeks to end fighting with Greece, asking that the evacuated Greek army be not transferred to Thrace; the French and British governments require the Turkish Nationalists at Angora to accept in principle before asking Greece to evacuate Smyrna.

At Rome, the conference of the Succession States ends successfully, with forty treaties on national debts, pensions, and so forth, between former constituent parts of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire.

April 9.—Shantung evacuation is begun by Japan, with the departure of 500 troops from Tsingtao.

April 10.—An economic conference is opened at Genoa, with delegates from Germany and Russia as well as from the Allied nations; the Italian premier, Facta, presides; Lloyd George says: "Europe needs quiet; we can get peace if we act together, but not if we act in a spirit of greedy vigilance over selfish interests." . . . M. Barthou of France refuses to consider M. Tchitcherine's Bolshevik suggestions for general reduction of armies.

Germany, replying to the Reparations Commission's demands, refuses to create new taxes of 60,000,000 marks or submit to financial control by the Allies, but offers to furnish any information desired.

April 11.—At Genoa, M. Tchitcherine objects to Japanese and Rumanian participation, but is overruled by Lloyd George. . . . The report of Allied experts who met at London outlining plans for restoring Russia and Europe financially is handed to Tchitcherine; it provides for recognition of financial engagements of all Russian governments and authorities, fundamental changes of laws, and protection of foreigners.

Great Britain lines up with France



THE MONUMENT TO ADMIRAL PEARY IN THE ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY, UNVEILED ON APRIL 6, THE THIRTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH POLE

and Belgium in disclaiming in separate notes any desire to question the United States' claim for reimbursement of the Rhine army costs on a parity with the Allies.

April 12.—The Prince of Wales arrives at Tokio.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

March 15.—Anthracite coal miners and operators confer at New York City on a wage agreement to replace that expiring March 31.

March 16.—At Buffalo, N. Y., thirty railroad detectives, saloonkeepers, and merchants are accused of freight thefts amounting to \$6,000,000 in the past three years; arrests are made.

March 21.—John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, issues official orders to 600,000 men to stop work in the coal mines of the United States and Canada.

March 23.—The British submarine *H-12* is rammed by the destroyer *Versatile* and sunk with all hands.

March 24.—The Ford automobile plant announces a permanent policy of a forty-hour, five-day week.

March 25.—A bottle is picked up off Cape Lookout Lighthouse containing a note which states that the U. S. collier *Cyclops* was sunk by a German submarine in 1918.

March 29.—The last consignment of soldier dead arrives at New York; 45,000 bodies have been brought back from Europe.

Railroad engineers and firemen fail to agree on wages with the managements, and the Railroad Labor Board sets a hearing after April 15.

The Census Bureau announces that foreign-born residents who do not speak English compose 11 per cent. of the United States population.

March 30.—Two Portuguese aviators, Captains Sacadura and Contino, fly from Lisbon to Las Palmas, Canary Islands, on the way to Brazil.

March 31.—Coal miners numbering 600,000 go on strike throughout the United States, leaving engineers and pumpmen at the mines to protect property; 6000 mines are closed.

April 5.—The two Portuguese aviators fly from the Canary Islands to the Cape Verde Islands, on their way to Brazil.

April 7.—Two airplanes in the Paris-London air passenger service collide and crash to earth at Grandvilliers; seven are killed.

April 8.—In Texas, tornadoes and rainstorms cause over a hundred casualties with seventeen deaths; Oklahoma and Arkansas also suffer.

April 10.—While the thermometer at New York reaches 82° and at Boston touches 85°, Leadville, Colo., reports 8° above zero, and an eight-inch snowfall is reported from Lander, Wyo.

#### OBITUARY

March 15.—George Vincent Wendell, professor of physics at Columbia University, 50.

March 16.—Rev. Charles Eugene Betticher, editor of the *Spirit of Missions*, 40. . . . James Wilburforce Longley, Justice of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. . . . Carl Otto Langley, cellist and composer, 70.

March 20.—Edward Arthur Walton, Scotch

water-color artist, 61. . . . Lieut.-Gen. Baron Max von Hausen, former commander of the 3rd Saxon Army, who was accused of ordering bombardment of Rheims Cathedral, 75.

March 21.—Rear Adm. Joseph Gerrish Ayres, U. S. N., retired, 82.

March 24.—Cesare Zocchi, well-known Italian sculptor. . . . Baron Denys Cochin, French Royalist and statesman, 73. . . . Frank L. Brown, secretary of the World Sunday School Association, 59.

March 26.—Ernest Alfred Vizetelly, English author and journalist, 69. . . . Dr. David Gifford Willets, medical zoologist of Atlantic City, N. J.

March 28.—N. Naboukoff, former Russian Secretary of State under Prince Lvoff. . . . Edwin Upton Curtis, Boston Police Commissioner, 61. . . . Henry P. Nawn, Boston subway builder, 66.

March 29.—José Rufina Bezerra, Brazilian sugar king, Governor of Pernambuco.

March 30.—Pedersen Myskov, Speaker of the Danish Folketing since 1913.

April 1.—Charles I, the deposed Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, 35. . . . Jean Note, famous Belgian baritone, 63. . . . Gertrude Page, English novelist.

April 3.—Cyrus Northrop, president emeritus of the University of Minnesota, 88. . . . Rev. Archibald Giekie Brown, widely known Baptist clergyman of London, 77.

April 5.—Frederic Villiers, noted war correspondent and artist, 70. . . . Baron Woeste, Minister of State for Belgium. . . . William Sampson, comedian and character actor, 63. . . . John H. Murphy, publisher of the *Afro-American*, of Baltimore, 81.

April 7.—Charles L. Seabury, marine architect, 61. . . . Brig.-Gen. John Milton Thompson, U. S. A., retired, 79. . . . James C. Jenkins, former Philippine jurist, 69. . . . Alfred Venn Dicey, noted Oxford professor, 87.

April 8.—Matteo Bensenan, Russian composer, 45. . . . Dr. Henry Lowndes Lynah, noted throat specialist, 43. . . . Mrs. Elizabeth Campbell Winter, actress and author. . . . William Warner, Pittsfield (Mass.), naturalist, 82.

April 9.—General Erich von Falkenhayn, former German Minister of War and Chief of Staff, 62. . . . Sir Patrick Manson, noted English parasitologist, 78.

April 10.—Irving Webster Drew, of Lancaster, N. H., former United States Senator, 77. . . . Charles Montgomery Benton, well-known financial publisher, 62. . . . Mrs. Marion Howe Hall, of High Bridge, N. J., author and suffragist, 77.

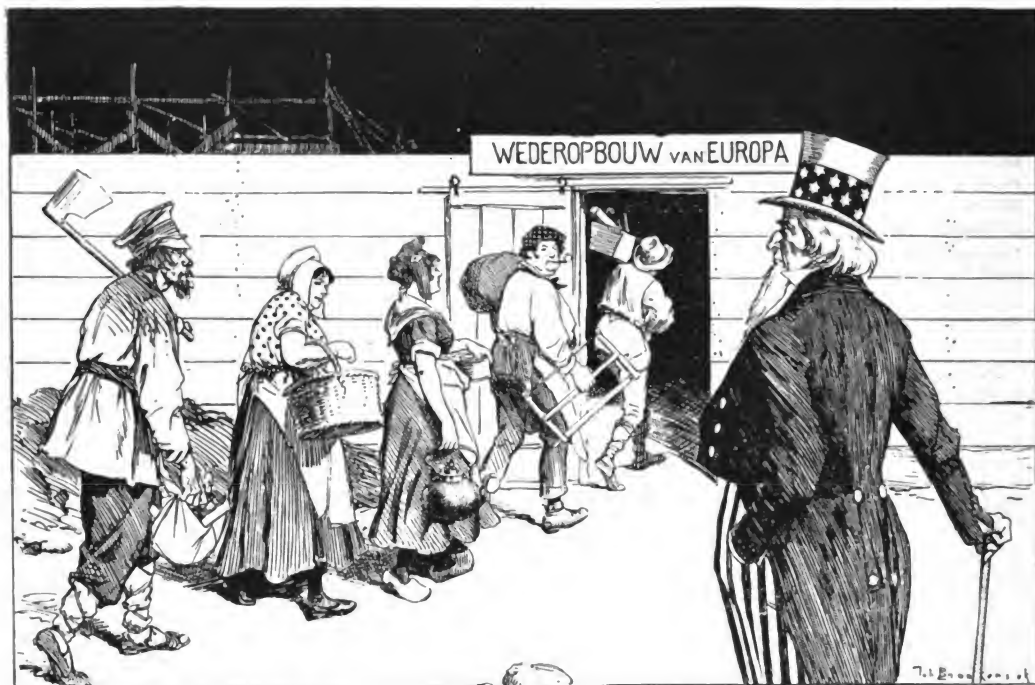
April 11.—Michael H. Walsh, of Woods Hole, Mass., originator of rambler roses, 74.

April 12.—Henry Merwin Shady, noted American sculptor, 51 (see page 470). . . . William Newton Best, inventor, 62.

April 13.—Sir Ross Smith, noted English aviator, who flew from England to Australia for the first time. . . . Representative Samuel Mitchell Brinson, of the Third Congressional District of North Carolina, 50. . . . Thomas Burt, British labor leader, 84.

# SOLVING WORLD PROBLEMS

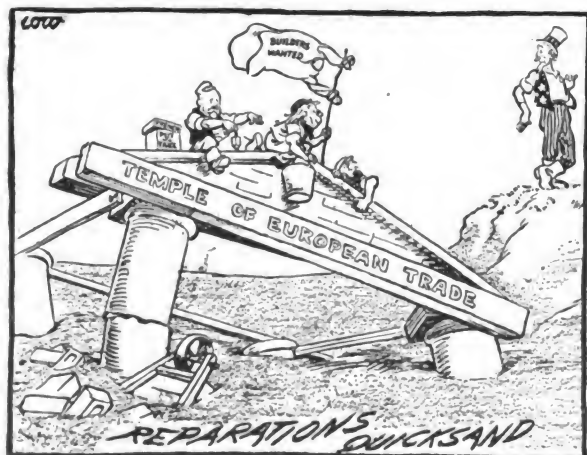
AS SHOWN IN CARTOONS



## AMERICA'S REFUSAL TO GO TO GENOA

JONATHAN: "I'll remain outside while they are building."

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



UNCLE SAM: "NOTHIN' DOIN', BOYS, ON THAT SITE!"

From the *Star* (London, England)



## A CARD PARTY

RUSSIAN DELEGATE: "I wonder if those two swindlers [Lloyd George and Poincaré] are foolish enough to imagine that I shall be the only one to play square?"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



INAUGURAL SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT GENOA

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

A NEW POWER IN EUROPE—THE "LITTLE ENTENTE"

[With Premier Benes (or Benesch) of Czechoslovakia as spokesman; the other countries being Jugoslavia, Rumania, and Poland]

From *Kikeriki* (Vienna, Austria)

In the French cartoon above, the reader will recognize the gagged figures of Poincaré and Lloyd George playing cards, while on the opposite side of the table are persons representing nations more or less outside the inner circle in European affairs—including the United States, Germany, Russia, and Turkey. The placards read: "Silence on disarmament!"; "No mention of the Versailles Treaty!"; "Attention to the question of Debts!"; "Be careful of the Orient!"; "Do not speak slightly of the Soviets!"



COLLECTING EUROPE'S DEBT TO AMERICA

UNCLE SAM: "I divide the European debt into twenty-five parts, and collect one each year."

WILSON: "And at the end of twenty-five years?"

UNCLE SAM: "I have a clean table."

From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)

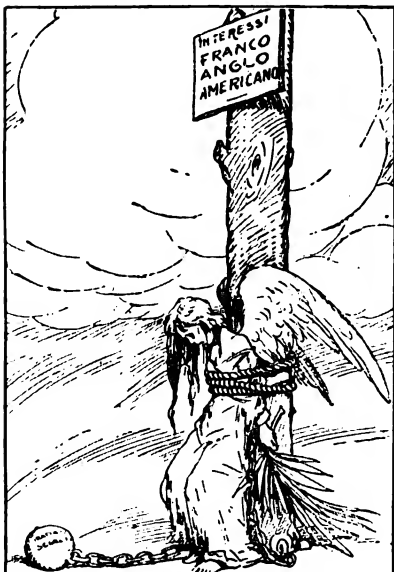


THE FOOLISH DOVES WHO INVITE A VULTURE TO THEIR NEST  
From *John Bull* (London, England)

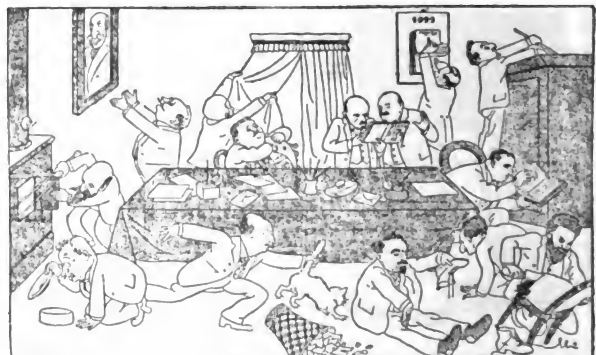
While the economic conference at Genoa, Italy, has figured most conspicuously in the cable dispatches, there are other problems—and some individuals—which have drawn out the interpretive skill of the foreign cartoonist. Lloyd George continues to afford rare opportunities. So also does De Valera. The Turkish cartoon at the right is particularly interesting, and with the Polish drawing on the opposite page it shows that the ability to write an editorial with an artist's pen is not confined to the press of the more important nations.



TRYING TO PUT THE WORLD ON ITS OLD AXIS  
(Is Constantine of Greece the only stumbling block?)  
From *Ay-Dédé* (Constantinople, Turkey)



PEACE, AND THE CONFERENCE AT GENOA  
(Will this great conference liberate her, or add more chains?)  
From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



FINDING A PROGRAM—THE FIRST QUESTION FOR THE NEW  
MINISTRY OF PREMIER FACTA, IN ITALY  
From *Il Travaso* (Rome, Italy)





MR. LLOYD GEORGE, AS MAID OF ALL WORK: "THERE THEY GO AGAIN! ALL THE BLESSED BELLS RINGING AT ONCE! I'M GETTING TIRED OF THIS PLACE  
From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)



DE VALERA SOWING TARES  
From the *Westminster Gazette*  
(London, England)

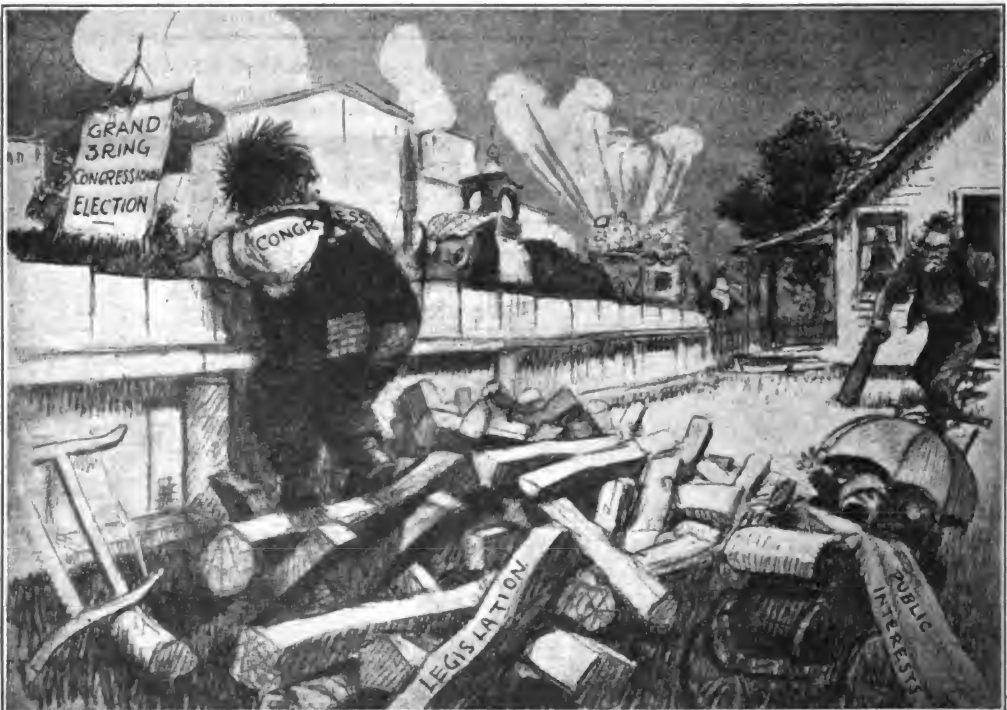


TRouble FOR ENGLAND  
JOHN BULL: "It was bad enough with that Irish terrier, but Heaven knows how it will be with this Indian tiger!"  
From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)



CONGRESS AS THE "PRINTER'S DEVIL" IN THE WORKSHOP OF PRESIDENT HARDING

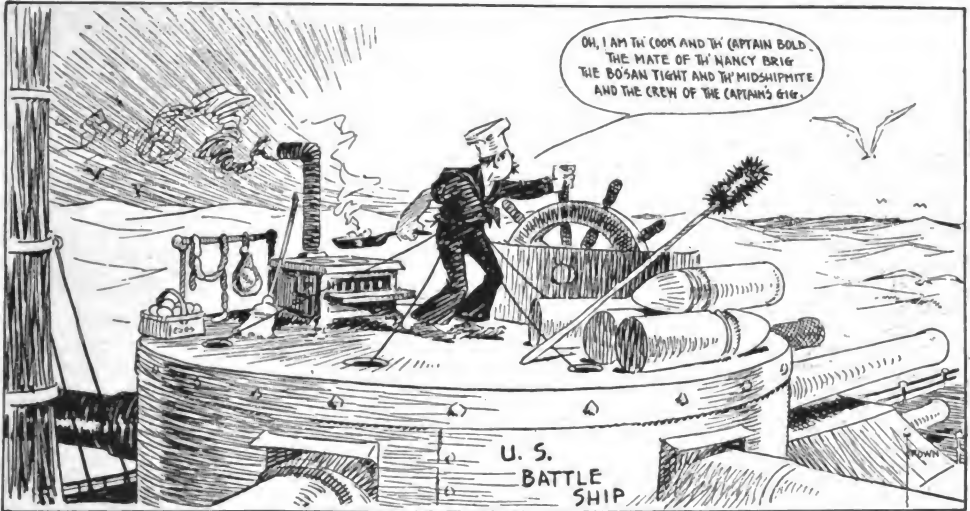
From the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia, Pa.)



CIRCUS DAY—WE MIGHT AS WELL GIVE UP TRYING TO GET ANY WORK OUT OF HIM UNTIL AFTER THE PARADE

From *Collier's* (New York)

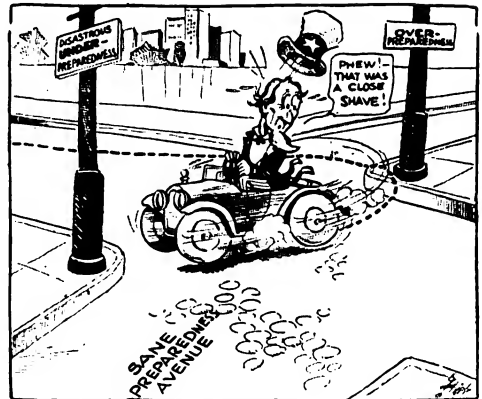




WILL THEY CUT IT DOWN TO THIS?  
From the News (Chicago, Ill.)



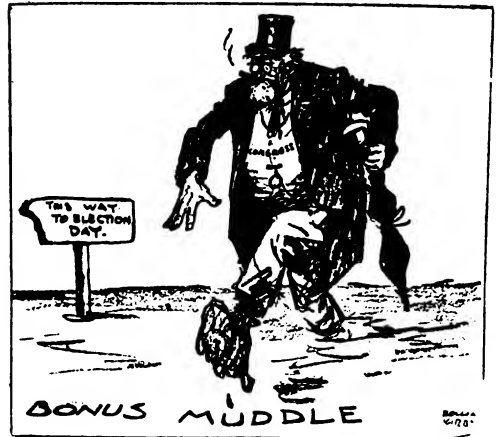
ARE OUR LESSONS OF THE LATE WAR SO  
SOON FORGOTTEN?  
From the Bee (Sacramento, Cal.)



HI, UNCLE! WATCH WHERE YOU'RE STEERING!  
From the Tribune (Sioux City, Ia.)



JUST ONE THING AFTER ANOTHER  
By Berryman, in the Star (Washington, D. C.)  
May—3



HE TRIED A SHORT CUT  
From the World (New York)



HE LEARNED TO STICK IN FRANCE  
From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)

The business depression which began in the fall of 1920 is taking a long time to leave us, in the opinion of *Forbes Magazine* as expressed in the cartoon reproduced below; but belief is nearly unanimous that the undesirable visitor is at last on its way. The almost complete cessation of work in the hard-coal and soft-coal



A LONG TIME SAYING GOOD-BYE  
UNCLE SAM: "Hurry up, dear, Miss Prosperity's on the phone."  
From *Forbes Magazine* (New York)



WAITING UNTIL THERE IS A CRISIS  
From the *Tribune* © (New York)

[The vessel *Government Aid* is sending by radio the cheering message: "When it gets serious let us know!"]

mines of the whole country, on April 1, because of disagreement regarding wages and hours of labor, will not help to restore the much-discussed business "normalcy." Fortunately for the individual citizen, the household user of coal, the shut-down has come at the end of winter; and while coal bins are empty there will be no real hardship. With the steel mills and railroads, however, the shortage may become acute.



SCUTTLED!  
From the *News* (Rome, Ga.)

# PARIS—THREE YEARS AFTER

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. IN RETROSPECT

A MONTH ago I wrote from London describing something of the astonishing political situation existing there. Now I am writing from France with the Genoa Conference in the immediate foreground. Before this article can be printed, at least the opening sessions of this conference will be a matter of record; and I shall seek, therefore, rather to record a certain number of European impressions than to deal with any political forecasts.

Coming back to France after nearly three years of absence, nothing is more striking than to discover how completely the war has vanished from the immediate vision, save only in the devastated areas—and how completely its problems remain the dominant facts in all the discussions in the press and in the Parliament.

Three years ago Paris was the center of the world, and one might see the uniforms and the statesmen of all of the Allied countries on every side. To-day all uniforms, even French, have well-nigh disappeared. In the quarters where the conference was once the cause of congestion, one almost feels a sense of emptiness. The Crillon Hotel is rather like a historical monument than a hotel. The Place de la Concorde seems deserted, now that American sentries and German cannon have disappeared.

And yet, the moment one begins to talk with French men and women one feels how little has been settled; indeed, how much has been complicated by the years which have succeeded the Paris Conference and the disappearance of American armies and American representatives from the continent of Europe.

You have a sense, on every side, that the little folks—the "plain people" of our political phrase—have gallantly and tirelessly set to work to repair, as best they could, the ruin of the war. But also you have, quite as clearly, the sense that such labors as they have been able to perform, enormous considering their resources, are as nothing by

comparison with that political chaos which remains.

In a word, to put the thing frankly, with every reservation due to the fact that my observation is limited to a month, the impression which I gather from Paris, even from London, is that Europe continues politically and financially to disintegrate. To-day, as every day since the armistice, the problem remains too vast for any contemporary statesmen or politicians, whose attention and interest are fixed, necessarily perhaps, upon their own fortunes in the French Chamber or the British House of Commons.

If there is optimism—and there must be—it is not to be found in the political phases of any nation whose conditions may be viewed from London or from Paris. In so far as the nations which made up the alliance that conquered Germany are concerned, no one can mistake the separation which has followed the brief association. To-day Britain and France are farther apart than at any time since the remote days of Fashoda. Between France and Italy there is the old gulf of hostility, widened by new and still open wounds.

Looking eastward there is something which suggests chaos, mitigated a little by the recent association of a few states, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, with Poland, in what is called the "Little Entente," an association which is seeking to establish something of order in the region we have come to call "Balkanized Europe," but finds itself halted and paralyzed by Anglo-French differences.

At the moment when I write, a new International Conference has just fixed a frontier for European Turkey, and has undertaken to bring Greek troops back out of Asia Minor. What does this mean? Simply that France and Britain have fought a war in Asia, using Turkish and Greek troops; and that now, with certain results established, they desire to arrange a truce. No one, British or French, imagines that the new frontiers just drawn will last longer than those outlined in the Paris Conference. Only

one more compromise to gain time has been arranged—that is all.

And with the Genoa Conference just ahead, Paris was saying, with great frankness and perhaps a little malice, that it cannot possibly succeed in doing one useful thing. Italy half agrees, with a few voices raised to say that the reception of Russia into the European fold again will be of utmost importance. Meantime, in Great Britain, where the political crisis always endures, the supporters of the Prime Minister insist that Genoa in 1922 will be more important than Paris was in 1919, while Mr. Lloyd George's opponents insist that it is the last desperate gamble of a politician who feels the stage crumbling under his feet.

One thing is certain: Genoa does not in any sense represent an ordered, considered gathering of European nations. There is not yet even a semblance of agreement. It is to be a battle of many different contending and hostile policies and nations. Germany will have gone there to receive her first recognition as an equal; but she goes eager and ready to turn to advantage the obvious differences between her conquerors. Poincaré, who will not go from Paris, will manifestly seek to block the efforts of Lloyd George in the conference.

Looking from the European observatory, I cannot believe that any American will regret the fact that the United States will not be represented at Genoa. If Europe were really agreed, ready to act in even reasonable concert, to deal with certain dominating difficulties, then it might be of the utmost importance for the United States to attend. But the simple fact is that Genoa will be—must be—given the spirit which animates the nations which are to attend—a battleground between national policies. In addition, it will be a desperate fight of the prime ministers of several great nations to rehabilitate or fortify themselves at home by a positive or negative success abroad; that is, either by establishing a personal policy or by blocking the policy adopted by the chief of another nation.

And, in its last analysis, Genoa will be, even more than the Washington Conference was, a battle between France and Britain, in which British policy will again be to isolate France and then coerce her, by the concentrated strength of the countries which have rallied to British leadership, among which will certainly be the Republic of Germany and Russia.

## II. FRANCE TO-DAY

Now what is the mood of France to-day? In many ways the saddest and bitterest that I have ever seen. I came here fresh from the Washington Conference, and eager to discover what in France had been the reaction of an international conference in which, in America, it had seemed that France had played a purely destructive part. With Briand gone, with a new government in power, what would France think of her American policy?

What she thought remains a little difficult to express, and yet is unmistakable. France felt, and feels, that while she sent blundering representatives, who neither understood the situation nor paid the smallest regard to American feelings, yet she was far more the victim of Washington than even of the Paris Conference. France felt that this American gathering simply marked one more of the occasions in which France has been sacrificed either to the political or the commercial self-interests of those who were associated with her in the war.

Above all, France deeply and passionately resents the American criticism of her armament policy. I do not believe that any thoughtful American here will discover any considerable evidence of militarism. Neither French statesmen nor French soldiers talk in the old familiar German strain of annexing provinces or crushing border states. No, the thing that one hears on all sides and in every milieu, the dominant note in all French talk, is that Germany is preparing a war of revenge and that America, who will not promise the smallest aid if Germany attacks, is asking that France weaken herself in the presence of the German menace.

Time and absence from France serve a little to separate one from the French point of view as to Germany. It is easy in Snowville, New Hampshire, or Washington, D. C., to come to look upon the German menace as rather academic. But when one comes to Paris over fields which are still marked by German devastation, to find the mass of men and women with whom one talks still profoundly and vitally concerned with the reality of the next German attack, it is equally hard not to become sympathetic and even convinced.

But I am not trying here to argue. I am trying to represent a state of mind. France, the mass of the French people, feels that the German peril is desperately real, that some

time, as soon as France is weakened by her allies or Germany has recovered strength, thanks to the intervention of those nations which once fought beside France, Germany will attack again. They ask—the question is to be heard on all sides; it has been asked me a thousand times—"Do the Americans know how Germany is arming in secret? Have they read the figures and the official reports?"

It is incomprehensible to the French mind that while, as they are convinced, Germany is preparing this new war, France should be asked to reduce her armies in the face of the coming attack, and is held to be militaristic because she does not reduce her forces more rapidly. She has already reduced by one-half the length of her period of army service as compared with 1914. And what cuts deepest, I believe, is the fact that France, which feels herself certain to be attacked, is denounced as militaristic, while not one word is said of Germany, merely because the German preparation is secret, while the French is public.

Then there is a second protest. The United States asks France to pay the debt contracted during the war. But France is totally bankrupt if she does not obtain from Germany at least a portion of the reparations. France has poured billions into her devastated area. In point of fact it is not the expenditure for armies or for navies which is breaking the financial back of France—these expenditures are relatively insignificant—but it is the sums which are going to restore the regions in the north and east where the German spread destruction.

Now the Frenchman does not say, "I will not pay." No, he simply says, "I cannot pay, unless Germany pays me." But the American seems to demand that the Frenchman shall at the same time consent to sweeping reduction of German reparations, and to the integral maintenance of the figure of American debts. But why should the American ask that the Frenchman display toward the German a lenience which the American is totally unwilling to show toward France? This again is a familiar interrogation.

So far France has spent many billions in rebuilding the factories, the roads, the railways in the devastated area. So far she has not received one penny from Germany for this purpose. Every Frenchman believes that Germany will never pay at any time save under the pressure of the French army. But the United States seems to demand that the army be reduced and yet in the same breath

asks that France pay the United States, when France has no other conceivable resource save only that which might be supplied by German payments.

I do not think it is possible to conceive of a more complete misunderstanding, or, what is even more serious, a more complete antithesis of ideas, than that existing between American and French publics to-day. France feels that she has been abandoned by America and Great Britain, after America and Britain at the Paris Conference had persuaded her, in return for a guarantee against German aggression, to surrender some of the most legitimate fruits of her victory.

She feels that on every succeeding occasion she has been asked in each international gathering to resign something more of security or of reparation. She sees that while the British obtained security by the removal of the German fleet, profit by the annexation of the German colonies, and advantage by the elimination of the German mercantile marine, France has nowhere received anything commensurate.

But now, because French claims for reparations conflict with British economic needs for the German market, and with similar American needs, France sees herself asked to make still greater concessions in return for—nothing, so far as the Frenchman can see at the present moment.

### III. THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

As to the Washington Conference, the Frenchman asks: "Why should the United States seek to reduce me forever to the rank of a third-class naval power and place me and Europe generally under the enduring control of the British fleet?" Before the war the French navy was stronger than the Japanese, and it had only very recently been passed by the American. During the war France spent all her resources in manufacturing shells and cannon. She scrapped her battlefleet, then building; she has never resumed the construction.

But what the Frenchman does not understand is why, simply because he was compelled during the war to make this sacrifice, he should be asked hereafter to accept this position as final. "Why," he asks—I have heard the question scores of times—"why does the United States desire to put the French at the mercy of the British completely in Europe?"

Moreover, the naval item has a clear military meaning. France has come to rely more and more upon her African colonies for troops. She used hundreds of thousands in the last war, and she will use many more in the next. But how is she to insure the transport of these troops across the open sea, if she has not adequate fleet protection, if her Mediterranean fleet is not strong enough to cover this operation, as it did, remember, in 1914? And at the Marne, African troops played a notable part.

It is clear to Frenchmen now that if Germany attacks again the Americans will not come. They no longer expect the British. But they do expect the attack, and they do believe that they can repulse it only if they are able to reinforce their metropolitan by their colonial armies. But the fleet, as restricted in Washington, as outlined in the Hughes program, seems to them inadequate for this task, and to-day Paris openly talks of imposing reservations upon the naval clauses of the Washington agreements which shall enable France to increase her fleets in the near future.

From the French point of view the reservation appended by the United States Senate to the Four-Power Treaty established a precedent which permits France to append a reservation to the Five-Power Treaty; and perhaps even before this article is printed you will see that such a reservation has actually been adopted by the French Senate. Such a reservation will insist upon the French right to build a larger fleet. It will be based upon the French conception that at Washington France was sacrificed to American political exigencies and British political purposes.

And, quite frankly, France resents Washington almost as bitterly as the American public, at least momentarily, resented French policy at the Conference. I have talked with scores and scores of Frenchmen, from Clemenceau to those who are associated with the present government, which is anathema to "the Tiger" and his followers. But there is little real difference of opinion on the main question between any of them.

We have had in recent days discussion over the allied debt as provoked by the Loucheur interview, by the Allied Debt Funding Commission, and finally by the Boyden demand for the payment of the costs of the American Army of Occupation of the Rhine. Slowly, but in the end clearly, the French have come to perceive that these several things represent a deliberate Ameri-

can effort to exert pressure upon French policy in the matter of armaments by insisting upon the payment of outstanding obligations.

But, again, it would be difficult to exaggerate the resentment and the sense of injury resulting from these acts. The Frenchman feels that his army is all that stands between him and a speedy renewal of the German occupation of his territory. He feels, at last, that America has gone home to stay and will not come again. Therefore the demand that he pay, the use of the financial weapon to bring about a diminution of his army, which he regards as his single means of defense, rouses instant indignation. It seems an effort to interfere with his domestic freedom; and it brings resentment even from those who are most eager to support army reductions wherever possible.

It is a familiar saying in America that only a few of the French political leaders are responsible for the so-called policy of militarism, and that the mass of the French peasants are opposed to it. I think this is just arrant nonsense. If you leave the Socialists, the extreme Socialists, and the Communists out, I do not believe there is any sensible difference of opinion in France either as to the army or as to the policy to be pursued toward Germany.

When Poincaré succeeded Briand, many American friends of mine in official positions in Washington said, "Ah, it is better; now we have got the extreme right, now we have got the most militaristic of Frenchmen, he will try and fail; and then the pendulum will swing to the left." But that is not what is happening; not in the least. Poincaré's troubles are beginning because he is revealing himself in office less extreme than he showed himself in the press and in the opposition. If he fails and falls, I do not believe that the result will be the election of a more moderate man, but rather a swing back—perhaps toward the party of the old Tiger himself, who is far from dead.

To me the dominant circumstance in France at the moment is a certain national solidarity. It does not exist in Britain. It certainly does not exist in Italy. I cannot guess what may be the case in Germany. But in France the people are resolved to stay armed sufficiently to meet a new German attack, which they expect, and to use their arms to compel Germany, if other means be lacking, to pay those reparations without which France is ruined.

And France does not intend to be ruined. If you could travel, as I have, through the worst of the devastated area and see what Frenchmen and Frenchwomen have been and are doing there to bring back the land, you would feel the enormous vitality, the tremendous will to live, which France is displaying. You would feel and see the spirit of Verdun revealing itself on a score of fields, and see the peasant advancing from shell-hole to shell-hole to make good the military victory.

There has been a nasty sneer heard in some parts of America that France was sitting with folded arms waiting for outside help to rebuild her ruins. The German has even alleged that she was keeping her ruins for the advantage they gave her as an indictment of Germany. Two hours spent in any region devastated by the Germans will show the complete and brutal untruthfulness of such allegations.

It is true that the task is still incomplete; it is true that with the meagre sums allowed, the rebuilding of cities has not yet been finished, and in places is hardly begun. But it is equally true that the peasant has restored his land, even in some of the worst shell-torn districts. It is true that where three years ago I rode along the old Hindenburg Line, looking out on mile after mile of rusting barbed wire and endless trenches and concrete strong points, you may now ride without a sign to suggest that the fields had ever been withdrawn from cultivation.

Three years ago I marked down certain regions which seemed worst, and resolved to come back and see what had been done after the passage of time. And having been in some of those regions—Lens, Arras, Péronne, Bapaume, St. Quentin and Soissons—I can testify of my own knowledge and out of my own experience how tremendous has been the task accomplished in the restoration of devastated France—and accomplished so far without a dollar of German reparations.

Whatever else may be true, it is not true that the French people have sat down and waited for outside aid. No, they have come back to their land and their ruins. They have restored lands. They live still among the ruins in wooden barracks which by the thousands the French Government has supplied. But they must wait for the German reparations for money to construct new houses. Always from dawn to dark, men, women and children, you may see them in good weather and in bad, tirelessly at work.

#### IV. AMERICA AND FRANCE

I am bound to say, however, as a result of my brief stay in France, that the American notion that France can be brought by persuasion or even by gentle pressure to take our view either as to the matter of armaments or as to that of reparations seems to me perfectly inexact. For a very long time to come, as far as one can see, French military strength will be based upon the French estimate of the German danger, and the value of the French army as a means of collecting reparations.

As to persuading France to agree to the reduction of the sum of German reparations, there is exactly one way that seems feasible. The French are quite ready to reduce the sum of German reparations by precisely as much as Britain and the United States are ready to reduce the sum of the debts owed them by France. But except as these nations take such a line, it is useless to seek any substantial reduction of German reparations, although everyone knows now that the present sum is preposterous.

The British, whose education in debts has gone far beyond the American, see this, and have been on the point of cancelling the debt owed them by France, and unquestionably will do so at no distant date. They know that for them the restoration of the German market is a matter of vital importance, but they perceive that the restoration remains impossible while the reparations problem remains unsettled.

We, on the contrary, are suggesting the immediate payment by the Allied nations of some part, at least, of their debt to us. But when we make the formal demand we shall certainly be met by the French statement that France has no other asset than her claim on Germany, that she is trying diligently to collect it, and that, when Germany pays, she will pay, but before, it is quite impossible, and we must see that one reason she needs an army is to be able to force Germany to pay, when all patience shall have been exhausted."

There are two feelings in France to-day toward the United States, two well-defined and distinct emotions. On the one hand there is sense of injury, a feeling of sadness, a sense that France has been misunderstood by a friend, not perhaps without some fault upon her own part. There is a feeling that France may have represented her case badly at Washington, but there is nevertheless a



profound sense that the case itself is just and should be appreciated.

There is, too, a feeling that France has been the victim of the propaganda and of the selfish interests of other nations, that the United States has now for France rather the feelings of a cruel creditor than of an old friend. You will never find a Frenchman who even in his most secret heart feels that the charge that France is militaristic is anything but a wicked and cruel libel. And you will therefore find that as the United States presses claims for payment of Allied debts with a feeling that by this means European war expenditures may be restricted, Frenchmen—and not impossibly all Europeans, for that matter—will feel that the United States is following a purely selfish and brutal policy.

You have, then, on one side grief and on the other resentment; but you do not have, and I do not believe you are going to have, in France the smallest appreciation of the American state of mind. I have just come from a luncheon at which there were a number of members of the French Senate and Chamber present. The table discussion was of the period of service in the army, which means in reality the number of troops in the army, for each year of service adds 225,000 to the number with the colors. Before the war it was three years.

But in this discussion the plea for the period of one year was most strongly supported by a general who is, also, an Alsatian. The single point argued about was whether a year promised enough security, the minimum of security necessary. And it was the testimony of all present that the one-year period was gaining converts steadily. But this would mean reducing the French Army, not by one-half, as will be done in any event, but by two-thirds, since 1914.

"Do you think we keep an army because we want it?" This is a familiar question. "Do you think we like to spend the money and keep our boys in the barracks? How can Americans believe that we French people are so stupid?" These are questions sounding in my ears over and over again. "If America and Britain had only kept their promise made in the Treaty of Guarantee, not only would France have been able to reduce her armies, but Germany would have put away all thought of revenge." This is an equally familiar argument.

Now America has decided to stay out of Europe. The events of the latest Senate debate over the Four-Power Treaty have

confirmed this impression. But while America continues to give proof that she will not return to Europe, she seems to the amazed Frenchman to insist upon interfering with his measures taken to defend himself.

"Yes, yes," said one distinguished French legislator, who has been a Cabinet Minister, "we begin to understand that America will not participate in European affairs. But what puzzles us is that, just as soon as we take this for granted and begin to take measures accordingly, America begins to criticise us and to show all kinds of displeasure. You tell us you are done with Europe, but you do not stop telling Europe what she must do."

Everywhere I go I am examined and cross-examined as to the American situation. The Washington Conference, which was long a mystery, has now become a fact. Debates in Parliament have attracted public attention to the Washington affair. But interest is concentrated only upon the consequences and, as the reports continue to demonstrate that France was compelled to play a minor part, sat in a corner to wait until the great naval powers had completed their arrangements, there is not a little bitterness accompanying a good deal of injured pride. Out of this I suspect will come any reservation which may be applied to the Five-Power Treaty, and a reservation seems now likely in the extreme.

## V. SUMMING IT UP

France goes to Genoa with frank apprehensions, and the sense of almost complete isolation. But I think it is rather a mistake to believe as one does both in London and in Washington that this isolation will lead France slowly but surely to bend her will to that of other countries. I don't think the tendency is in that direction at all. Rather I think the sense of isolation may end by leading France to take more extreme steps, not from choice but from her own reading of the situation.

As to British policy, the French speak with cynicism but without too much bitterness. From their point of view the British have been loyal to that conception of their own self-interests which has dominated their foreign policy for many centuries. The French are certainly not satisfied, but neither are they surprised. The same is true of Italian policy; it is merely the logical expansion of Italian policy before the war,

when Italy was a member of the German alliance.

On the other hand, American action comes to France as a total surprise, and leaves a few Frenchmen angry, perhaps, but most Frenchmen puzzled and hurt. It is an odd fact about the Frenchman that he never by any accident feels called upon to understand the psychology, the politics or the problems of another people, but, by contrast, feels badly treated if any people fails to see eye for eye with him in his own world. Thus the Frenchman expects America to understand, and looks a little impatient when one suggests that a little understanding of America on his part would help.

But the Frenchman feels that America was in the war. Millions of Americans saw France, saw the devastated area, saw the Germans at work. He cannot understand how now, then, the Americans fail to see that the Germans are planning another attack and can be checked only if France remains armed. He has neither much interest in nor much patience with the notion that the German has changed, and unfortunately he is able to find in the mouths of many Germans, and in the deeds of more, proof of the accuracy of his contention. He insists that centuries of proximity enable him to know the German better than anyone else and also that this same proximity has cost him bitterly in all the past.

I cannot find that three years have much changed the real situation. Most of all that one hears and sees now recalls the days of early April in the Paris Conference. Then and ever since then the same old problems have dominated all else—the problems of security for France and reparations for the victims. Then and ever since then the Anglo-Saxon nations, having won the things the war meant for them, have sought to win the peace also by restoring commerce and trade.

But for the Frenchman the war could not with victory bring the automatic realization of his hopes. His victory depended rather upon the peace than upon the war. And so far he feels quite bitterly that he won the war only to lose the peace, that the world no longer cares about his needs, and that British and American interests are better served by the restoration of Germany commercially than of France physically. And this feeling dominates all French policy and feeling.

Between British and French policies there is unending collision. A portion of this is

due to historic rivalries. Britain practises once more her historic policy of uniting the smaller states of the Continent against the dominant power, which is France. In every capital in Europe outside of the German world, French and British influences are at work. The Near East and Russia are battlegrounds. Benes recently in Paris and London protested that the accentuation of this rivalry would threaten the unity of all of the Little Entente states, yet everyone knows that the battle is to be carried to Genoa and there fought with renewed bitterness.

To historic rivalries are added present necessities. Britain must restore the markets of the world or suffer terribly. But to restore the markets of the world is tantamount to restoring Germany. France does not care about markets, but she is determined Germany shall not be restored unless Germany pays France. And Germany is convinced that if she continues to pay nothing, Anglo-French rivalry will one day save her. Moreover, if Germany is to be restored, the first step is the reduction of reparations and the elimination of the menace of the use of the French army to force payment or apply sanctions.

When you come to the bottom of the thing you see that France regards a certain solution of German facts as a matter of life and death for her, and is resolved to insist upon it. Britain, on her part, sees her own prosperity or ruin dependent upon another solution of the same facts and for this she fights in every world conference. You have, then, substantial paralysis in the world of international politics. You have had it for three years, and there is no present promise that it will be interrupted.

But unless it be interrupted, almost every witness who has testified to me agrees that disintegration, political and financial, will continue in Europe, that economic degeneration will go forward, and a few—I think of a distinguished Dutch editor for one—declare that so far from marching toward any settlement, Europe is moving toward more wars as the inevitable prelude to any actual adjustment. As to the accuracy of this forecast, I do not venture an opinion. As to his declaration, on meeting me after three years, "You must know first that Europe is still going to pieces," I can only say that I have heard it on many sides and from many men of worldwide prominence.

But to come back to America and the Washington Conference, for a moment, I

feel sure that the notions born of events there, that the United States by the use of gentle pressure can enforce certain ideas in Europe, or by refusal to participate in Europe until certain things are done, can hasten these things, are essentially misconceptions. They are too completely abstractions to have real value, when one tries to translate them from the banks of the Potomac to those of the Seine, much less of the Vistula.

If I believed the current American legend that France was militaristic I might, perhaps, see things more optimistically, because for such an excess of policy there is an inevitable corrective. But I do not share this view. I can find nothing to corroborate it in the lives of the scores of French people I have met here. No, to me French policy and feeling seem rather to rest upon a well-nigh unanimous interpretation of French history and French problems, that, to say it baldly, France is not militaristic but purely French, faithful to her history and her traditions

and, therefore, in collision with those nations whose interest, and therefore whose traditions and history, are quite different from those of France herself.

I have been in France at various times during the war, throughout the Paris Conference, and now again after three years of alleged peace. And the feeling which I have is that France, in the light of all that has happened in these crowded seven years, has been thrown back upon her own self, upon her own conceptions, rather than been in the smallest degree affected by outside opinions, ideas or principles.

And for better or for worse, for herself and for the world, I believe France means to hold her ground, even if in the end she stands alone, which is possible. And events at Genoa will, I venture to predict, demonstrate this even more clearly than those of Washington, where at least theoretically France was among friends, which will not be true in the city of Columbus.

## THE CZECHOSLOVAK VIEWPOINT

AN INTERVIEW WITH PREMIER BENES

BY EDWARD T. HEYN

**I**N the course of an interview granted me on March 25 at his office in Prague, Dr. Eduard Benes, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, spoke frankly of his expectations regarding the Genoa Conference and stated his views as to the attitude of the United States in declining to take part in that international meeting.

After meeting Dr. Benes' private secretary, a young vice-consul who speaks English well, having long lived in Australia, I was ushered into the beautifully furnished apartment occupied by the Foreign Minister himself, who is a slight man in stature, speaks excellent English, has a democratic manner, and looks and acts like an American.

In response to my request for his views concerning the reasons set forth by Secretary Hughes for refusing to take direct part in the Genoa Conference, Dr. Benes said:

Europe. Europe has been greatly demoralized by the war, and the idea that a full understanding can be reached by a mere economic process seems a somewhat materialistic conception. It is true that every question is an economic one to a large degree, but it also has a political side. I appreciate the American unwillingness to participate in the political affairs of Europe, but after all, the world is realizing that your country has not fully understood the catastrophe in which we have fallen and the terrible time through which we have passed. But still I am an optimist, and we must work for reconstruction, and through the amelioration of present conditions give the people of all countries a chance to work.

America cannot remain out of Europe, because the United States is now too intimately connected with continental affairs. The questions now needing solution are not merely economic but political. I desire to show from our own experience how far this goes. I came back to Prague in 1919, when Austria was on the point of collapse. It had no coal, and I arranged with Dr. Renner, then Austrian Chancellor, to send to Austria 5100 tons of coal daily, and although we had but little coal ourselves for our railroads and industries, we fully realized that we must help Austria. We also helped Austria with

All questions are more or less economic and political, according to the long-accepted views of

money. Some of our political leaders were opposed to this, but I told them that if you wish to have employment for our people which would be worth at least 800,000,000 crowns, it would be well to extend to Austria a credit of 500,000,000 crowns.

For the United States the present problems are much easier, as it is unified, but Europe has forty-eight different states. Some of them are agrarian, others are industrial, with different customs and different frontiers. Some of the people of these countries are still imbued with national hatreds and a chauvinistic spirit. We have twelve centuries of tradition behind us, which is hard to overcome. Our own country fought against Austria. We fought the greatest war in history, and it is difficult to bring about a change in the point of view of people in only three years. We must educate the nations to a conception of a new humanity, so that in the future armies will be no longer necessary, but this time has not come yet. I fully appreciate the American point of view—not to give financial and other aid to Europe, unless disarmament follows. We agree to this, but this conception must be gradually obtained, step by step, and people must be educated first through a political policy in this direction. America says disarm at once, but this method is oppressive, for when the states of Europe are fully reorganized and reconstructed, there no longer will be a need for great armies.

I asked Dr. Benes what he thought of the plan of Lord Esher, which will be submitted to the League of Nations meeting in September, to reduce land armaments in Europe, so that Czechoslovakia would be allowed an army of only 90,000 men. In reply he said:

This would be a dangerous method. Next year, however, we have already decided to reduce our army to 15,000 men, practically one-third. Such a reduction the first year after the war would have been extremely difficult. After all, the present amount fixed in our national budget for military purposes is not as great as gener-

ally supposed—for example, it does not compare with the amounts spent for education or for social welfare purposes. I fully agree with the United States that the size of national armies should be limited, but this to my mind will not be accomplished entirely by agreements or international conferences. The Genoa Conference has created great hopes in the minds of some, but people now seem to expect much less from it, and it is my impression that it will be only a step forward toward a slow but gradual reconstruction of Europe.



DR. EDUARD BENES, PREMIER AND SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, REPUBLIC OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

After all, I am fully convinced that sooner or later the United States will participate in the affairs of Europe, for the reconstruction of the continent is not possible without the aid of your country. The position of the United States is exactly as was that of Czechoslovakia three years ago. At that time this country asked for a loan, but there was no confidence existing anywhere, as a future war was feared, and so we helped ourselves. Now we have obtained a loan in England and America. Just as we did three years ago, America now waits for a better position, but in the meantime much time is thereby lost in the reconstruction of Europe.

Dr. Benes added that he did not believe that the question of reparations would come up in Genoa. "After all, that question must be settled by some agreement between France and Germany, for as long as either country is dissatisfied there can be no real peace in Europe."

The Vienna *Mittagszeitung* a few days ago reported that Dr. Benes, at the request of the American Government, had presented an economic program for the "Succession States," which had already been transmitted to Washington. Dr. Benes, when I asked him with regard to this report, denied that he had worked out such a plan in detail, but admitted that for some months he had conferred with Lewis Einstein, the American Minister in Prague, on the subject.



# THE IRELAND OF TO-MORROW

AND THE MEN WHO WILL LEAD HER

BY SHAW DESMOND

**I**RELAND is at the parting of the ways. She is passing from aspiration to realization. For the first time in seven centuries, she has, with the coming of the Free State, to justify herself both to herself and the world. She has, one believes, the men, the material, and the method with which to do it. Present dissensions are but transitory. The Irish Free State has come to stay.

The Ireland of to-morrow is not going to be a country of two civilizations—Ulster and the South. Within a generation, perhaps within a decade, Ulster will have voted herself inside a united Ireland because, in the first place, Ulster, as she is beginning to realize, is really "Irish to the heels of her," being bound to the other four-fifths of Ireland by the surest, subtlest bond in the world—the bond psychological; and in the second, because, cut off from the rest, she is going to be hurt in pocket, not only by boycott, but by increased taxation. Now, as the recent boycott by the South proved, Ulster does not like being hurt in pocket—something that Arthur Griffith pointed out to me nearly two years ago.

Ulster gave the Ireland of a hundred years ago her leaders in rebellion. She is going to give the Ireland of to-morrow her economic leaders. We can learn Ireland's future from her past.

Those who speak of "the experiment in Erse" and its absurdity do not realize two things: First, that of Ireland's four millions nearly a fourth already can speak Irish; and, secondly, that the little children lisping their prayers and prattling at their mothers' knees since the 1916 Rising are doing so in Irish, not English. I myself have been in many houses, the past two years, in which the children scarcely understood English.

## *Irish to Be Spoken*

To-morrow's Erin will be bi-lingual, like Wales. Irish will be taught as "a living tongue" in the national schools; it will be spoken in street and forum, but English will be used for communication with the outside world and for commerce. Steady, far-

seeing Professor John MacNeill, the Sinn Féin Minister of Education, and chairman in the Dail Éireann, has in many conversations outlined his hopes upon these lines. Professor Dillon, of Galway University, with some of his colleagues, expressed it as their opinion that Irishmen within a few generations would use Irish colloquially, as they and their families even to-day use it in their own homes.

The insistence upon Irish is extraordinary. It is regarded by men so widely separated as the romanticist de Valera, reared in the cottage of a Limerick laborer, and Desmond Fitzgerald, the brilliant Sinn Féin Minister of Publicity, reared and educated in a comfortable English environment, with an accent as English as any Anglo-Saxon of them all, and himself a fluent Gaelic speaker, as essential. Scores of Irish leaders have said to the writer: "Language is the cement of nationhood."

Three broad concepts are going to group Irishmen in the early days of the Free State: the romantic, the industrial, and the agricultural. The first will be typified by de Valera, that modern Don Quixote who sometimes breaks his ghostly spears upon ghostlier windmills, and who will lead the "Irish Republican" section in the Irish Parliament; the second group will be led by Arthur Griffith, the man of cold fire and exquisite judgment, who wishes to see an industrial Ireland of factories evolving upon English and Continental lines; and the third group headed by Sir Horace Plunkett, former Unionist and now Free Stater, who, unemotional, practical, with his famous coadjutor, "A. E." (George Russell), sees, probably rightly, the salvation of the future Ireland in coöperation and agriculture.

Those three men typify in a country which sees everything through symbols and personality the three main forces in the Ireland of to-morrow.

To them will be added within a few years the Ulsterman, hard-headed but hot-headed. Three men will represent Ulster in the first year: Sir James Craig, J. M. Andrews,



EAMON DE VALERA



ARTHUR GRIFFITH



"A. E." (GEORGE RUSSELL)

## THE ROMANTIC, THE INDUSTRIAL, AND THE AGRICULTURAL LEADERS OF IRELAND

(A portrait of Sir Horace Plunkett, Ireland's famous advocate of agricultural coöperation, is used as frontispiece in this number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*)

Ulster's Minister of Labor, and H. N. Pollock, her Minister of Finance.

These three men come to one's mind as I saw them one morning in the Ulster Reform Club, Belfast, where they had been good enough to receive me as special correspondent for a group of London newspapers. Craig, grim, dour captain, with much humor and, for all his grimness, not insensible to argument—a terrible man with a terrible mouth—but a "bonnie fechter." Andrews, black-avised, immovable as an Antrim rock, but underneath none kindlier, as he proved to me some days later when he showed me round his beautiful house outside Belfast, and told me stories of Sir Edward Carson, now lost forever in the obscurity of a peerage and the tortuous labyrinth of the legal brain—the man who learns nothing and forgets nothing. And the statesmanlike Pollock, head of the world's largest rope-works, of the kindly eyes and well-trimmed beard, who told the secret story of the Irish Convention of 1917, when the Southern Unionists were prepared to make their own peace behind the backs of their Ulster brethren and so explained that dislike and distrust which, unknown to the world, existed between Ulster and the chiefs of the 100,000 Protestant Unionists scattered throughout "the South."

Pollock will be the link between Sinn Féin and Ulster and, as one has reason to think, would probably not be averse to a working alliance between North and South.

*"Individualist Coöperation"*

Ireland will launch an experiment in society which may yet have profound effect upon the future of the world. That is the experiment of "individualist coöperation."

Competitive individualism has begun to show increasingly wide cracks in the walls of its house. Bureaucratic socialism, on the other hand, has, especially since the war, shown its essential weaknesses of control and production. The world already is looking for a new gospel—or rather, for a variant of democracy. Ireland believes that she has found this in "individualist coöperation."

The pivot upon which to-morrow's economic Ireland will turn is the pivot of coöperation. Already the thirty or forty creameries burned down by British troops against orders are being rebuilt. Already, countries like Denmark are being ransacked for the best of their brains and organization in connection with coöperation.

The Irishman is the world's first individualist. But, it is not unlikely that he will prove himself one day the world's first co-operator. (As a matter of fact, he had, prior to the terrible events of the last five years, made quite exceptional strides upon the coöperative road, or "milky way," as it has been called, from its partial association with the creameries.) What he is now going to do is to graft upon the tree of some system like that of Danish coöperation, with its meticulous system of standardization, a full and free individualism. In other words,

while using a minimum of the standardization necessary to cement the agricultural and coöperative fabric together, he will give the individual farmer free play for the development of initiative and experiment.

All this, curious as it sounds to modern ears, is but a modification of the old "clan" system of the Gael. By it, Ireland hopes to secure all the advantages of organization without corresponding disadvantages—to secure economy of effort without bureaucracy and stagnation.

*George Russell*

One man will be the inspirer of this, perhaps Ireland's greatest man—"A. E.," those magic initials by which George Russell is known.

This brown-bearded, brown-eyed Ulster Protestant, who looks more like a saint who has stepped out of the pages of a medieval missal than a modern coöperator, is regarded in all countries as one of the foremost living coöperators and economists. To see this pacifist Sinn Feiner, his short briar in his mouth, sitting on one side of a hob in Plunkett House, Merrion Square, Dublin, with a brown earthenware pot of tea brewing between himself and that remarkable young woman, green-eyed and white-haired, Miss Susan Mitchell (George Moore's biographer and George Russell's assistant), behind him the walls of the room covered with paintings of fairies "taken from life," is to see the poetry of life applied to its realities.

George Russell is adored by all Irishmen irrespective of class or creed. If one had to point to a single man who might one day be the savior of Erin, one would unhesitatingly point to George Russell. He, probably more than any other man, not excepting Griffith and Michael Collins, has made the Irish Free State possible by the inspiration and the influence that so often determines the actions of the statesman.

Here is a man who applies the mystical to the material, who believes as assuredly in the existence of his fairies as he does in his coöperation, and regards Heaven as an integral part of earth. At his house in Dublin one meets Basque priests, Sinn Fein revolutionary leaders, English society women, poets like Yeats and prose writers like James Stephens. One may meet a king or one may meet a beggar. George Russell's "Sunday evenings" with their bewildering "democracy," which does not even exclude the aristocrat, are examples of that spiritual alchemy which is Erin's—the alchemy which

is going to dissolve the insoluble and solve the difficult problems which await the men who will lead Ireland.

Within less than a century Ireland has lost about four millions by emigration and famine. To-morrow's Ireland, or rather the Ireland of the day after to-morrow, will assuredly see its old population restored, and even a population of ten millions is not outside the bounds of possibility.

With the cause of the eternal devitalizing battle with England removed and with the flood of Irish brain and energy poured into productive channels, we are going to see the emigration blood-flow stanch, as even since the war it has begun to stanch. Ireland for the first time holding her population, or even gaining a little. Her new coöperative system, getting into its stride, combined with the coming introduction of the modern power-machinery which has always been her sore need and which can be purchased by a country which even to-day is one of the most prosperous in Europe, will give to the future Ireland the material resources for a population of double the present number. "Birth-control" has never been practised, nor is it likely to be practised in Ireland, which is noted for its large families. Prince Kropotkin, one of the greatest authorities of his day upon food resources, demonstrated many years ago that a country the size of Ireland could be made to support at least twenty millions of people.

Ireland will find her chief markets in England, with its increasing population and increasing demand for butter, eggs, and bacon. Even to-day Ireland herself is England's best customer, no other country excepted.

In the Ireland of the next twenty-five years we are going to see the final disappearance of the remnants of the landlord class. When Arthur James Balfour portioned out his small holdings in the Congested Districts of the West, he drove the first nail into the coffin of the land-owning class. The squire with the "squireen" will disappear, and with them a class that were the vampires of Erin.

The country will be ultimately divided into small holdings upon similar lines to those of Denmark, all these small holders being linked together, as Griffith, Russell, and others pointed out to the writer, by the coöperative system. There will be farmers' seed, fertilizer, and agricultural machinery unions for purchase and experimentation. Cattle-breeding experts will travel from





SIR JAMES CRAIG  
(Premier)



J. S. ANDREWS  
(Minister of Labor)



SIR EDWARD CARSON  
(Now in the House of Lords)

THREE OF ULSTER'S LEADERS—HARD-HEADED BUT HOT HEADED

farm to farm to advise as to the best methods of rearing livestock, while one day it is the dream of Irish coöperators to have a national seed and soil-testing station for the examination of seeds and soils. The future of economic Ireland really lies in the hands of the agricultural chemist—and Plunkett House knows it.

Having recently had the opportunity of traveling throughout the Congested Districts in a four-hundred-mile tour under the guidance of one of the heads of the Congested Districts Board, I am in a position to state that it is not the intention of the new Ireland to scrap what is generally admitted to be one of the few feathers in the cap of English occupation. The lace, weaving, and other industries established by "the Board," as it is known, to relieve the dreadful congestion of the past along that stony strip of land on to which the Connemara peasantry had been herded in the bad old times, will be continued in an Irish Ireland. Nor, so far as I have been able to gather, is it intended to scrap the Civil Service merely because it is "British." Experts on land purchase, pensions, and taxes will still be needed in the new Ireland—only they will have to be "Irish," and not "West British," in their outlook.

*Ireland to Be Led by Youth*

What is scarcely realized out of Ireland is that the Ireland of to-morrow will be led by not more than a handful of men and

women in the first five years of the transition stage, and that the majority of the men and women who will lead her after that time will probably be under forty.

Ireland is to be led by youth, as is already evident from the "youngsters" like de Valera, Collins, and others, under whose leadership she has so gladly placed herself during the last eventful years. Pearse, the first President of the Irish Republic, that beautiful fated boy whose face at St. Enda's College outside Dublin, the light of other worlds upon it, I still remember as its owner painted to me in glowing colors the future of a Gaelic Ireland, all unwitting that ere three years had run he was to die before a firing platoon with that "beau geste" of so many of his countrymen when they meet death, was little older than one of his own pupils. Pearse, like Griffith, an Irishman of Welsh descent, is almost unknown to the great world. It is enough to say here that his life-concept, more than that of any other man, will be the inspiration to the youth of the Ireland to come. Artist and fighter, scholar and educationalist, he was one more example of the queer combination of artist and sociologist so often met with in the little island.

Speaking of art and the artist, not only the men of the Irish literary movement, but tens of thousands of Irishmen overseas are looking with confidence to an Irish Renaissance in literature and the arts, now that her genius can find its medium outside the



DESMOND FITZGERALD  
(The brilliant Sinn Fein  
Minister of Publicity)

Collins, would win his spurs in a sphere which at one time seemed remote from this fearless young fighter, whose coolness under stress has become proverbial. Michael Collins, who was once seen to ride in broad daylight down O'Connell Street, his hip pockets bulging suspiciously, so feared that he was untouched by the dozens of spies and detectives who passed him, has the makings of a statesman. There are two men in the world whom Premier Lloyd George was never able to turn—one of them Griffith, the other Michael Collins. Mr. Lloyd George himself will confess to-day that in the Downing Street negotiations neither of these men succumbed for a moment to his own Celtic charm and "persuasion." They succumbed to *force majeure*, another thing entirely.

#### *The Real Michael Collins*

This boy with the cold fire in his eyes is likely, and against all conviction, to one day become the Irish Premier, or, perhaps, who knows, to become the President of an Irish Republic, if, as he himself has said, the Free State has within it not only "the substance of freedom," but "the means to get it." Quick in decision, with a brain that can be constructive as well as destructive, "the darling of Sinn Fein" should go far. It is

political maelstrom. Already, many new writers and painters of promise are showing themselves. Within a generation we should see the Irish literary movement rise to the full flower of attainment and recognition throughout the world.

It looks at the moment as though Ireland's most famous guerrilla warrior, Michael

at any rate an open secret that for him Sir James Craig and some of the men who lead Ulster have conceived a high respect. He is the man who will one day reopen the broken "negotiations" with Ulster.

There is another man, Michael Collins's deadly antagonist at the moment, whose name is scarcely known to the world, but who is probably destined to lead the Irish Republican section in the Irish Parliament on College Green. That man is Cathal Burgha, or Charles Burgess as his name is known in the English. This formidable fighter who, as Minister of Defense, made himself respected by both the de Valera and the Griffith party, comes from my own native town, and, as I learned from his own lips when "on the run" during the stormiest period of the fight with England, is entirely implacable upon the question of a Republic. For him, a Republic or nothing.

De Valera, as likely as not, will retire from active politics within the next few years, and if he does, then Burgha will take his place as chief of the irreconcilables. De Valera's is essentially the academic mind—Burgha's that of the man of action. De Valera is primarily an educationalist and has written a book upon pedagogics. Burgha finds the rifle handier than the pen. This little, tense man, with gentle manner and burning eyes, will make history.



ERSKINE CHILDERS  
(Who has called the Irish  
treaty "a vast trap")

Incidentally, the Irish Republican Army, which is possibly the most disciplined body of men in the world, will not be disbanded, but will probably be used as the nucleus of the Irish Army of Defense. Both Griffith and MacNeill (the first Commandant of the Irish volunteers) are "pacifists" by conviction, as they



ROBERT BARTON  
(Minister of Agriculture)

have told me with their own lips, and within a comparatively short time I should not be surprised to see Ireland preaching disarmament—if England will let her!

### *Catholic and Protestant to Be One Nation*

In the Ireland of the next two decades we shall be likely to find Catholic and Protestant at rest and even friends. Here again, we can, if we wish, learn Ireland's future from Ireland's past.

Let it be stated once and for all that never has there been any persecution of any kind whatever of Protestant by Catholic in that five-sixths of Ireland euphoniously known for the purposes of statesmanship as "the South." (There really never has been any "South.") Only at one or two places in Ireland, where propinquity on the one hand, combined with artificial segregation on the other, have determined the conditions and set up irritation, has there been strife. Catholic and Protestant in Belfast, for example, each segregated behind his particular bars, whether orange or green, glower at each other. But eliminate Belfast, Derry, and half a dozen other danger spots, and one finds that that there never has been religious strife and that the Irish question has never fundamentally been a religious question—only a psychological one, and that psychological difference one between the Anglo-Saxon and the Celt—not one between North and South.

For the first ten years we are likely to see the children segregated and taught in Protestant and Catholic schools. After that time—and the breaking down process, with England out of the way, will begin at once—we shall probably see Catholic and Protestant sitting side by side in the National Schools, with "religious instruction" given to them in separate classrooms during the hours devoted to religion. (Ireland, Catholic or Protestant, roots its faith and life upon

religion, and has never pigeonholed its activities into "secular" and "Sunday.")

In this connection, we must remember that nearly half of the larger pre-war Ulster was Catholic and Nationalist and that of the Protestant half, about 10 per cent. were Nationalists. Further, although it is perfectly true that Ulster hates the Catholic

South, it is also true that Ulster's dislike and even hatred of England is not inferior to that other hate, as anybody can find out who takes the trouble, as did the writer, to obtain the views of leading Protestant Ulstermen. Sir James Craig's "You have betrayed us!" in the House of Commons upon the passage of the Irish Free State bill was more than an exclamation—it was a revelation. Mr. J. M. Andrews himself said before me at the time of the first secret negotiations with Sinn Féin in 1920 that "if England continued these underhand negotiations with Sinn Féin, the cord would snap." He did not say what cord, but every Ulsterman around the table knew, and not one of them, captains of Ulster though they were, protested.



MICHAEL COLLINS

(The famous guerrilla warrior, one of the negotiators of the treaty of peace, who is now head of the provisional government in Ireland)

### *Ulster to Throw Herself on Sinn Féin's Bosom*

In a word, what is likely to happen is that Ulster, indignant, irritated, will throw herself into the arms of the rest of Ireland and then, as one of the Sinn Féin leaders said to me: "We will have our hands full to hold her back from the throat of England." The Sinn Féin revolutionist acting as policeman of the British Empire conjures up a picture irresistibly funny! Here is little Arthur Griffith, his arms around the burly Craig, saying: "Jimmy, for God's sake don't hit him!" the "him" being poor bewildered John Bull, who has never understood Ulster and never will.

In to-morrow's Ireland, the theologian will have ceased to use his spiritual powers as handmaidens of the temporal. The

Church and politics were divorced forever in the "Isle of Saints" by the 1916 Rising.

### *Erin's Fiery Daughters*

There is one phenomenon in the Ireland of to-day which baffles the outsider. It is the part the women are playing. Contrary to all expectations, it is the women, from the fiery Countess Markievicz to the queenly Maud Gonne, who are showing themselves most militant—sometimes, most implacable. Women like Mary MacSwiney, sister of the martyred Lord Mayor of Cork, will, one fears, forgive the Sas-senach, neither in time nor in eternity—and these women have influence. On the other hand,



COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ

there is now developing a more moderate section which wants to forgive, if not to forget. Prominent among these latter is Maud Gonne, that modern Deirdre, whose beauty of mind and face has been to Ireland at once her inspiration and her hope. With her in the Cumman-na-Mban ("League of the Women") she will have a little coterie of the daughters of Erin who will preach reconciliation—although it is quite assured that none of these women will be satisfied with anything less ultimately than "the right of secession," which is really the idea for which Ireland has fought for seven centuries. Had this same right of secession been admitted by England at any time within the long period of discord and strife, the Irish question would undoubtedly have been solved.



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MAUD GONNE

### *To-Morrow's Political Parties*

The political map of the Ireland of to-morrow can be forecast with some assuredness.

After Ulster has come in and the "Republicans" and "Free Staters," who differ only upon tactics and not upon goal, for both sides wish a Republic, have ceased to clash, we shall find sitting in College Green with what is likely to be the blue flag of Ireland (the green was but a later incursion) waving above, a main block of Free Staters, a smaller Republican party, a handful of Nationalist-Liberals, a pretty formidable block of Labor people, and a militant Ulster party.



MRS. DE VALERA

The Free Staters will of course be led by Griffith and Collins; the Republicans by de Valera or Cathal Burgha; the National-Liberals by Tim Healy, who is not by any means finished with yet; the Labor Party by Jim Larkin and perhaps Joe Devlin, who, it is believed, will be resurrected. And the Ulstermen will be captained by Craig and Andrews. (Ulster has yet to develop another Carson.)

"Tim" will be invaluable in such a Parliament. A master of tactics, a diplomatist of metal, this prince of political swordsmen will be as faithful to a United Ireland as he has been faithful to the Nationalist convictions of a lifetime, but we shall never again see in Ireland a National Party like that under Redmond. Irishmen will be either for a Republic or against it—and as

I firmly believe that the day will yet come when the Ulstermen will as ardently demand the right of secession, which Canada now has, as they demanded it over one hundred years ago, it will simply mean that the British Empire will be forced to concede it, and then . . . Ireland will as likely as not decide to stay with the Commonwealth of Free Nations, known as the British Empire!

The Irish Labor Party will be as different from those of England or the Continent as Ireland is different from the world, although Mr. H. G. Wells refuses to see it. (Would that Mr. Wells could learn his Irish lesson as well as he has learned his world lesson!) Thomas Johnstone, the English Sinn Féiner who practically leads that party, told me with Mr. Thomas Farran, its then Chairman, that "we have nothing in common with Bolshevism, or even with bureaucratic Socialism. We are individualists. The British Labor movement doesn't understand us."

Jim Larkin, now in an American jail, will yet return to lead the Irish Labor Party, for his memory is still green in the island that never forgets. I have seen "Jim" at work both in the agricultural districts

and in Dublin, when it was evident how he loved and was beloved. But if he or any other labor leader tries to teach Bolshevism, which one dare not suggest, then he will be thrown down and out.

Which would let in that grey-eyed pugilist of politics—Joe Devlin, the man who was Redmond's lieutenant and chief magician of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, with its quarter of a million membership. Joe is not trusted in to-day's Ireland, but if he shows himself of a contrite heart, Ireland may yet forgive him his once stodgy nationalism and his wire-pulling.

Finally, the strength of the Ireland of To-morrow is going to be the strength spiritual. Every Sinn Féiner who laid down his life during the last five years believed he was doing so not only for Ireland, but for the world—for belief in a principle—in a spiritual principle of life as opposed to a material. These men may have been right, or they may have been wrong, but it is that conviction that the Ireland of the future has a message to a world fast passing into the trough of materialism which is going to be the motive force and the inspiration of the Ireland of To-morrow.

## GANDHI AS INDIA'S PROPHET

BY P. W. WILSON

IN India, at this moment, the big fact to be faced is the emergence into fame of a great man, M. K. Gandhi, and his arrest on a charge of sedition by the British Government. Throughout the world this man and his meaning are eagerly discussed, and nowhere with greater eagerness than in the United States of America. With the main outlines of his career we are thus—most of us—fairly familiar: how he was educated in England, afterward fought for the British in South Africa, was then challenged by the great issue of race-equality—thus became the spokesman and champion of the Indian peoples—felt the supreme call to poverty and sacrifice—adopted the simplest life—and so acquired a world-wide influence, and the inspired leadership of Indian nationalism, whether it be Moslem or Hindu. That is Gandhi—what are we to make of him? Is he simply an agitator? Or is he the George Washington of Southern Asia? Will he

supplement British rule or will he supplant British rule? These are questions of momentous importance to which an answer must be attempted.

The first thing to realize about Gandhi is that he is a saint or holy man or Mahatma or spiritual teacher. He himself insists on this. "Victory," he declares, "must be won by soul-force." To the unmarried he preaches celibacy; to the married, birth-control by continence; and to all, fasting. "One does not feel it blasphemous," writes Colonel Wedgewood, the Liberal M. P., "to compare Gandhi with Christ." He is against bloodshed and belongs to the pious dynasty of Buddha, Tolstoy, and St. Francis of Assisi. He constantly quotes from the Bible. In a land of mysticism, Gandhi is a mystic.

The real question, not always faced by those who rightly revere Gandhi, is whether he can, by his mysticism, govern India.

St. Francis was a great mystic, but Italy remained none the less a prey to dissension and tyrannies which were only ameliorated by statesmen, centuries after he died. Tolstoy was also a great mystic, but millions of Russians are to-day starving and Herbert Hoover has had to be called in to help. And Buddha was a mystic, but among his worshippers there has been, since he lived, an incalculable burden of social oppression and of unremedied ignorance and disease. The program of Gandhi is, broadly, to tear East and West apart—to him, British rule in India and all it brings, whether of irrigation, of railroads, of hospitals, of schools, of books, is simply an abomination of desolation, standing where it ought not. With the British, he wishes to expel and to exclude from India modern machinery, modern science, and arts other than Indian. Hence, the boycott even of India's Parliamentary institutions; and hence, the feeling that foreign missions in India are rather an insult. India is invited to take one courageous plunge back into her own dim antiquity. Western civilization has failed; let the East turn her back upon it and resume her own. It is a stupendous conclusion to force upon the mind of the human race; it is as much a severance of India from brotherhood with America as it is her severance from brotherhood with Europe. Indeed, on some applications of his own logic, Gandhi himself has wavered, but in the main he is resolute, and at his trial he frankly admitted that his attitude toward the civil power left him no alternative save to plead guilty. He invited the judge to impose the maximum sentence and he is in prison now for six years.

Among the friends and the foes of the British Empire, it is recognized that a new day has dawned in India. Whether the Home Rule Act (now in operation) succeeds or fails, it means that southern Asia can never again live and think as in the past. Populations numbering 330,000,000, always governed hitherto by hereditary or conquering authorities, always surrounded hitherto by despotisms like Russia, Afghanistan, Tibet, and once Imperial China, have been brought, for the first time, face to face with democratic ideas—have had to learn the meaning of the word *vote*; have watched with astonished eyes the collapse of thrones and czardoms regarded as unshakable; have witnessed a republic in Peking and liberalism struggling to its feet in Japan. The background is completed by a Christendom in Europe, riven and ruined by war, and by

an Islam in the near East, disgraced and dismembered, but never more spiritually enthusiastic.

### *What British Rule Has Accomplished*

For this political and spiritual crisis India has been imperfectly prepared. British rule, extending over a century and a half with an ever-widening influence, has achieved two objects, two essentials of ordered existence, namely, security against external aggression and immunity from internal war. In the main, India has been no longer overrun by her northern neighbors and has lived at peace within herself. How formidable may be invasion, even to-day, is shown by the startling fact that, within the last three years, an army of 250,000 men was dispatched to the north-west frontier, there to deal with the Afghans and associated tribes. The valleys were swept by aircraft and a major war was fought to a finish.

It is British diplomacy which has held back Russia from India, whether Czarist or Soviet Russia, and which maintains a friendly contact with Japan. Yet the normal force of white troops in the Dependency is only 70,000 men for all purposes, or one armed white man for every 4,500 persons. The armed native forces are four or five times that number of whites. It is thus arguable that however dubious be the origins of British rule in India, it is maintained by a minimum of force and could be brought to an end at any time, if the Indian races were to unite for this object. In this sense, India is governed by her own acquiescence—a consent, perhaps uneasy, but none the less implied.

The very fact that, comparatively speaking, local disturbances like the Indian mutiny of sixty years ago, or the riots which culminated in the shootings at Amritsar, create such an impression throughout the world merely shows how absolute, save for these rare incidents, is the *Pax Britannica*. Of the numerous little wars of Europe, the conflicting terrors in Ireland, the disturbances in Mexico and similar interruptions to normalcy—India in the main knows little.

### *The Rise of an Indian People*

In a land where many races of bitterly opposed religions and different complexions and castes have perennially fought together, it is now possible and it is becoming customary to speak of the Indian nation or people, instead of the Indian peoples. Slowly but

surely there is evolving out of an oriental chaos the United States of Southern Asia. This confederation will ultimately include Burmah to the east, Baluchistan to the west, and possibly Tibet and Afghanistan to the north. In the administration of the various states and provinces, there may be no attempt at uniformity. Some are governed directly, others are protectorates, and others again are independent, save for treaties as between sovereign powers.

But among all the areas there may be found one common objective—namely, a development of human life instead of its destruction. The people are fighting plague and famine and ignorance and disease, instead of fighting one another. They are, for the time being, accepting European leadership, not political only, and not entirely British; for the influence of Christian missions, Catholic as well as Protestant, and to some extent American, must be recognized. But the ultimate result will not be government of Asia by Europe. Rather should it be that very resurrection of Asia for which Gandhi has so earnestly yearned and labored.

#### *British Coöperation*

The British Crown is to India what the American flag is to the United States; not an active force, though there is force behind it, but a symbol of coöperation. It is the common denominator which brings Hindu and Moslem into one citizenship. All the enterprises involved in the Anglo-Saxon occupation—railroads, taxation, colleges, schools, irrigation, banking, post office, sanitation, hospitals, justice—tend to obliterate ancient feuds within India herself. In these enrichments of life only a beginning has been made. The population of India is increasing, but while her birth rate is 39 per thousand compared with 20 per thousand in the United Kingdom, her death rate is 33 compared with 15. Every year she loses nearly two million babies, owing to infant mortality, of which the ratio is 206 per thousand births compared with 91 for the United Kingdom, and a considerably lower figure for New York.

This situation is the direct result of the seclusion of women and of child marriage, which condemn the girlhood of the nation to an early old age and remove the victims from education and medical assistance. So powerful are these prejudices that even in directly governed India, where most progress has been made, only one girl in a hundred of women goes to school, as compared

with about five boys in a hundred of men.

Hitherto the Government has left education largely to the missionaries. Out of a revenue of \$600,000,000, only \$45,000,000 are spent on schools and colleges, and out of 240,000,000 people only 8,000,000 attend. This shows two things—first, that democracy in India can never be a complete success until education is universal, and secondly, that, even when secured of peace, Indians themselves have not been able or willing to develop such a system, without European inspiration and assistance. Yet we have here one of the most baffling of world problems. No one is satisfied with "educated" Europe. And no one who has met, let us say, Sir Rabindranath Tagore or Mr. Gandhi—I might add that amazing Christian mystic, Sadhu Sundar Singh—will deny that India has her own thought to think. To some extent, Indian nationalism is resisting the western mind. It fears our view of life and would rather die of leprosy and plague than drink our medicine. In this sense it is exclusive, conservative, reactionary—as opposed to American missions as it is to British officials—but is the reason entirely a compliment to us? Indians weigh up our civilization and find it, in many respects, wanting.

#### *How India Awoke*

It was in the year 1905 that India awoke and "found herself." A bureaucracy, as rigid in its honesty as in its benevolent Toryism, was led by Lord Curzon as Viceroy. It pursued a policy of flattering the Moslems in their rivalry with the Hindus, and when public opinion in Bengal became vocal and therefore formidable, the province was partitioned as coolly as Europe partitioned Poland. The agitation which followed was met by Lord Morley with measures of coercion on the one hand and of reform on the other; and King George, on his accession, was able to attend a coronation Durbar at Delhi, now declared to be the capital of United India.

When the Great War broke out, India remained loyal despite propaganda which swept over her from Germany, Turkey, and Soviet Russia, but of course the depths were stirred. Apart from any other circumstance, prices had risen and there was genuine economic distress—cotton goods, for instance, costing five times what had been usual. The small but eager class of educated intellectuals was conscious of knowledge without an opportunity for using it except in agitation,



and in the great issue of race equality, as challenged particularly by South Africa in her treatment of Indian settlers, there was discovered a rallying cry. Here was Gandhi, who had fought for England against the Boers, denied his full status as a man in the empire he had served. Over the situation, moreover, there was distilled the news of events in Ireland and Egypt and of Bolshevism in Russia.

### *Native Discontent*

Happily, these discontents were not met by a mere negative. New reforms were announced, reaching far beyond the old, and yet confessedly only an instalment, to be extended by statutory guarantee every ten years. With an electorate of 5,000,000 voters, to be increased as years pass, provincial councils were established, with modified cabinets or executives, partly answerable to them. On the councils there was still to be a nominated or official element, but India was given a voice; her finances were decentralized; and her peoples were invited to undertake an ever-widening share of actual responsibility. In every direction—for instance, the administration of law—Indian assistance has been secured, or at any rate invited.

Yet in India there continues to be unrest. Political aspirations have in them an element of the unattainable, of the ideal, which is to any particular scheme as the soul is to the body. It is so much easier to demand liberty and justice than it is to settle down to the dull routine of parliamentary duty, when the parliament has been actually achieved. Indian reformers are learning that there is no magic and no charm in elected institutions, with their gradgrind of blue-books and speeches that no one reads when reported. As an ideal, every Indian intellectual clamored for a constitution like the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, as it is called. But the scheme, when started, was met by an attempt at boycott.

### *Mr. Gandhi's Leadership*

This remarkable situation has arisen out of the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, whose now historic personality in Indian annals was faced in 1918 by the two Rowlatt Acts dealing with sedition. These ill-starred measures were to be forced through the Viceroy's legislative council against the protests of the native members, whose very protests by their exaggeration should have warned the officials

that they were putting into the hands of the extremists a perfect weapon for propaganda. All over the world, and especially in the United States, the acts were denounced; although there was in them no restriction of liberty, whether of person or of press, so severe as "D. O. R. A."—or the Defense of the Realm Act—under which the United Kingdom lived during the war. Of the Rowlatt Acts, one was dropped and the other never enforced, but the harm was already done. Gandhi declared for *Swaraj*, or what in India means Sinn Fein; and his method of advancing the cause was *Satyagraha*, a holiday, or general strike.

Like the first leaders of Sinn Fein in Ireland and the Tolstoyans in Russia, he opposed bloodshed and limited himself and his followers to passive resistance. That limitation, to Gandhi's own distress, soon broke down and hotheads began grave rioting in the Punjab. There followed the shootings at Amritsar and a deplorable embitterment of feeling. Even Mrs. Besant, a stern critic of the older officialdom in India, threw in her lot with the moderates and against the boycott. Unfortunately, the crisis was complicated by events in Turkey, where the Ottoman Empire fell in ruins. For the first time in the history of India the Moslems threw in their lot with the Hindus, sharing the most sacred ceremonies of death and even admitting a Hindu to speak in a mosque. Such a reconciliation, if based upon a common ideal, is good, but there was in this case an ideal, poisoned to some extent by antipathy to a third, yet still essential, party, the British.

### *Britain's Present Attitude*

Whatever mistakes the British have made, it may be claimed on their behalf that, as a mere handful in a continent teeming with oriental enthusiasms, intrigues, and mysticism, their officials—though conscious that the troops were "contained," as soldiers say, on the northwest frontier, and that England was in no mood cheerfully to send out more—proceeded with cool courage to institute the Reform Scheme. These officials thus showed in the face of danger a firm conviction that the mass of Indians, however worked up at the moment, did not want their lives plunged into chaos. Though greeted by the boycott, the Duke of Connaught, only surviving son of Queen Victoria, inaugurated the Council of Princes at Delhi, and King George authorized an

amnesty of political prisoners, which, however, might have been more promptly applied.

### *England's Hebrew Proconsuls*

At this supreme moment, when her sagacity and good-will were tested as never before in a world by no means friendly to her, Britain summoned to her aid the ancient wisdom of the Jewish people. Mr. Lloyd George appointed as his Secretary for India Edwin S. Montagu, a comparatively young statesman of the strictest Hebrew faith, which his wife, of Christian birth, adopted on her marriage. The Viceroy for India became the Earl of Reading, formerly Ambassador to the United States and Lord Chief Justice of England. With Sir Herbert Samuel—first cousin to Mr. Montagu—ruling in Palestine, it may fairly be said that the reign of the Hebrew judges had been extended beyond the wildest dreams of Samuel the Prophet or Solomon the King.

Montagu was aware that he could rely with absolute confidence on the loyalty of the Indian princes whose thrones are securely guaranteed by treaty with Britain. Over a population of about 75,000,000—one-quarter of the whole—the problem of "sedition" did not give trouble. Elsewhere, Montagu zealously applied his Parliamentary solution, but amid many difficulties. The Nationalists were told by Gandhi not to coöperate. This meant that on a franchise, already limited, many abstained from voting. Still, the legislatures have done good work. The debates are real and the standard of responsibility is well maintained. In Madras, women's suffrage has been carried, and at Delhi the Parliament of India was the first in the world to ratify the proposals for limiting the industrial labor of women and children, passed at the conference held at Washington under the League of Nations, when Woodrow Wilson was President.

### *The Prince's Visit*

What moved Gandhi to adopt isolation from all this was his intense belief that even progress, if assisted by Europeans, merely revealed "the helplessness" of India. He has fought, disregarding consequences, for the dignities of the individual Asiatic, chafing under tutelage. At this stage, Allenby's plan would have been to maintain authority with as little fuss and show as possible. Unfortunately, a visit to India by the Prince of Wales had been more than once postponed. To suggest that the heir to the Crown could not

visit his prospective Dominions seemed fatal to prestige and the tour of the Prince has taken place. It was only a partial success. Every ceremony rallied controversialists on both sides. The true defense of the British occupation is, after all, not pageantry. In mere pageantry India can give lessons to mankind. The true argument is service rendered.

### *The Moplah Rebellion*

Gandhi sincerely dislikes the use of force, but his language none the less provoked it, both among Moslems, to whom force is in accordance with religion, and among the Hindus. The Moplah rebellion was wholly pan-Islamic and was directed to converting Hindus by the sword. The Ali brothers, who led the Moslems, were arrested and Gandhi's arrest has followed. It is quite likely that it has come to him as a relief from an impossible dilemma. He might rebel or he might not rebel, but he could not rebel without accepting responsibility for consequences which must include bloodshed.

Worried by Conservative criticism in London, and conscious doubtless that the Court deeply regretted incidents in the tour of the Prince, Montagu relied more and more on pacifying the Moslems. Never really sympathetic with Zionism, he stood out boldly as a pro-Turk, opposed to the Treaty of Sévres, which divided Turkey, and, finally, he appealed to the world, without permission of the Cabinet, for what was, in effect, a surrender of the Near East to Moslem pressure in India. As Foreign Secretary, responsible for negotiating with Turkey and other powers, Lord Curzon, ever a haughty colleague, was deeply incensed. Montagu was immediately called upon to resign. He had invited his fate, but, in the tone adopted toward him, there could be detected a distinct and an unfair note of anti-Semitism.

Neither Gandhi's arrest nor Montagu's disappearance has, up to the present, caused disturbance in India. As Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Rawlinson states plainly that he is ready for emergencies. But in London the investments of India, her loans and stocks and bonds, stand as high as those of Britain. A sensitive money market is unalarmed. The criticisms of British rule may do great good. They may transform the spirit that would thus "rule" into the spirit that regards "rule" as only a form of social service. In such service a reconciliation with Gandhi and with the good that Gandhi has voiced might prove to be of value.

# THE GERMAN MONETARY SITUATION

BY J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN

[Professor Laughlin, one of the most eminent of American economists, has an international reputation as an authority in the field of monetary science. The article which he contributes herewith will be recognized as a notable American contribution to the discussion of the most immediate problem before the Genoa Conference; namely, that of Germany's trade position as affected by her paper money policy.—THE EDITOR.]

WHEN King Perdiccas of Macedon was hard put to it to pay the expenses of his army in the war against the Chalcidians, he had no silver money with which to meet the emergency. Therefore, he made a large supply of coins having a cheap copper core which was veneered with a thin cover of silver and with them paid his troops. It is not a far cry from Macedon to Germany—as astral matters go—when we think of the present devices to pay German obligations in paper marks which do not go through the formality even of having any metallic core. The Macedonian code of monetary morals does not appear to be inferior to the German by comparison. We of the United States can speak by the book on this matter, because we had a bad attack of monetary insanity after the Civil War and were (and still are) deeply “battle-scarred” by the greenback of unholy memory.

There seems to be some fatal obsession resulting from the destruction of war which so enfeebles the public mind that it is unable to distinguish between monetary measures intended to maintain the functions of money as a standard of price as well as a medium of exchange and fiscal measures intended to obtain funds by use of the public credit. The ever recurring fallacy of trying to borrow by issuing bad money—even at the risk of ruining both the monetary and the fiscal systems—has again appeared in Germany (as well as in Central Europe and Russia) as if the sad experience of the past had never been. That it should have become the accepted policy of Germany, where knowledge has been worshipped as a fetish, seems almost incredible. It can hardly be explained except by some characteristic preconceptions about the principles regulating the value of money.

To issue promises to pay on demand—i. e., paper money—without providing any means for the redemption of those promises is usually the trick of a fraudulent absconder, who buys goods and disappears without intending to pay. But is a state, that cannot disappear, any less fraudulent if it tries the trick of getting something without giving a due equivalent? The fact that the state cannot be sued puts the act in a class of sins of a deeper dye than if performed by individuals. How can such aberrations from honor and morals be justified?

Usually the time-worn argument (as with us in 1862) is necessity. That further taxes are impossible and loans unattainable, so that the printing press affords the only means of making payments in a dire emergency. That justification, of course, is the same as that of an embezzler who has sunk millions in his speculations and now claims that by adding to his stealings he can escape from the inevitable day of reckoning. Why should the day of humiliating necessity have ever been allowed to arise? Or, if caught cheating, why continue?

If the excuse be that the emergencies of war forced a resort to paper money, the obvious reply is that the crisis bred of war is all the more reason for not confusing the monetary with the fiscal functions of the state; all the more reason for not so abusing the issue of inconvertible paper that the credit of the state in borrowing by loans should be practically destroyed. To confuse the monetary with the fiscal functions of the treasury by resorting to forced loans in the form of paper money is the very means of creating the most expensive form of necessity which demands additional paper-issue because the springs of credit have been dried up.

## II

German monetary thinking, however, has been so naïve that it, rather than necessity, should be held responsible for the entrance on a path which has led eventually to the existing *impasse*. Bureaucratic Germany, at the beginning of the war in 1914, was dominated by a supernal confidence in the power of the state to control the beliefs and actions of the people, and even to regulate prices and the value of money.

The ability of the state to maintain the value of inconvertible paper money, especially under the autocratic conditions of war, was taken for granted. It was the basis of the carefully drawn-up plans put into effect in August, 1914, for financing the coming struggle. The Reichsbank (the issuer of practically all the banknotes in circulation) was by law relieved from the obligation to redeem its notes in gold. Imperial Treasury notes, also inconvertible, were made legal tender, and small denominations were put out to replace subsidiary coins. Books (like those of Helfferich and Riesser) had been written to show how money and credit should be managed in the war. The Reichsbank announced that, as its notes were legal tender, they were as good as gold in making payment, and hence there was no reason for presenting them for redemption.

## III

How did this theory of money work out? As soon as specie payments were suspended, the banknotes went to a discount in the shops. Absolutism declared that, as they were legal tender, the goods of those shops

which refused to accept them at par would be confiscated. This difficulty was met simply by raising prices. In medieval fashion, autocracy then fixed prices. Nevertheless prices rose. There are some things that the state cannot do: it cannot over-rule the laws of trade.

Then, as if itself distrusting its own theory, every effort was made by the state to accumulate gold in the Reichsbank, for the psychological effect (even if not used for redemption). The war-chest at Spandau, with other helps, had raised the Bank's gold to \$339,000,000 in July, 1914. It was estimated that some \$610,000,000 of gold was held in the country, outside the Bank; and possibly \$255,000,000 in the Austro-Hungarian State Bank. Then a drastic campaign was later made to gather in this gold. With every possible effort during three years, about \$300,000,000 was collected, until the gold reserves of the Reichsbank reached the highest point of \$641,500,000 on May 31, 1917.

Meanwhile, inconvertible banknotes had been increased more than four times. The 5 per cent. tax on the uncovered notes in excess of the *Kontingent* had been early suspended. In addition, the notes of Loan Bureaus (*Darlehenskassenscheine*) without any gold cover were heavily expanded, as well as the Imperial Treasury notes. There was a royal debauch of paper money, on the value of which the super-state seems to have been powerless. The course of events can be sufficiently seen by giving the figures of the expansion of only the main items of the Reichsbank's accounts throughout the war to date:

REICHSBANK [IN MILLIONS OF MARKS FOR DEC. 31, EACH YEAR]

	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921
Circulation .....	2,593	5,045	6,917	8,054	11,467	22,187	35,689	68,805	113,639
Gold and Metallic Reserve..	1,446	2,129	2,477	2,536	2,587	2,282	1,110	1,097	1,007
Demand Liabilities .....	793	1,756	2,359	4,564	8,050	13,280	17,071	22,327	32,905
Ratio of Reserve to Notes and Demand Liabilities.....	42.7	31.3	26.7	20.1	13.2	6.4	2.1	1.2	0.69

More than this, the note-issues are still being increased enormously. Toward the end of March, 1922, they had reached 123,457 millions of marks. Especially should it be noticed that the widest increase has taken place since the armistice (1918). Since then, the issues have risen to five-times those of 1918.

With these facts before us, there can be no doubt whatever as to the cause of the

fall in the value of the German paper mark. An increase of 4800 per cent. in notes, while the gold reserves fell off about 68 per cent., tells the whole story. Legal tender power has not prevented the mark from falling from its gold value of 23.8 cents in our money to less than one-third of one cent. If redemption had been maintained, its value would have been kept at par and its quantity restricted solely to what was required for

monetary purpose. The colossal blunder was in trying to borrow by issuing paper money. The German mark will now take the place of the French *assignats* as the classical example of a wrong monetary policy.

## IV

In his recent speech before the House of Commons on the problems to be taken up at Genoa, Mr. Lloyd George mentioned the necessity of a restoration of the exchanges and the convertibility of the currency into gold. As to the means of attaining this end he was astutely vague. In the case of Germany, there is a wide difference between economic and monetary destruction. The monetary *debacle* could hardly be worse; but the economic factors of production—labor, resources in plants, factories and fields untouched by war, skilled management, and working capital—are fully sufficient for a large industrial activity as soon as political questions are disposed of.

Production of goods is the fundamental thing, underlying all questions of reparations, taxation, foreign exchanges, credit and the restoration of the currency. The derangement of the currency and of the mechanism of credit react on production and impede it; but they can be cured only when production is allowed to function naturally. Credit and the exchanges depend on the production and movement of goods; stabilize the latter and the former will quickly stabilize themselves. If we had no money or credit, we could exist by barter; but, if we had no production, we could not exist at all.

Nevertheless, production and the movement of goods are amazingly facilitated by the mechanism of money and credit. The chief damage which a disordered currency brings to trade is the loss and uncertainty to all contracts brought about by changes in the levels of prices. Germany's depreciated mark, as it has fallen, has forced a repeated revaluation of goods, labor and foreign exchange. Such a confusion of readjustment in wages, freight rates and the like, as prices have risen, has not only brought losses to the working classes, but the widest speculation in the prices of stocks, property and goods. Of course, as the money in which prices are quoted falls, all prices inevitably

go up. Such changes in the level of prices affect the cost of living and act as a means of redistributing wealth—by which the adroit speculator always gains. The present prices of iron and steel are eighty to ninety times the pre-war quotations. How great has been the change of prices due to the depreciation of the mark may be seen by the following brief comparison of prices in several countries (Fed. Res. Bulletin, March, page 325):

	United States	United Kingdom	France	Italy	Germany
1913	100	100	100	100	100
1914	100	101	101	95	100
1915	101	126	137	133	—
1916	124	159	187	202	—
1917	176	206	262	299	—
1918	196	226	339	409	—
1919	212	242	357	362	—
1920	243	291	510	624	1509
July, 1921	148	186	330	520	1473
Sept., 1921	152	175	344	580	1820
Nov., 1921	149	161	332	595	2698
Dec., 1921	149	157	326	595	3283
Jan., 1922	148	167	314	562	3467
Feb., 1922	—	—	306	—	3814
March, 1922	—	—	306	—	4713
Apr. 1, 1922	—	—	—	—	5899

## V

It is quite clear that the value of the paper mark is fundamental to certainty of prices and trade at home and abroad. The situation (including foreign exchange) pivots on the restoration of the value of the mark. If, as Mr. Lloyd George says, convertibility of the paper into gold is necessary, what steps can be taken to that end? Proposals to scale down the point at which convertibility could be undertaken, such as the foolish one of Professor Gustav Cassel in England, are measures of repudiation, and would inflict untold damage on the future credit of the countries adopting them. England has no such intention, and her money is within 10 per cent. of par. Not only England, but France, is retiring her excessive paper money. What can Germany do?

The least that can be done at Genoa is to insist that any further issues of paper be stopped. That goes without saying. Then what next? Germany must give up the insane policy of trying to borrow by printing money. She has already created a demand debt for the Reichsbank by the enormous issue of 123,457 millions of marks, which is increased by billions every week. There is only one thing to be done: that demand debt must be funded into long-term bonds. But, it is at once objected, Germany has no

credit and cannot float any such loans. That objection is aside from the point of refunding the paper. Let bonds be authorized to be exchanged only for paper marks, bearing no interest the first year or two; after that fixing the rate at 1 per cent., and increasing gradually. These bonds could be offered in exchange for paper marks at a rate slightly above their current value, to be frequently raised at the discretion of the Treasury, as the mark rises in value.

There would thus be given an opportunity for disposing of an excess of paper money, without adding any immediate charge on the revenue of the country or lowering the means of meeting reparations. If the notes were gradually retired, the credit of the state would insensibly be improved. In course of time, if this policy were persistently followed, the outstanding notes would be so reduced that a moderate gold reserve would be able to maintain them at par. There is now about \$250,000,000 of gold held by the Reichsbank.

## VI

While it sounds very simple in principle, the carrying out of such a policy would, of course, be met by many practical difficulties. The one great obstacle—as was experienced in the United States from the close of the Civil War to 1879—would come from the necessary, but steady, fall of prices as the mark rose in value. Just as the depreciation of the mark caused a great change in the level of prices and affected all obligations, so the appreciation of the mark would bring about a great readjustment in the opposite direction. There is, however, no escape from such a painful process. The intoxication from over-issues and rising prices was easy, but it must be held responsible for all the pains of recovery. There is no other way back to health. The sufferings arising from falling prices, however, could be much mitigated by announcing a definite but gradual schedule of retirement, so that business could know with some certainty what was to be expected. Much would depend upon the skill and business insight with which the policy was carried out.

The control of public opinion during such a process might be far from easy. It would be a time when monetary fallacies would be plausibly presented by agitators and politicians, and they would find ready acceptance when prices were falling. Moreover, the reduction of money wages (even though real

wages may not be reduced) inevitably brings opposition, especially from all those who would seize upon the opportunity to redistribute wealth.

## VII

Once the standard of domestic prices is placed on a more stable basis, a corresponding change would be brought into the mechanism of foreign trade. If the value of the mark is improved, so will bills of exchange drawn in marks be affected. That is the order of progress, not *vice versa*. It would be futile to try mechanical methods of stabilizing foreign exchanges without reconstructing the factors that underlie the operations of credit. When production of goods can go on without political or international interference, and when they can be exchanged on some definite and sound basis of prices, foreign exchange will afford no difficulties.

At the present time, two distinct elements enter into the quotations of foreign exchange for Germany or any other country whose currency is depreciated: (1) If there were a free international movement of gold, and if Reichsbank notes were convertible into gold, German foreign exchange could vary only within the narrow limits of the "shipping-points" of gold, due to the swing between the exports and imports of goods and financial items. (2) On the other hand, there is now no convertibility for the notes and no shipping-points for foreign exchanges (which for them would be the same as redemption for domestic currency). Hence, foreign exchange is at the mercy of the depreciated mark, while the relative excess of imports or exports have only a remote influence on the actual quotations as published from day to day.

The reason is very simple. A foreign bill is simply a claim to money in another country. Should an American send copper to Germany, everything depends on the kind of money in which he is to be paid. If he draws on the buyer for marks, the figures in the bill would rise as the value of the mark falls relatively to our gold standard. Consequently, a bill of exchange drawn in German marks would be worth no more than the depreciated paper (now less than one-third of a cent for each mark) in which it is payable. Of course, there is great uncertainty as to the value of the mark, and there invariably follows a wide speculation in everything priced in paper marks—that

is, goods, property, securities, and especially foreign exchange. The tendency of German exchanges must continue downward as long as billions of paper marks are put forth each week. There is little sense in talk about "stabilizing" the exchanges when the standard of prices is fluctuating madly.

### VIII

It is passing strange that Berlin (and even London) should imply that the depreciation of foreign exchange is due to the payment of reparations. They suggest that the necessity of buying dollars and foreign currencies is the cause of the depreciation of the mark. That is not a cause, but a result. They assume that the only way of buying gold is by speeding up the printing-presses. That, however, is the most direct way of

lowering Germany's power to buy gold. She may think that the resulting chaos to her financial and industrial system is a possible way to excite sympathy and get a reduction in the reparations demanded; but, while trying to get her roast pig in that fashion, she is burning up her own house.

The matter of reparations is, after all, a political question just now; it cannot be approached economically except by first giving up the fiscal attempt to borrow through issuing bad money, and by giving to credit and exchange a stable standard of prices. Then production, which must be the source of all reparations, will have a chance to function normally. Only harm is done by trying to veneer a money with an artificial value. Perdiccas, or John Law, should teach the Germans better.



DR. JOSEPH WIRTH, GERMAN CHANCELLOR, NOW REPRESENTING HIS COUNTRY AT THE GENOA CONFERENCE

(The German Government's new tax measures, as presented by the Chancellor, were passed by the Reichstag on April 4. These proposals comprise a compulsory loan of one billion gold marks bearing interest annually after three years, intended to cover the budget expenditure for 1922, abandonment of the tax on post-war profits, a 2 per cent. business tax, and an increase in the duty on coal to 40 per cent.)





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THE BOARD OF REVIEW WHICH MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE SECRETARY OF LABOR IN SPECIAL CASES ARISING FROM IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LAWS

(From left to right are: Terence V. Powderly, former Commissioner General of Immigration; Edward J. Shaughnessy; Robt Carl White, chairman; Albert E. Reitzel; George W. Bope; and Miss Anna V. Moynihan, secretary)

# HOW THE IMMIGRATION LAWS ARE NOW WORKING

BY HON. JAMES J. DAVIS, SECRETARY OF LABOR

WE have recently set in motion in the Department of Labor a new and important addition to the United States Immigration Service. Although this feature of the Service has been in operation little more than three months, it has already simplified the workings of the so-called Three Per Cent. law and has eliminated all or nearly all the cases of threatened individual hardship or distress that were certain to arise from a law at once so strict and so suddenly applied. This new addition to the Immigration Service is by name "The Secretary's Board of Review." At practice it is a court of appeals for the hearing and settlement of just these thousand and one close questions, or exceptional cases of persons whose status falls outside the precise requirements of the law.

It is common knowledge that this new law restricts immigration from any nationality to three percentum of the number of persons of that nationality already settled in this country, as reckoned on the census of 1910. It was a necessary measure if, during this period of business reconstruction, we were to save our many unemployed from the millions of aliens who threatened to flood in on us. Coming at such a time these crowds of aliens would have been certain to increase the number of unemployed to dangerous proportions and to place a staggering load upon our public and private charities.

In support of this statement I have only to refer to the official immigration totals for typical pre-war years. In the five years from 1910 to 1914, the average annual number of aliens admitted was 1,034,940. Not the war itself served to cut off immigration completely. If anything, the first year of war accelerated immigration, for in 1914 the alien wave reached the high-water mark of 1,218,480. In 1918, when the slaughter of the battlefields had begun to tell, and the European nations were at the utmost stretch for man-power, the incoming tide to America did drop to its lowest ebb—110,618. How even these hundred-thousand-odd escaped home draft regulations it is impossible to tell; but the fact remains that they came, in only lowered proportions, from about the same countries as of late have furnished us immigrants. And the cessation of war brought instant proof that the flood of immigration would rise to heights never attained in former years.

## *Situation as Affected by Three Per Cent. Law*

In the fiscal year of 1921, not covered by the Three Per Cent. law, the number of arrivals rose to 805,228. Counting in the non-resident or tourist foreigners and the alien seamen examined by the Immigration Service, the grand total was 2,117,502—far in excess of anything before. The European

peoples, sick of war and beggared by it, were persuaded that America had emerged from hostilities untouched and prosperous; and they were poised for a migration to this country on a scale hitherto unapproached in human history. Whereas, the truth was that America was as deeply caught in war's economic aftermath as the rest of the world. Its economic situation was, in one way, even worse. The good fortune which left our manpower so lightly touched in war enlarged

the army of job seekers in our prostration of peace. And this army of our own unemployed was now threatened with a rush of recruits from abroad.

The emergency was grave, and the need of meeting it was imperative. In general, the Three Per Cent. law has fully measured up to this emergency. Its workings stand revealed in the accompanying table, with totals completed to March 22, 1922, which speak for themselves:

Country or Place of Birth	Total Admitted to Date*	Total Admissible Fiscal Year 1921-22	Number Admissible During Remainder Of Year
Albania .....	248	287	39
Austria .....	3,092	7,444	4,352
Belgium .....	1,567	1,557	**
Bulgaria .....	301	301	.....
Czechoslovakia .....	13,878	14,269	391
Danzig .....	55	285	230
Denmark .....	2,228	5,644	3,416
Finland .....	2,042	3,890	1,848
Fiume .....	10	71	61
France .....	3,606	5,692	2,086
Germany .....	13,100	68,039	54,939
Greece .....	3,439	3,286	**
Hungary .....	6,016	5,635	**
Italy .....	42,020	42,021	1
Luxemburg .....	89	92	3
Netherlands .....	1,736	3,602	1,866
Norway .....	3,340	12,116	8,776
Poland (including Eastern Galicia) .....	26,061	25,800	**
Portugal (including Azores and Madeira Islands) .....	2,348	2,269	**
Rumania .....	7,356	7,414	58
Russia (including Siberia) .....	18,225	34,247	16,022
Spain .....	761	663	**
Sweden .....	5,932	19,956	14,024
Switzerland .....	2,755	3,745	990
United Kingdom .....	29,362	77,206	47,844
Jugoslavia .....	6,635	6,405	**
Other Europe (including Andorra, Gibraltar, Lichtenstein, Malta, Memel, Monaco, San Marino, and Iceland) .....	111	86	**
Armenia .....	1,530	1,588	58
Palestine .....	207	56	**
Syria .....	996	905	**
Turkey (Europe and Asia, including Smyrna District) .....	1,085	653	**
Other Asia (including Persia, Rhodes, Cyprus, and territory other than Siberia, which is not included in the Asiatic Barred Zone. Persons born in Siberia are included in the Russia quota) .....	523	78	**
Africa .....	184	120	**
Australia .....	278	271	**
New Zealand .....	75	50	**
Atlantic Islands (other than Azores, Madeira, and islands adja- cent to American Continents) .....	81	60	**
Pacific Islands (other than New Zealand and islands adjacent to the American Continents) .....	11	22	11
<b>TOTAL .....</b>	<b>201,283</b>	<b>355,825</b>	<b>157,015</b>

\*Including aliens who were admitted in excess of quota of certain nationalities for the month of June, 1921, and charged against the quota for the fiscal year 1921-22, as provided in House Joint Resolution No. 153.

\*\*Admissions in excess of the quota for the year appearing in the above table represent temporary admissions made in cases involving unusual hardship. Total excess up to and including March 22, 1922, 2,473.

Yet however carefully the law was framed, it could not be shaped in advance so as to take care of every individual human variant arriving at our shores.

Hence the number of these exceptional immigration cases, outside the direct provisions of the law, which we have had to adjust in the course of its administration.

For that matter, every immigrant who comes here is a case in himself. Immigrants are not a standardized article of import; each is a human being, with every variety of individuality and circumstance, and he is multiplied into the hundred thousands. Still, in all but these exceptional cases, the Three Per Cent. law has worked successfully with the vast majority of new arrivals. The bulk of our new immigrants have had no difficulty in meeting the provisions of the law as to physical and mental fitness and ability to earn a livelihood. In the regular course of procedure in the Immigration Service, a Board of Inquiry sits at every port of entry, and examines and passes the incoming human tide. When this Board of Inquiry meets exceptional cases—the case falling outside the precise terms of the law, the case where deportation is recommended, or where a question arises balancing the good of the country against hardship to the individual alien—this Board of Inquiry leaves such matters to immigrants for appeal to headquarters in Washington.

#### *Board of Review for Exceptional Cases*

Until recently I had made an effort to review these exceptional cases myself. Of late they have been piling in at the rate of 75 to 100 a day. Even if the problems involved were simply matters of administrative routine, the task would have been too great for any one man, if he were to do justice to all the appealing persons. I will say also that these strong personal appeals perhaps affect me as they might not some others. Being originally an immigrant myself, I know the aspirations of newcomers, their hopes and feelings and trials. It has been my aim all along to bring a broad and humanitarian spirit into the administration of our strict immigration law. Hence, altogether, the rendering of decisions in these exceptional cases has been something more than a mere burden of routine; it has meant a constant strain on my own feelings. I have had on my hands a rigid law to enforce, and a hatred of seeing any law cut too deeply into human nerves. The law was necessary, but it was never meant to create hardship.

As a way out of these staggering burdens, we have set up this Board of Review, working under my personal supervision and under a binding injunction always to lean on the side of humanity so far as a fair administration of the law will permit in the handling of cases appealed.

This Board of Review has now held daily sittings every working day since the 1st of January. Already it has fully justified its existence. Its work has been prompt, systematic, accurate, fair, and a great addition to the service. The five men composing the board have handled a vast volume of business, with high speed and smooth precision. And their handling of these delicate questions, of humanity involved with the law, has been beyond criticism.

Hitherto immigrants who have found themselves entangled for some reason in the provisions of the Three Per Cent. law, or their friends, have been quick to rush into the newspapers with stories of fancied wrongs—and with resultant misunderstanding on the part of the public. The new and more systematic method of handling these individual clashes with legal requirements has now put the Immigration Service precisely where we have wanted it to rest—on a basis of equity and system, so that there are no longer stories of hardship to tell.

These close questions as to the application of the law are of every conceivable variety. Here is one typical example: Two Polish parents may be admissible to the United States, while a child born to them in Hungary on their way to America may, under a strict reading of the law, be ruled out on account of the fact that the quota for Hungary has been exhausted and no more Hungarians can be admitted. Of course this is, on the face of it, absurd. Such matters were not anticipated in the original shaping of the law. What is more, any law must necessarily be blind to individual interests, although at times such personal interests may be important enough to make the law itself appear, as Carlyle once called it, "an ass." It happens, however, that Congress has been asked to amend the Three Per Cent. law so as to accept all children, wherever born, as of the same nationality as their parents. In any case the Secretary of Labor is allowed certain discretionary powers under the law, and I have always used them to decide exceptional cases on the side of humanity and common sense. Now that the Board of Review has been organized, I have passed along to it this policy of simple humanity.



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HON. JAMES J. DAVIS, SECRETARY OF LABOR

A day or two passed at the hearings of the Board of Review is like a day in a theater. Its hearings are a steady procession of one-act plays. Many of them afford comic relief; many of them border on the tragic. As already stated the board consists of five members long trained in the service of the Department of Labor. As we were without appropriation for this special service, we have had to draw upon several bureaus in the Department in order to organize the new board. The members are Robe Carl White, chairman, Terence V. Powderly (former Commissioner of Immigration), Albert E. Reitzel, Edward J. Shaughnessy, and George W. Bope, with Miss Anna V. Moynihan as Secretary.

The business of this new board, of course, is only that of examination. In every case its findings are referred for final decision to Mr. Henning or myself.

Roughly, the cases of appeal referred to the Board of Review fall under three main heads. Aliens denied admittance at our ports have a right of appeal under certain conditions. Another large proportion of the work consists of cases of Chinese aliens falling under both the Chinese Exclusion Act and

the general immigration laws. By far the most numerous—and the most dramatic—class of cases referred to the board are the appeals of undesirables, “red” or “pink” suspects, the weak-minded, the physically unfit, or the morally depraved, who have got into the country and are praying for the privilege of at least temporary residence, or are fighting to stave off deportation.

For a real understanding of the workings of this strange court it is necessary to assume the part of the spectator at its proceedings for a day or a week, and watch the unfolding of the drama played before it.

The Board of Review is like any court, except that the five judges are also the jury. The alien subject to deportation, or otherwise at odds with the law, may appear before the board in person, and many of them do so; or they may be represented by attorney; or a welfare organization or public-spirited individual may employ legal counsel to handle the case of some alien. Sometimes a Senator or Congressman has been appealed to, or has interested himself in a particular case, as originating among his constituents, and will either appear in person before the board or will send his secretary. But as Washington is distant from New York and other ports of entry, and as the journey and lodging question may mean a heavy item of cost, it is oftentimes that these appealed cases are handled by attorneys.

### *A Question of Feeble-Mindedness*

Let us take as a typical case that of a boy, aged eleven, one of four children, of parents who came here in 1916. The father and mother passed all the legal requirements as to health, mentality, and ability to support themselves and conform to the usages of our country. The other children are normal, whereas this boy was and still is reported to be feeble-minded. On the question of feeble-mindedness the law is mandatory. It orders instant exclusion. If, under unusual circumstances, a feeble-minded person is temporarily admitted, deportation hangs over nevertheless. This boy, on being landed, was given the usual examination, was spotted at once by the experts as being an imbecile and therefore no desirable member of our community, and so was slated for return to his grandparents. This was in 1916, during the war, when ocean travel was congested and dangerous, and deportations were out of the question. The boy was therefore paroled with his father, subject to oversight by the immigration authorities.

Meanwhile the father of the boy set up a tailoring business and, being industrious, he has prospered. He has also made himself a citizen of the United States. He contends that on account of this citizenship, and because he is able to support the boy and prevent his becoming a public charge, the United States should not now deport him. He bolsters his argument with doctors' certificates showing that his boy has been sent to school, has made progress, and is overcoming his state of feeble-mindedness. Members of the family have made affidavits that the boy is well-behaved. Not forgetting the emotional element, the whole family tell what a tragedy it would mean to them and to the boy if the lad is sent back to his home-land. Every possible argument, legal, logical, and emotional, is brought to bear on the feelings of every member of the Board of Review.

"Why inflict sorrow and hardship," he argues, "in tearing this one boy from his brothers and sisters, from his very parents, and sending him back to loneliness? Here the boy is improving. His father is now a citizen; he guarantees—he will give bond—that the boy shall never become a charge on public or private charity. Surely the boy himself, son of an American citizen, is entitled to grow up into citizenship. How can you members of this board legally or morally invoke the law and tear this young lad from home and happiness and send him to certain death in the land where accident determined his birth?"

The argument has weight and warrant, and the lawyer is skilful. He states his case clearly and with eloquence. He is moving in his obvious sincerity. There looks to be only one answer to it. It would be a simple matter to say: "Here are 110,000,000 people in this country. What does it matter if we let in one inoffensive boy who is sure to be well cared for, especially as he may recover from his mental ailment and become a useful citizen?"

#### *A Painstaking Inquiry*

But the answer is not so easy as appears. On the table before Chairman White lies the file on the case, numbering over one hundred pages. To leaf over that file of papers is to be astonished at the minute, painstaking care our Government puts into every individual case of this kind—and there are thousands of similar cases. In this particular instance the papers date from December 31, 1916, to February, 1922—well over five years—and they embrace everything from the original

May—5



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HON. E. J. HENNING, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF  
LABOR

order for deportation of the boy to the final order by the Board of Review.

Between that beginning and this ending, you will find in order appeals by the father, affidavits by members of the family, the lawyer's brief, complete stenographic minutes of two or more examinations of the boy, numerous decisions and notes by and to the Commissioner at Ellis Island, by and to the Commissioner General in Washington, by and to the Assistant Secretary of Labor in two Administrations, and reports of medical examiners, private and governmental, because this boy was examined exhaustively and repeatedly. The parents were assured by *their* examiners that the boy had improved in school; the United States medical officers had reported him hopelessly feeble-minded, incapable of improvement, and certain to become a charge on the public when his father had ceased to be able to support him.

Incidentally the file in this case contains references to refusals on the part of the parents at divers times to produce the boy for examination, proofs of evasions of one sort or another, and a final effort to keep the boy out of Government hands such as to

lead to arrest in the end. All in all, it is a circumstantial case against the parents of the boy as well as against the boy himself. From time to time, over a period of more than five years, the full resources of a Department of the Government have been bent to the interests of one lone feeble-minded boy, born in a far-away land, who came here and wants to stay here. And now at last, for a full half-hour, the lawyer who represents him is permitted to argue before this Board of Review and ask it to ignore all the damaging papers in the file before it, to overrule all the adverse reports, and permit the Secretary of Labor to use discretionary powers vested in him by our immigration laws and issue an order permitting this imbecile boy to remain in the United States of America.

The lawyer in this case naturally sees nothing but the interests of his single client. To him the decision should be easy and prompt. But the members of the Board of Review have other matters in mind. For one thing, they have always in view the best interests of the United States. Quite outside the damaging documents in the file are still other considerations—chief among them the establishment of dangerous precedents. It would be easy to stretch a point and permit this one boy to stay, but if that were done, what of the hundreds or thousands of other cases, like this one, every one of them appealed on the ground that "You let this first boy in; why not these others?"

In the minds of the Board of Review, the law restricting immigration was passed for the express purpose of safeguarding the United States of America. If, one by one, thousands of exceptions to the law are made, the whole purpose of the statute is defeated. Between that purpose and the interests of humanity fall these cases in deciding which the wisdom of Solomon himself would be well employed. The judgments of the Board of Review must involve no undue suffering or hardship to the individuals appealing to its decision; but after all, the question of hardship to our country must be kept—and is kept—always in mind.

The instance above mentioned is but a single case. There are days when the Board of Review weighs seventy-five such cases.

#### *Where Was John Chinaman Born?*

Again, an attorney has come from Boston, in the interests of a Chinaman who has come into conflict with the immigration laws and stands on the edge of deportation. This case brings out amusing Mongol characteristics.

John Chinaman has at one time taken solemn oath that he was born an American citizen. Another Chinaman has sworn to having known him as a boy in California and has afterward recognized him—after an interval of twelve years, when the boy has grown to manhood! This is hardly a likely story, but, as suavely and logically presented by the attorney, it is for the moment credible. Once again, however, the deadly file of papers disgorges something damaging. The records of a draft board show that John Chinaman swore in 1918 that he was born in China. He did this, of course, to dodge service under the draft. He befogged his case, nevertheless. The inevitable question arises: In which instance, if in either, was John Chinaman telling the truth? The board will have to look into this matter more carefully. Decision is reserved. And a lawyer of repute has journeyed hither and back a thousand miles to argue such a case for such a doubtful citizen. It is typical of the unceasing pressure of interest under which this Board of Review does its work.

#### *Human Aspects of Legal Tangles*

An Armenian clergyman appears before the Board of Review to plead for a group of his fellow-nationals who have been landed here in excess of the quota from Armenia, and whose deportation is under consideration. The secretary of a Western Senator appears in behalf of a Greek who is ordered deported as charged with renting property for immoral purposes. Citizens have written to the Senator that this Greek has been grossly misrepresented, injured, and infamously charged by business rivals. But again the deadly file discharges its pages upon pages of sworn testimony that this Greek knew perfectly well what he was doing, and should be deported.

Here is a widow with two very young children. Her husband came afoul of the immigration law because he was the victim of a dangerous disease and was therefore subject to deportation, along with his family. During the course of proceedings against him, he has died. Now his widow is a subject of charity, and so are her children. When the immigration inspectors call to take her, she starts a riot, abetted by her neighbors. She refuses to permit her two children to be photographed for their passports. She tells the Immigration Service that it may deport her dead body, but nothing else. Thus this lone woman has so far defied the entire United States. The Board of Review itself

is amused at the humorous aspect of this matter. But it has a serious side. The question of setting up an example, a precedent, has always to be considered. Thousands of similar cases will have to be decided, perhaps on the basis of this one. The mother cannot be separated from her children, the older of whom is but four. What is to be done in the matter? Again the wisdom of Solomon might here find worthy exercise.

These are but random pickings among the knotty problems once laid before the Secretary of Labor or Assistant Secretary, but now first brought before this Board of Review. Each case is, in the first place, a tangled tissue of legal questions. Yet behind the legal issue in each case lies something else that is never lost sight of—the human element, the individual or family suffering the anguish of separation, the prosperous alien who will lose valuable business holdings because he has put himself squarely across some line of the law. And over all these matters hovers always the question of the good of our country, which is never for a moment to be forgotten.

Thousands upon thousands of aliens come here, pass all the tests and requirements of law, and enter the country almost certain to become welcome additions to its citizenry. The exceptional cases are nearly always persons of more or less undesirability. A strict and brutal reading of the law would read them out in the very beginning. All that saves them from immediate expulsion is some confusing human element, something pitiable, that makes a strict ruling of the law hard or impossible to enforce.

To make matters still more complicated, special interests have been at work, racial or commercial, to defeat this new protective immigration law. These interests have put out propaganda in wholesale. Every conceivable effort has been made in the newspapers to paint the Immigration Service as utterly bungling and inhuman. The truth is—and our people should know it—that the excessively difficult task of fairly enforcing our necessary restrictive immigration law has been carried out with a great record of justice achieved against enormous odds, not the least of which is insidious propaganda.

### *One Month's Record*

As some index to the staggering volume of work accomplished by this new Board of Review, since its organization at the first of the year, the figures for the month of January alone may speak for themselves:

Alien Contract Labor.....	46
Chinese cases .....	58
Dangerous contagious diseases.....	29
Loathsome contagious diseases.....	38
Crimes involving moral turpitude.....	61
Crimes involving prostitution.....	19
Stowaways .....	30
Communists .....	10
Without passport .....	49
Aliens unaccompanied under 16.....	21
Aliens assisted .....	56
Accompanying aliens .....	29
Coming as excess quota.....	208
Likely to become public charges.....	595
Physically defective.....	126
Feeble-minded .....	27
Insane .....	14
Entering without inspection.....	149
Illiterates .....	193
Coming from "barred zone".....	4
Deaf and dumb .....	3

So much for one month's grind in the ordinary routine of this new special board, itself a single cog in a Government activity by no means the least in importance and by all odds the most heavily burdened with duties—the United States Immigration Service. How delicate and exacting its duties are the public little appreciates or knows, and the service is kept too everlastingly busy to explain itself. In consequence it performs its duties under a heavy handicap of misunderstanding or wilful misrepresentation. Given a sharp law to enforce, it must daily cut into the human tangle, and remain silent, while those affected become talkative when some nerve of self-interest is touched.

These aliens who come to us are pathetically eager to get in, most of them deserve to get in, and many have given their all to do so. Little understanding the reason for the bars we have had at last to raise across the former open asylum for the poor and oppressed, those caught in the gates are naturally quick to complain. An instant echo of their complaint arises from their fellow nationals already arrived. Their stories of wrong, always more fancied than real, easily lend themselves to exploitation in the press.

It may be that the head or the chief breadwinner of some European family has come here in advance, to establish himself and prepare the way for the rest of the family. One by one they are brought over, leaving until the last some lone member who may be feeble-minded, afflicted with a dangerous disease, or otherwise a doubtful candidate for admittance under the law. Nothing is said, please note, as to the sad parting that has already taken place when this lone member is left in Europe. At last, however, the risk of his



final arrival is to be tried. The more emotionally inclined members of his family will gather on the dock to greet him—and to lament and protest if he is to be turned back “to loneliness, helplessness, and poverty in Europe.” News-gatherers, always on the alert for the touching and picturesque, are quick to seize upon such incidents, unaware that the entire scene has been carefully staged.

From press, platform, and by letter it is demanded of us that we do what we should like only too well to do if we were able. Why, we are asked, do we not end the appalling abuse resulting from wholesale smuggling of aliens across our borders? The answer is, Congress has not given us the funds. Why, we are asked, do we not, in the interests of common sense and system, transfer our points of inspection and examination to Europe itself, and so save the hopeless cases from the loss and hardship of a fruitless journey across the Atlantic and back? From our American standpoint, nothing could be more sensible and advisable. The answer is that delicate diplomatic problems of invaded sovereignty are involved. Other nations object, as we should object, to having officials of an alien country on their soil, dictating which of their nationals should emigrate and which should not.

#### *Fining Steamship Companies for Bringing Unfit Aliens*

One abuse which rose to great proportions under the old immigration law we have been able to reduce to a minimum under the Three Per Cent. act. This is through a system of fining steamship companies for bringing over aliens who are on the face of it unfit mentally or physically and certain to be turned back. Under the old law a fine of only \$100 was imposed for each violation, and the steamship company was allowed to keep the passage money paid and even charge something additional on the return passage. Under the new law, the fine is \$200 for each individual violation; the passage money must be returned, and the return passage must be at the expense of the company. This has been effectual, yet one addition to the law is needed, in the shape of a fine for each individual alien brought here in excess of the quota. And Congress has been asked to provide such amendment.

As for the policy of continuing the Three Per Cent. law itself, the House of Representatives undoubtedly spoke for the country in voting to keep it in force for another year.

The Senate will probably do likewise. While the present law was enacted as an emergency measure, until some permanent immigration policy shaped itself in the minds of our people, it is clear that the emergency—in the form of continued unemployment and slackness in business—is with us yet, and it would seem the wise course to keep in force the original safeguard.

#### *Duty of Educating the Alien*

For years welfare organizations have been grappling with the problem of a more even distribution of our aliens over the country, as a corrective to the poverty, ill-health, and other evils resulting from their habit of collecting in the large cities, chiefly New York. I am often asked as to my attitude toward lending the efforts of the Department of Labor to this movement. My personal wish is strongly for such a distribution, as a ready means of improving the status of the alien and at the same time helping the country to profit more fully by his abilities. But for the Government to take a direct and deliberate hand in any placement system would, in my view, savor of offensive paternalism. We cannot order these people about; we can only induce and persuade them. This very effect would be sure to follow, and without offensive interference with individual liberty, as a natural result of a measure I have lately laid before Congress. This is a law looking toward the enrolment of all aliens, much as citizens register and pay for the privilege of voting. The prime purpose of this enrolment is to put these aliens to school and educate them for citizenship, the one great thing the Government can and should do for them. So long as we admit aliens at all, we owe them this education, this Americanization, as a solemn duty. It is the one way to set the melting-pot to melting. It is the one way to convert these hordes of raw newcomers, most of them ignorant and many of them sullen, into good American citizens. Their more even distribution over the land is only one of the benefits that would flow automatically from their education.

In this article for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS I hope I have presented evidence enough to make it conclusive that the difficult and delicate business of sifting, from the thousands of newcomers who knock at our doors, the doubtful from those who will become welcome additions to our citizenship is being done in a manner to serve the best interests of the alien and the good of our country.



ONE OF SAN FRANCISCO'S RECENTLY COMPLETED RESIDENTIAL TRACTS

(This tract is typical of many being built in San Francisco, in residential sections now easily reached from the business center by means of the new Twin Peaks Tunnel, over two miles in length)

# ARE WE SOLVING THE HOUSING PROBLEM?

BY HARLEAN JAMES

**W**HAT is the housing problem in the United States? That there is a housing shortage we know. We are agreed that we have the population to fill a million or more homes in addition to the more than twenty-four million "abiding places" of single families recorded in the 1920 census. In fact it is stated that New York City alone could fill at least 80,000 new apartments, an "apartment" there being the equivalent of a home. But the problem resolves itself by progression.

How many abiding places could we fill at a monthly rental of \$25 a room?

How many abiding places could we fill at a monthly rental of \$20 a room? or

How many abiding places could we fill at a capital room cost of \$1500?

How many abiding places could we fill at a capital room cost of \$1000?

And so on down to the lowest figure for which housing with American standards of living can be produced.

## *Can the People Pay for Houses?*

In other words, can the American people pay for the houses they need? Can new houses be built for families of every size income, or may low wage-earners only hope to fall heir to the discarded homes of their more prosperous fellow citizens who move into new houses? Is a second-hand house in the same category as second-hand clothing?

Let us see. In the early part of the last decade houses and apartments stood idle in many cities of the United States. Many owners failed to realize even 3 per cent. on their investments. Some could not meet current expenses. And yet when building was cheap and rents were cheaper *there were*

those who could not afford decent living quarters. We have never been able to escape entirely the problem of the low wage-earner and the increasingly high material standard of living which we are pleased to call American. In those days the housing problem concerned only the poor and ignorant. But the soaring costs of construction have removed the term *housing* from the catalogue caption *sociology*, subhead *housing reform*, to that of *economics*, subhead *family budgets*. Rents for houses and apartments have increased by leaps and bounds, as hundreds of thousands can testify from bitter experience. The problem is not sectional, but nationwide; nor is it limited to the poorer classes.

When a rising young executive in our leading metropolitan center finds that he cannot afford a five-room-and-bath apartment to house himself and family, he is apt to be loud in his protestations that the times are out of joint. From city and village and town have come complaints of blue-sky rentals. From the crowded cities have come vigorous protests against such practices as have been uncovered by the Lockwood Committee in New York and the Daily investigation in Chicago. Consumers of houses, whether tenants or owners, have paid the piper for the graft, collusion and waste in the building trades.

#### *Rent and the Family Budget*

Now let us examine our budgets. For a good many years we have been told that one-fifth of the family income could safely go for rent. In the case of apartments heated and supplied with telephone and janitor service from 3 to 5 per cent. could be added. There were those who insisted that one-fourth of the lower wage rates might be spent for shelter. Still others, notably the late Jacob Schmidlapp, maintained that the proper budget for low-wage earners was one day's wage for one week's rent, that is, on the basis of a Saturday half-holiday, about 18 per cent.

How many families to-day are able to pay rent from 18 per cent., 20 per cent., or even 25 per cent. of their incomes? We are told that 40 per cent. comes much nearer to the truth in the congested centers. But we must recognize that only under the severest pressure of necessity will the families of skilled mechanics, business and professional men continue to pay 35 or 40 per cent. of their incomes for rent. The sacrifice of other recognized and desirable items in the family budget is too great.

#### *The Standard of Living*

The discrepancy between income and rent has always existed for the few. To-day the masses of the people (and voters) are caught in the same steel trap. Sometimes the standard of living has been lowered by overcrowding. Sometimes the privacy of the family has been maintained at the lowering of other standards of material and spiritual living.

One of the by-products of the Government's war housing was the crystallization of the best experience in this country into a set of housing standards recommended by the United States Housing Corporation for permanent industrial housing developments. It was sought to provide sufficient light and air in all rooms and to prevent conditions which would imperil the health or morals of the occupants. Some cost is involved in meeting these standards. Small inside rooms, insufficient yard space, antiquated plumbing, dark and dangerous stairways, omission of air space between roofs and ceilings, walls which draw dampness—these things may permit owners to save money, but it is now well established that such money is saved at great social sacrifice. In this time of high building costs, when every effort is being made to reduce the expense of construction, it is important to preserve the housing standards which have been established by years of unremitting labor.

#### *Owners and Renters*

One of the discouraging aspects of the housing problem is that we have become a nation of renters. Of the 24,351,676 families listed by the 1920 census 12,943,698 rented their abiding places. Only 10,866,960 owned their homes. Over 4,000,000 of these homes were mortgaged, but in so far as these mortgages stood for ambitious families who were buying homes on the instalment plan there is nothing inherently discouraging in that fact. On a falling market it is true that some unfortunate families may be entirely closed out of small equities, and these casualties may cause some reaction against home ownership; but it may be assumed that by far the greater number of families will continue their payments until they have cleared their homes of mortgage encumbrance.

In the census figures, however, there are some bright spots. Renters are on the increase by and large, but in spite of the ubiquitous apartment, fifty of the sixty-eight leading cities in the United States show more home owners in 1920 than in 1910.



A RESIDENTIAL SECTION OF WATERBURY, CONN., CREATED BY THE AMERICAN BRASS COMPANY FOR ITS EMPLOYEES

Taking the ten cities showing the largest percentage of home ownership in 1920 we find that during the decade 1910-1920 home ownership increased in the following ratio:

St. Paul.....	41.2 to 46.1	per cent.
Baltimore .....	33.7 to 46.3	" "
Seattle .....	44.9 to 46.3	" "
Reading .....	39.6 to 46.6	" "
Kansas City, Kan.....	46.1 to 47.6	" "
Youngstown .....	40.7 to 47.8	" "
Omaha .....	39.8 to 48.4	" "
Toledo .....	44.3 to 49.4	" "
Grand Rapids .....	47.0 to 50.2	" "
Des Moines .....	45.6 to 51.1	" "

Of the larger cities, Philadelphia increased in home ownership from 26.6 to 39.5 per cent., which represents a distinct advance in a city which added some 275,000 people to its population in the decade. In New York City, with layers of apartments spread over acres of land, individual home ownership increased from 11.7 to 12.7 per cent. for the million and a quarter families listed.

In part, undoubtedly, the small increase of renters from 54.2 per cent. in 1910 to 54.4 per cent. in 1920 is due to the multi-family plant which requires considerable capital to produce. But the increase in renters may also be traced to a typically American attitude of mind. We rent because we do not want the responsibility nor the anchorage of a home. We want to be free—free to move from city to city, free to move from apartment to apartment. Like the printer who had a "good loose trade," we want a good,

loose business and freedom from permanent ties to a community. As city renters we like that status best in which managers of new and modern apartment houses bid for us as tenants, offering us inducements to come and live in the latest-built structures. Thus we leave our outworn shells each time, to pass on to those who find the alabaster lining newer and more brilliant than that of *their* last domicile. All the way from the duplex apartment de luxe to the still-surviving cold-water tenement, an over-supply of "abiding places" permits this endless procession of families.

And so it happened that during the years when rentals in New York ran from \$3 a room for the poorest type to perhaps \$12 or \$15 a room for light, elevator apartments in good, though not fashionable, neighborhoods, many families thought they could invest their earnings in railroad stocks or business ventures to better advantage than in owning a home; for building costs, though they were low by comparison with the present, were often higher than rents.

Some people tell us that the trouble lies in the high cost of building. That is one of our troubles, and a very big one. We have suffered not only from the inflation of the dollar but from the wasteful methods which have pyramided costs of producing houses. But let us not deceive ourselves. Suppose all of the waste squeezed out (and we shall show that there are definite opportunities to do this), suppose costs reduced to bed-rock; they will still be above pre-war costs. We

are not likely in the near future to see rents back to the below-cost rate of ten or fifteen years ago. Only over-production can do this. No rent commission would be guilty of forcing owners to rent their premises at the low rates prevailing in the years when landlords themselves voluntarily built so many houses that they forced rents below an economic level through competition for tenants in the open market.

The renters who reaped the harvest of saving from cheap rents during the lean years for the landlords were, of course, the first to feel the pinch of the high rents due to under-production. The families who have been able to weather the late unpleasantness with comfort and equanimity are the home-owners who invested in homes during the period when it cost more to own than to rent. Such owners have been able to snap their fingers at the adversity which the changed economic conditions have brought to the renters, often taxed beyond their capacity to pay.

The moral is clear: Own your own home if it is humanly possible. Become a part of your community. Make yourself independent of the fluctuations in the housing market and become a participating citizen of the nation. Recognize with Mr. Hoover that "a nation of majority rule should be a nation of majority (home) ownership."

### *The Coöperative Alternative*

Coöperative housing is frequently proposed as a remedy for housing ills. The charming coöperative homes described by Mrs. Warbasse in the February REVIEW

OF REVIEWS make a strong human appeal. One wonders why architectural taste seems to flourish more lustily in Europe than in the United States. But the business of housing is a complicated economic and social problem, and it is only after a minute examination of the whole process of construction and management that one may intelligently compare results on two continents. Certainly there is everything to be said for coöperation if it can be brought about.

The division of foods and markets of the department of farms and markets in the State of New York has published a bulletin on coöperative housing, which mentions a group in Brooklyn, organized a few years ago, in which thirty-two families, as owner-tenants, are paying only \$26 a month for five-room apartments, which would bring \$70 in the open market. But if this isolated example is one of the few which can be "pointed to with pride" from a period when the coöperators could hope to be on the right side of the market, what may we expect in periods when less-than-cost rents make coöperative ownership more expensive than renting?

It was the hope of many who had observed coöperative ownership abroad that the sale of Liberty Bonds to the American public would bear fruit in a willingness of American workers to invest in coöperative housing schemes. As a nation our wage-earners have generally preferred—or at least have better understood—ownership in houses and lots which they could see, rather than in securities which mysteriously changed in value overnight. Perhaps

this preference for holding tangible property, perhaps our gambling spirit which makes us dissatisfied with the promise of small and steady returns, perhaps our individual initiative which leads us to invest in property (even oil stock) which we think we can sell for large profits, perhaps our love of change and desire for freedom of movement, perhaps the intensity of our interest in whatever specialty we have made our own and our willingness to spend time in helping to "run" the business of the grocer who supplies us with food or the landlord



A FOUR-FAMILY HOUSE IN THE INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE AT CLAYMONT, DEL.



HOMES FOR EMPLOYEES OF THE GENERAL CHEMICAL COMPANY IN ITS RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT AT CLAYMONT, DEL.

who supplies us with housing, all contribute to the unfallow soil into which so far the seeds of coöperative societies of consumers have fallen in this country. The successful marketing combinations which have been formed in the United States are organizations of producers, not consumers.

But if we in the United States have proved reluctant disciples of Rochdale co-operative methods, we have progressed in recent years in methods of community control. Restricted subdivisions have paved the way for intelligent zoning of entire cities under laws that definitely set up the health, comfort, morals, and safety of the community as transcendent to the individual liberty of property owners, with the result that investment in homes in the zoned cities will be protected against many forms of depreciation operating in the past.

#### *The High Cost of Housing Credits*

But whether we approach housing as owners, tenant-owners, or tenants, we all contribute to unnecessary costs. There are many processes in which it is thought savings could be made. As compared to the ease and economy of obtaining credit for other purposes, it seems to many of us that housing credits are unnecessarily penalized.

If you or I want to build a home, how may we secure credit? If you own your lot, your first thought will be to secure a loan from a building and loan association

which will arrange for repayment of principal and interest at 6 per cent. by monthly payments, which may be met from your income. But you will probably find, as others are finding, that applications made to these associations far exceed available funds. Recognizing the building-and-loan principle as a sound method of financing homes, Congress has recently included an amendment to the Revenue Act granting an exemption of \$300 annual income from investments in domestic building-and-loan associations for five years from January, 1922. It is hoped that this will stimulate investments in building-and-loan stock, which commonly yields 6 per cent., somewhat in excess of interest ordinarily allowed by savings banks.

But if you cannot secure a prompt loan from a building-and-loan association you may try your savings bank, since an amendment to the Federal Reserve Act permits savings departments of national banks to lend on local real estate up to 50 per cent. of the value for a period of one year. But you may discover that your savings bank prefers more liquid and more profitable investments, and on second thought you will probably conclude that the uncertainty of your ability to renew the loan at the end of the first year, and the difficulty encountered in securing a second mortgage for the 30 per cent. not covered by the bank loan and the value of your lot, will place the savings-bank medium in the discard.

You may agree with Mr. Franklin T. Miller that some part of the \$2,000,000,000 deposited by the people of this country in the savings departments of national banks ought to be released into housing through longer-term mortgages for a greater proportion of the value; but possibly the most direct method of bringing this about is to promote larger investment in building-and-loan stock.

You may stop a moment to wish that the Home Loan Bank bill had passed Congress and so extended housing credits; but, since you desire to build this year, you may approach various brokers. You will probably find that during the period of construction builders are paying at least 2 to 4 per cent. bonus for *accommodation* at 7 or 8 per cent. Of course this adds to your cost of construction. When the completed house is turned over to you, you will be obliged to refinance it at a bonus of perhaps 2 per cent., in addition to the interest rate of 6 or 7 per cent. for the first mortgage, with considerably higher bonus and interest on the second mortgage, where the law permits high interest rates. Where the interest rate is held down the bonus rate goes up.

#### *Are Insurance Assets Available?*

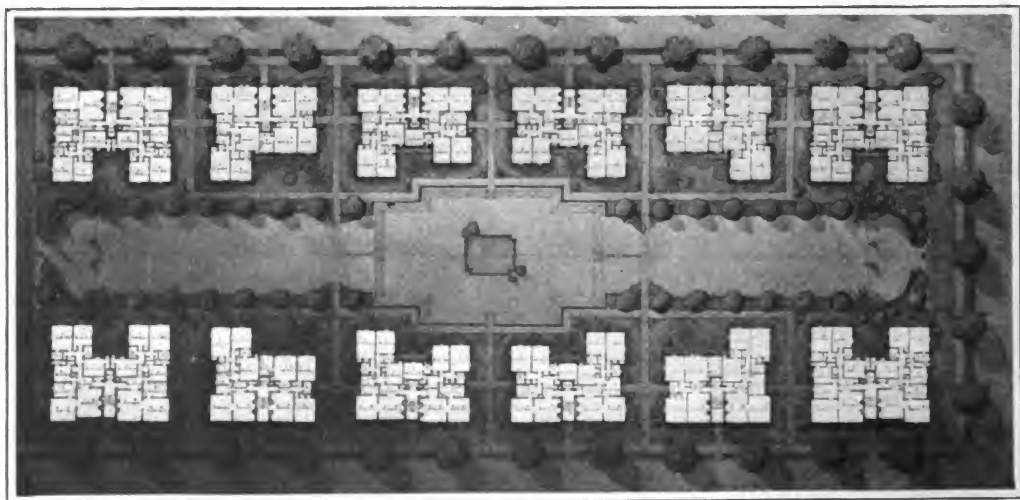
Mr. Samuel Untermyer has called attention to another reservoir of credit if it can be opened up. He urges use of insurance funds for housing credits, and to that end two bills were introduced into the New York State Legislature, the first to permit insurance companies to invest 10 per cent. of their

assets in housing and the second to require insurance companies to invest 40 per cent. of funds available in the future in real estate mortgages up to 30 per cent. of the total assets. The latter compulsory bill failed to pass; but the permissive bill is now a law, and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which has for many years loaned money on mortgages to finance extensive building operations, and more recently small housing ventures, has offered to make \$100,000,000 available for home building in New York if "absolute safety to the policy-holders" can be shown.

The Metropolitan Company has a unique opportunity to place before the community examples of the best types of housing, and even more important, to develop improved methods of management and through its corps of field-workers to contribute to better standards of living and health. Such investment of funds by a company which carries the risk of life and health for great numbers of small wage-earners might be justified on more than one ground. It should be recognized, however, that the provision and management of housing is a highly technical operation and subject to fluctuations in the value of the dollar and rental market. Consequently, it is extremely unlikely that many insurance companies will be in a position to go into the housing business.

#### *Squeezing Out Unnecessary Costs*

But as a lot owner, determined to build, you may not live in a neighborhood to profit



"GARDEN APARTMENTS" A NEW DEPARTURE IN SUBURBAN HOMES FOR CITY DWELLERS

(The bedrooms are all in the rear, instead of on the street as formerly; and the "rear" becomes a vast park or garden, 550 feet long and 80 feet wide. The sleeping rooms are thus cool in summer and free from street noises and dust. A front view of this block of apartments is shown on the opposite page.)





A BLOCK OF GARDEN-TYPE APARTMENT HOUSES BEING ERECTED IN JACKSON HEIGHTS, A NEW YORK CITY SUBURB, AT A COST OF \$2,000,000

(By referring to the ground-floor plan, printed on the opposite page, it will be seen that there are twelve distinct apartment houses in the block, with twenty feet between buildings. Jackson Heights is a part of Long Island City, which itself is a section of Greater New York. With Manhattan and Brooklyn overpopulated, and with the Bronx rapidly approaching such a condition, the home-builder in the metropolis is now going in large numbers to the Borough of Queens, where light and air are still to be had and where residences large and small are being erected on land recently farmed.)

by the funds before mentioned, so that you will probably await your turn with some building-and-loan association. Having obtained cheap credit you will then proceed. The lot which you own may or may not be the proper shape and size. It may not lie in a plot laid out efficiently and economically. There are many ways in which poor planning of streets, building lots, transportation, and utilities may add to the cost of your home. Increasingly in our cities the city plan is preventing too great waste of this kind. Let us hope that your lot is not too narrow, thus bringing your neighbor's windows almost into your rooms, or too deep, thus making it difficult for you to use it to advantage. Let us hope that you do not face a street too wide, thus adding to your original lot cost and recurring upkeep costs. Let us hope that sidewalks, street trees, and traffic spaces are arranged according to the best residence standards.

Let us hope, too, that your plans will be economical, that the space may be conveniently and economically arranged, and above all that the lumber may cut to advantage for the specified dimensions. The Committee on Small Houses of the American Institute of Architects has contributed valuable information on economical plans.

An effort to produce better tenements at reasonable cost was made in a recent competition in plans for model tenements in New York, held through the coöperation of the Phelps-Stokes Fund with the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants' Association, the Advisory Council of Real Estate Interests, and the Real Estate Board, but unless you desire to rent a tenement in New York

City this project will in no way serve you.

But your largest expense, and therefore your greatest opportunity for saving, will be, in the actual construction. Roughly speaking, half the cost of a house goes into labor on the site and the other half into materials delivered on the lot; but when the labor which has gone into those materials and into the transportation is figured, you will find the proportion which labor bears to the whole expense of your house is surprisingly great. And if you study comparative prices of certain standard building materials in different cities in the United States you will wonder why, for instance, within a radius of perhaps a hundred miles, the price of common brick varies from \$12.50 to \$22 a thousand, that of dimension yellow pine from \$28 to \$40 a thousand feet, and that of red cedar shingles from \$5.10 to \$7.50 per hundred square feet. You may also wonder why your local city building code requires you to build a foundation twice as strong for a small house as the housing code of other cities in your vicinity. Altogether you will perceive that there are many factors which add to the cost of a house which are not under your control.

### *Mr. Hoover Takes a Hand*

Precisely because no individual unaided can solve the problem of good housing at a minimum cost, Mr. Hoover, under the general power conferred on him as Secretary of Commerce, and with money appropriated by Congress to the Bureau of Standards, has organized a Division of Building and Housing, with Mr. John M. Gries, of the faculty of the Harvard School of Business Adminis-



A SCENE IN YORKSHIP VILLAGE, NEAR THE CAMDEN, N. J., SHIPYARDS, ONE OF THE VILLAGES CREATED BY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE WAR EMERGENCY

(At the end of the vista is a three-family house, while another interesting group is seen at the right)

tration, at its head. This division proposes to help you help yourself. It has no authority and small funds; but Mr. Hoover believes that the American people can solve their own problems if they are placed in possession of reliable information which they need in order to act intelligently.

Through committees of the leading authorities in the United States who give their services, there will shortly be available a model building code and a guide describing the steps necessary to zone communities. Studies in standardization of building parts are being made. It is thought that the cost of building small homes is materially increased by the expense of manufacturing and distributing so many patterns. There are listed at least 467 different kinds of sash. More than 22,000 items of hardware are advertised in the catalogs. So it is hoped to simplify building practice in the production of small houses.

It is thought that the publication of wholesale building prices will have a tendency to stabilize prices of materials. As an outgrowth of the recent Unemployment Conference, studies of labor costs will be made. Methods of financing housing will be investigated in order to develop the comparative merits of each. By published statements and personal letters the new Division of Building and Housing promises to become useful to local officials and to citizens.

#### *What Has Become of Government Housing?*

In 1918 our principal home building was carried on by the United States Govern-

ment. These houses are now quite generally held in private ownership. As might have been supposed, the Government faced special difficulties as a landlord. There has been friction in nearly every community where the houses were rented. The sale of Yorkship Village, near Camden, recently put these charming homes into the hands of families at an average price of \$2300. Assuming that those who bought one house bought for occupancy, 400 of the 1578 houses went to home-owners. The terms were most liberal and only a small amount of cash was required. It appears that those present occupants who did not purchase their homes were those who could not raise the money. It was a disappointment to students of housing that Yorkship Village could not have been acquired by some group as an experimental station in management. But while the greatest opportunity appears to have been lost, it is a source of satisfaction to know that these attractive homes designed by Mr. Electus Litchfield have gone into the hands of families at low prices on easy terms.

By order of the Shipping Board, Union Park Gardens, near Wilmington, was sold at auction on February 27. Thus 503 houses, 5 stores, and a few apartments have been made available to the public. The Shipping Board has announced that all its houses will be sold in the near future. The United States Housing Corporation began the sale of its houses some time ago, so that it had had time to receive a series of instalments. Thus far less than 2 per cent. of

the purchasers have defaulted in their payments. Undoubtedly as time goes on the contribution of the Government war housing in showing clearly the economy, utility and beauty which it is possible to achieve where town planning and the design of the houses themselves are taken up together will be more generally recognized than it is to-day.

The United States Government, it may be seen, is retiring as rapidly as possible from the business of housing. Unlike Great Britain, this Government has not undertaken direct aid in peace times. The recent abandonment by the British Government of its housing program was no surprise to those who had examined the situation; Lawrence Veiller many months ago estimated its burden in loss at \$100,000,000 a year for sixty years, and he predicted its breakdown.

#### *The Present Outlook*

Since the 1918 slump in home building, the twenty-seven Eastern States covered by the Dodge Reports show:

	PROJECTS	SQUARE FEET	VALUE
1919.....	47,990	241,880,000	\$849,206,000
1920.....	28,966	137,525,000	566,122,000
1921.....	49,418	205,569,000	877,843,000

Not only does 1921 show a gratifying increase in homes, but a very considerable increase in small homes judged by the proportion of projects to square feet. The value per square foot shows a substantial decrease each successive year.

In New York City the tax-exemption law has stimulated building of housing beyond the fondest hopes of its promoters. The city took advantage of a recent State law, and now exempts from taxation (up to an assessed value of \$5000) all homes constructed during the present emergency, such exemption to continue for ten years. More

than three times as many dwellings were begun in New York in 1921 as in 1920, and about twelve times as many families will be provided with apartments or tenements as were served in 1920. The first three months of 1922 indicate increased construction in all parts of the country, but the New York section shows a larger proportion of housing than any other; and the recent extension of time for starting new tax-exempt buildings will undoubtedly further stimulate building of homes in New York.

Production of housing is well started. For the immediate present the shortage is such that houses of any size and price are fairly certain to be absorbed and thus, indirectly at least, relieve the housing congestion. But this very production will tend to keep building prices up and delay the time when housing can be supplied at a price which will permit new quarters for the lower wage groups. A second-hand house is acceptable when it is designed for the standard of living of those who are to occupy it. The difficulty comes when neighborhoods change and large houses meant for a single family come to be occupied by numerous families without provision for sanitation and privacy. In times of housing shortage it is always difficult to condemn all habitations unfit for use, and even more difficult to prevent overcrowding of rooms and houses.

Neither can we hope to escape entirely the evils which come from a large population of renters. Apparently, too, apartments and tenements have come to stay so long as concentration of business continues. But with improved transportation and increased decentralization, let us hope that we can preserve to our nation of majority rule a majority of home owners.



HOMES IN YORKSHIP VILLAGE, RECENTLY SOLD AT AUCTION BY THE GOVERNMENT—MOST OF THE HOUSES BEING PURCHASED BY THEIR OCCUPANTS

# WHY NOT INSURE FARM CROPS BY GOVERNMENT?

BY JOHN M. STAHL

THE farmer is often advised, by those whom their own advice convicts of knowing little about farming, to conduct his business as "business-men" (notably the manufacturer) conduct theirs; to keep accurate accounts, so that he may "be able to know what each bushel or pound of his products have or will cost him" and "to know whether or not he can afford to sell at the price offered"; and that he should "limit or increase his production, hold or sell, as profit or loss may indicate"—just as the successful manufacturer or merchant does except under stress of unusual conditions.

The manufacturer can purchase so much material and so much labor at a certain cost, and he can determine how many articles that material and labor will produce and what will be the cost of each article. The farmer cannot do this at all. Not at the beginning of the crop season, nor at any time during it, can he know what the yield of any crop will be. After months of preparation of the ground and of cultivation, a short season of drought, two days of hot wind, or a storm, may reduce the yield of the crop all the way up to 100 per cent.

## *The World's Greatest Gambler*

The farmer may give the greatest care to the preparation of the ground, may fertilize freely, and use the best of seed for the wheat he must sow in the fall, and before April has gone the greater part or all of the plants may be destroyed by frost and dry wind; or a wet June may prevent proper pollenization, resulting in much straw and little grain, while at the same time making the corn the yellow prey of grass and weeds. Nothing within human power can prevent this. The farmer cannot stay the winds or the flood, he cannot command the sun or the frost.

Much care, even tender care, is required by the lambs or pigs or calves. With much care and labor and at much expense for feed, the farmer may bring the animal to such condition that in a few days more it will

be ripe for the market, and then disease that science has as yet been unable to prevent or cure may reduce the value of the animal to the price of its hide—or less. The farmer gives to an orchard years of work and care until it has just begun bearing, and then one winter almost or quite ruins it. Or the vines and bushes and trees are loaded with bloom, and the frost of one night takes away all income for that year.

These occurrences are not extreme or exceptional. They are normal, common, the rule. In fact, there is never a year that the crops of the farmer are not reduced in quantity and damaged in quality by weather, insects, fungi, or something else beyond human control. The farmer is the one persistent, audacious, innate gambler. He must be that if he is a farmer. He is the great example of hope that cannot be daunted, of faith that cannot be vanquished.

## *Two Billion Dollars' Damage Yearly!*

The national Department of Agriculture has made some very interesting and careful estimates of the loss to the farmers of the United States from causes almost or quite beyond their control. These estimates are based on voluminous data collected from the thousands of crop reporters in every State in the Union. The department estimates that, on the basis of a normal yield, the average annual damage from adverse weather conditions, plant diseases, insect pests, etc., for the period of 1909-1918, both inclusive, is as follows for the crops named:

Corn, 31.99 per cent. or 1,345,600,000 bushels; wheat, 28.77 per cent. or 301,200,000 bushels; oats, 24.52 per cent. or 414,300,000 bushels; barley, 28.65 per cent. or 74,100,000 bushels; rice, 19.04 per cent. or 7,400,000 bushels; potatoes, 30.12 per cent. or 164,800,000 bushels; tobacco, 20.50 per cent. or 296,300,000 pounds; hay, 20.35 per cent. or 20,414,000 tons; and cotton, 35.49 per cent. or 3,731,000,000 pounds.

The department states that applying average farm prices, the total average crop

damage in the United States has varied during the eleven years 1909-1919, inclusive, from a minimum of \$2,054,000,000 in 1912 to a maximum of nearly \$3,066,000,000 in 1918. The average annual crop damage during the eleven years was \$2,620,000,000.

### *Insurance as a Remedy*

It will be seen that because of the uncertainty of production and cost in farming, this business presents conditions peculiar to it. The probability of this, and that the remedies must be through exercise of the powers of government, are advanced almost to a certainty by the fact that the farmers cannot form those organizations that among capitalists, manufacturers, factory workers, and others, have power that is akin to the power of government and make it unnecessary for the power of the Government to be exercised. Farmers are frequently blamed for the lack of effective farmer organizations, but the very nature of their industry is such that farmers must be so sparsely distributed as to make compact, effective organization impossible. Hence it is no argument against any proposed governmental function exercised in farming that similar action is not to be extended to other industries.

The unavoidable uncertainty in farm production suggests crop and animal insurance; and to this date no other antidotal measure against this peculiarity of farming has been suggested that has stood careful consideration. Possibly in time it will be best undertaken in part by very large corporations; but it is of such magnitude that at least until there is a greater experience in crop and animal insurance it should be done by Government. Undoubtedly, for a time, also, effective insurance of farm products would be beyond the courage of organizations other than Government. Courage to put it into effect will be needed rather than large resources, although large resources will be needed—to give the confidence that would make it effective. Large resources would not be needed to meet heavy losses; for the stabilization of prices, the better distribution, and other results, would make the business really profitable with reasonable charges. The ship insurance of our national Government during the World War yielded a net profit of \$17,000,000.

Of course if the national Government should make a trial of crop insurance it would first be careful to determine the basis

of that insurance and the provisions of the policies. Senator Sheppard, of Texas, has already introduced in the Senate a resolution for the appointment of a committee to investigate crop insurance. What is now needed is a candid consideration of the proposition founded on such facts as are available and pertinent.

### *Our Experience with Hail and Livestock Insurance*

The best known form of crop insurance is hail insurance. This form of insurance began in 1880 with the formation of a mutual company by certain Connecticut tobacco growers. A joint stock fire insurance company began writing hail insurance in Minnesota in 1883. The first State to write hail insurance was North Dakota, which began in 1911. Other States that have written or are writing hail insurance are Montana, Nebraska, South Dakota, Iowa, and Oklahoma. Hail insurance has decreased since 1919, when the peak was reached. In that year the premiums collected were \$20,000,000 and the losses \$8,000,000. In 1920 the premiums were \$17,500,000 and the losses \$9,600,000. In 1921 the premiums were \$8,500,000 and the losses \$4,200,000. Serious loss from hail is confined to a rather limited territory. The hail hazard is of a peculiarly erratic nature. While the stability of hail insurance has steadily increased—because of the vagaries of hail storms, the severe loss limited to small localities in most cases, and the wide fluctuations in the number and violence of hail storms—hail insurance presents greater difficulties and more complex problems in adjustment than crop insurance against a variety of causes.

Livestock insurance is more extensive than hail insurance. A score of stock companies and thirty mutual companies are now insuring livestock, but no State has undertaken livestock insurance. This insurance presents, though not to so great a degree, the erratic hazard of hail insurance.

Although data on which to base premiums, to define risks assumed, and to place the proper conditions in policies, are yet somewhat lacking, nevertheless livestock insurance has already achieved results that would justify it as a State or national activity. Some companies are to date successful, but their very success shows plainly that the insurance could be better done if it had behind it the resources of the State or nation. The first livestock insurance company was

a mutual company that began business in Pennsylvania in 1856. Another was organized in Pennsylvania the following year. Both are still in business. During 1920 the livestock insurance companies collected premiums to the amount of \$2,891,598. During 1921 the premiums amounted to more than \$3,000,000. The business experience of these companies, combined with statistics of the Department of Agriculture, would probably give the Government a sufficient basis for its insurance of farm animals.

### *Some of the Larger Principles*

There should be kept a clear distinction between insurance against damage to the crop and crop insurance. Generally hail insurance has been against damage to the crop; and this has made the adjustment of losses difficult and has produced much dissatisfaction. It is rare that the crop is entirely destroyed by hail. If the crop is less than normal, or less than a maximum crop, how much of the lessened yield is due to hail—to drought, or something else? If hail insurance yields nothing else in the consideration of crop insurance, it certainly has made it plain that crop insurance should not be for the amount of damage by this or that, or many things, but should be for a certain, definite amount, presumably per acre, just as one insures his house or his life or his automobile or his book accounts for a certain amount; provision being made in all cases for partial loss. Insurance should not be based on maximum crops or maximum prices, but on averages for the preceding ten years or longer. Probably in practice the average adopted will be that of a considerable area, but it may be that of each farm.

Already there are voluminous statistics gathered by the national Government and by the States bearing on this. Even if it were thought advisable to make a survey of every farm, this would not be a greater undertaking than has already been accomplished by the fire-insurance companies in the cities. According to the 1920 census, the farms of the United States number 6,448,336—it is certain that more buildings have been surveyed for the fire insurance companies. Or the basis of insurance may be the average cost of producing the crops.

But undoubtedly the simplest, safest, best plan is to insure for a definite amount to be agreed on by the insured and the insurer, as in the case of insuring a building against fire, and with not greatly dissimilar condi-

tions and safeguards. The writer believes that the farmer should co-insure one-fourth of the loss, the Government taking only three-fourths. That the insured should carry a part of the risk is accepted in automobile, burglary, fire, and other lines of insurance. It is a very effective protection of the insurer. One reason for crop insurance is to stabilize the great industry of farming; and this can best be done when each risk is for a definite amount, for then the farmer is sure of a certain minimum return. Also, the hazard to the insurer would be less and there would be fewer opportunities for fraud or reasons for dissatisfaction.

Policies should and could provide, as conditions, for the use of only tested seeds and the proper use of fungicides, insecticides, and for such things as the removal of the common barberry bush to eliminate the black rust of wheat; and, if livestock insurance is included, as it should be, for the proper use of vaccines and "dips," and also provisions for pure drinking water, clean shelters, and prescribed rations, crop insurance would be the most effective teacher of better farming.

### *All for the Public Good*

The national Government has insured ships. It has issued life and health and accident insurance to the soldiers and sailors of the World War. Why should it not insure the farmer against loss from those causes that no man can control and which cannot be eliminated from farming? Crop and animal insurance would be more directly and surely for the public good than ship insurance. If the farmer were certainly, reasonably prosperous, all industries would feel a stabilizing influence, and the steady buying power of the farmers would be felt in every factory, every store, every home. A safe and reasonable exercise of government, requiring no item of organization materially different from that already proved by private enterprises, and little information in addition to that already possessed; in scope not beyond and in nature very like that already successfully and profitably made by our Government; requiring, perhaps, not any actual capital, but to inspire confidence, that real underwriting of the Government which is given to our paper money, to mention one of many examples: would bring, first to farming, but also to all our industries, a far more than commensurate measure of stability, and of moderate and reasonable—and therefore the most desirable—prosperity.

# WOMEN'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOOD COSTS

BY MARJORIE SHULER

TO what extent are women themselves responsible for the high cost of food, and what can women do to secure lower and standardized prices? These are the questions which the foods and markets committee of the Women's City Club of New York recently undertook to answer through a survey of 383 shops; and their investigation has revealed some astonishing conditions which the women believe are true as well in other cities of the country.

Shops within a few blocks of each other were found to be charging a wide variety of prices for the same quality of fruit and vegetables. In many instances women were alert to this fact and were protesting. But large numbers of housewives were helping to maintain the higher prices by paying them: (1) because they ordered by telephone and were indifferent to the amount charged, (2) because they were told that certain products were of finer quality and were too ignorant to detect the imposition, or (3) because their methods of shopping increased overhead expenses for the stores and to some extent justified the charging of higher prices.

## *Questioning the Shopkeeper*

In order to develop statistics of real value, the survey was conducted along uniform lines. Eighteen women took part in it. Each was given a typed list of questions to be answered by every shopkeeper or market man. And the hours were so arranged that for three days the same questions were asked simultaneously in various parts of the city.

At first the way of the volunteer investigators was considerably impeded. In the foreign sections the market men, taking alarm from the list of questions, ingratiatingly proffered large red apples or bunches of carrots or heads of lettuce, with the urgently expressed hope that the gift would soften the heart of the questioner so that she would not "report" the giver. In other parts of the city some shopkeepers resorted to indignation and even abuse. But fear and bluster were conquered by the patient expla-

nations of the women, and not one questionnaire was returned blank.

The questions dealt with the amounts charged for up-State potatoes, Long Island potatoes (which bring higher prices), sweet potatoes, onions, cabbage, carrots, peppers, string beans, lettuce, spinach, cucumbers, and green apples.

## *A Wide Range of Prices*

It developed that women in the same districts were paying a difference of eight and ten cents on the same quality of fruit and vegetables, while between districts there were variations in price ranging as high as seventeen cents.

In one district shops varied in the prices charged for cucumbers from four to thirty cents, while the same quality of peppers sold in some stores for one cent and in others for four cents.

In 146 stores on the same day sweet potatoes sold from two to twelve-and-a-half cents per pound. The proportion was 69 stores selling from two to six cents, 70 stores from six to nine cents, and 7 stores from nine to twelve-and-a-half cents. On the second day of the investigation potatoes were found to be selling in 154 stores at from two-and-a-half to fifteen cents; and on the third day 82 stores varied in the prices charged from three to fifteen cents.

On one day 132 stores sold green apples as cheap as five cents and as high as eighteen cents. Spinach was sold in 144 stores at prices varying from eight to twenty-five cents per pound, 83 per cent. of the stores charging from eight to thirteen cents, 16 per cent. jumping the price to twenty-three cents, and 1 per cent. charging twenty-five cents.

## *Some Reasons — and Some Excuses!*

Some of the increase in the price, the committee decided, might justifiably be laid to the distance and the longer transportation haul from the wholesale markets, but there were other factors which were in part the fault of the buyers. One of the most



important of these is lack of information on the part of women concerning the quality of produce. For instance, carrots which were being sold by the farmers at the markets at \$3.50 a bushel basket were retailed the same day at eight cents for a bunch of four carrots, housewives paying the large price on the assurance that the vegetables were Long Island grown, while in reality they were the ungraded up-State product.

Some of the stores charging the largest prices were those where delivery costs are increased by women who order several times a day, refuse to carry small packages, and add to the extra service needed for Saturdays through buying on that day quantities of dry groceries which could as easily be purchased through the week.

The time of clerks is wasted by women who neglect to make lists, deliberate over changing their orders, and add to what they have bought after the check has been made out. The cost of shop maintenance is also added to by elaborate fixtures, which women customers are said to desire, and through the handling and consequent damaging of fruit and vegetables by customers.

#### *Grades and Varieties*

There can be no movement of any consequence to force shopkeepers to charge fair prices, except through the intelligent co-operation of the buyers, decided the committee, and it therefore entered upon a further series of surveys. The next one was a trip through the wholesale butter, egg, and cheese district of New York City.

The committee members visited the Mercantile Exchange, where prices are made on the 150,000,000 dozen eggs which are shipped into New York City each year, and the millions of pounds of butter and cheese which pass through the city every week. Then, with representatives of the United States Department of Agriculture and the State Department of Foods and Markets, the women went through wholesale houses, distributing agencies, and back again to the retail shops.

They saw the trade processes by which eggs which the average housewife knows as "good" or "bad" are graded into more than thirty classes, by means of which both the farmer shippers and the women buyers become confused. The farmers receive less money than they expect for the product, and the women are led to pay a variety of prices

without a corresponding difference in quality. For instance, in New York City women pay twenty cents a dozen more to get white eggs instead of brown eggs, and in Boston they pay twenty cents a dozen more to get brown eggs instead of white eggs. In the North they pay a higher price for light-colored yolks, and in the South they pay more for dark-colored yolks.

The women visitors saw butter that had come in hundred-pound casks from Denmark and New Zealand, or in the 63-pound kegs used in this country, cut and packed in prints, each cut by the knife increasing the price of the butter to an amazing extent. They looked at the shipments of cheese from Europe to be sold at high prices, while cheese dealers declared that United States factories are now coming close to equalling the imported product at a much lower figure.

#### *Educating the Housewife*

Based on these and other surveys, which it plans to make, the committee is launching a campaign of education for women. Information is to be disseminated through printed folders and lectures concerning the cost of production, the cost of transportation, and the fair amount of profit due to the retailer. Speeches are being made before groups of the women by "dirt" farmers, by members of the New York State Market Growers' Association, by representatives of the various retail agencies, and by individual shopkeepers. Coöperative marketing schemes are being investigated, and a constructive program is being carried out with the aid of State and municipal market authorities along lines which the surveys develop.

The committee of the Women's City Club of New York in itself is typical of the varied interests involved. The chairman, Mrs. Thomas D. Rambaut, is a practical farmer. There are other farmers on the committee, as well as a member of the board of a co-operative laundry, a woman who is at the head of three coöperative restaurants, a domestic science teacher, a professional investigator of food values, an economics expert, and a number of housewives.

Out of the varied points of view represented on the committee and in the club itself, it is hoped to develop a program which will be of some constructive service to the women of the city and which will be useful as a basis for similar campaigns in other cities throughout the country.

# HELIUM FOR SAFE DIRIGIBLES

AND THE GREATER WONDERS OF OUR ATMOSPHERE

BY ROBERT CALVERT

(Of the Faculty of the University of Southern California)

**D**IRIGIBLES filled with helium do not explode. And helium is but the least of the marvels of that atmosphere in which we live and move and have the joys and tragedies of our lives.

The destruction of the *ZR-2* in England, last August, was accompanied by terrific combustion of hydrogen with which its gas bag was filled. Forty-two men perished. Now the nation has hardly swallowed the lump in its throat when, at Hampton Roads, more Americans in the crew of the airship *Roma* are burned beyond recognition. Again hydrogen. Again national mourning!

Hydrogen is used as the lifting force in dirigibles because it is the lightest gas known. It is only one-fifteenth as heavy as air. But the flame of its burning is hotter than for any other gas.

Helium is similar to hydrogen only in its lightness. In other respects the two gases differ widely. Hydrogen is active chemically, does not exist free above the earth's surface, and, when torn from water by electrical energy, needs only a spark or lighted match to start its explosive recombination with oxygen of the air to give water again. Helium, on the other hand, forms no compounds. It cannot be set on fire. High pressures, high temperatures, the most severe conditions known to man are without chemical effect on it. It is a confirmed bachelor, has no tendency to form unions or compounds of any kind.

## *Discovering Helium, and Isolating It*

Being both so unobtrusive and so rare, helium escaped observation until 1895. The chemist Ramsay, who died a knight of England's King, discovered five parts of helium in just an even million parts of air. The sun's atmosphere contains more of it; one of the marvels of modern science was the discovery of helium at that distance before its presence here was suspected.

Some babies are named before birth. So was helium, named, indeed, twenty-seven years before anybody ever saw it. Sir Nor-

man Lockyer, noticing in sunlight a particular color not given by any of the earth's elements when heated to glowing, said the sun contains a new element. He named it *helium* from the Greek word for *sun*.

A clever American chemist, Dr. W. F. Hillebrand, just missed the honor of discovering helium on earth. In some experiments he produced a strange gas, which Ramsay identified as the element that had been named for the sun in 1868. Still later, Ramsay observed that helium is one of the products given off in the continual disintegration of radium.

But the helium of the sun is 93,000,000 miles away. Also, the helium obtained from radium is not of commercial importance. The world's factories have turned out, so far, not over five ounces of radium, and it is valued normally at \$3,000,000 an ounce!

The hope of our dirigible fliers is natural gas from which Dr. Frederick G. Cottrell, of the Bureau of Mines, can now isolate non-flammable helium. When this production becomes sufficiently large, we should hear of no more *ZR-2* or *Roma* disasters; the laboratory curiosity will have been turned to the saving of human life; the new-born babe of 1895 will have grown to useful manhood, as chemical discoveries, at first of theoretical interest only, have a habit of doing.

## *The Air We Breathe*

This is chemistry. But you, perhaps, are not a graduate chemist. From living in the new chemical age and from reading high-class magazines you have, however, absorbed so much chemistry that you will follow this article with understanding and learn secrets of the atmosphere concealed even from the greatest scientists of a generation ago!

And it is meet that we should not be shy of things chemical, each of us being owner and operator of a chemical plant. To it we feed suitable raw materials. Going through numerous chemical changes, these materials give us power to walk, or to climb the highest mountains. The energy from these same

chemical reactions makes possible, finally, the marvelous workings of the human brain.

Of the necessary raw materials for our chemical plant, the most important of all is free, air. Air is everywhere—over the desert, at the top of the highest mountains, above the ocean's surface. Even in the ocean itself there is air, conveniently dissolved for God's creatures of the depths.

#### *Oxygen—Necessary for Life*

Without air man cannot live. He breathes it to supply that oxygen which, in slowly burning the body tissues, keeps warm the entire body and supplies the energy for all life processes, even for the alternate contraction and expansion of the heart a hundred thousand times each day. Yet the fact that air contains this indispensable oxygen was learned only so recently that its discoverer was able to spend the last years of his life with us and be buried in the State of Pennsylvania. This Joseph Priestly first isolated oxygen in 1774. He identified it as the life-sustaining substance of air, observed that animals were stimulated to greater activity when allowed to breathe pure oxygen, and predicted that the use of oxygen, undiluted as it is in air, might become a breathing luxury of the rich. But, to date, the Lord's judgment in blending the food for our lungs still stands, with no prospect of any man-made improvement in the formula.

#### *Nitrogen's Energy, in Peace and War*

Shortly before Priestly discovered oxygen, Dr. Rutherford, in Scotland, noted that only one-fifth of air is capable of supporting animal respiration. The inactive four-fifths is called nitrogen. It is this nitrogen which Henry Ford wishes to utilize at Muscle Shoals, Alabama. There is plenty of it. Over every square foot of the earth's surface there is, on the average, 1700 pounds of nitrogen; it needs only the application of cheap electric power, chemical genius, and financial courage to be made available for the great industries of peace or of national defense in time of war. One of the most important of plant foods or fertilizers, nitrogen escapes from certain combinations to give the explosions of smokeless powder, black powder, dynamite, and even of triton itself.

#### *Four Other Gases in the Air*

The chemists, happy in their knowledge that air is approximately 20 per cent. oxygen and 80 per cent. nitrogen, were smugly con-

tent until 1894. Then Ramsay and Rayleigh gave them a rude awakening by finding one per cent. of other gases in the atmosphere. In rapid order they announced the finding of more than twice as many gaseous elements of air as had been known previously. Of these new gases the most abundant is argon, of modest and retiring, but useful disposition. It came to the attention of the great scientific statesmen of our electric companies; and now argon-filled incandescent bulbs give us twelve times as much light, for each kilowatt of current, as obtained from the old carbon vacuum bulbs.

Sir William Ramsay found mere traces of four other gases—helium, neon, krypton, and xenon. All alike are successfully resistant to every attempt of man to combine them with other elements or with each other. If helium, say, could be enticed into combination, its tendency to break out into the free state again might produce a more powerful explosive than any now known.

#### *Helium for Airships*

Of course helium does not burn, for burning implies union with oxygen of the air. Dirigibles are liable always to a fall; but helium-filled gas bags would eliminate the wholesale burning of the crews.

While an Englishman first detected helium in the flaming-hot atmosphere of the sun and another Englishman identified it on this planet, the honor of first reporting a commercial source of it goes to an American, to Prof. Hamilton P. Cady of Kansas University. To a second American scientist is due the honor of grasping and developing the great possibilities of helium in dirigibles, to Cottrell, the pioneer researcher who had already devised means of precipitating, from air, the dust of cement mills which clogged the delicate pores of the orange leaf and then spreading that same concentrated dust, from bags, over the roots of the orange tree to give it food, and strength, and increased life. Thanks to the work of these leaders of science, we can now obtain from the natural gas wells of the Fort Worth, Texas, district as much helium as the Government may care to produce for its dirigibles.

The Westinghouse air-brake has saved more lives than were lost in the wars of Napoleon. The production of helium in America, although it cannot awake the sleeping patriots of the *ZR-2* or of the *Roma*, can save other mothers' sons from a similar death from flame.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## THE BRITISH OUTLOOK ON EUROPE

IN this number of the REVIEW (page 483) Mr. Simonds gives a detailed exposition of the French attitude on the eve of the Genoa Conference. By way of supplementing this, readers may gain from recent articles in other magazines a fairly clear conception of current British opinion on the condition of Europe. In the *Contemporary Review* (London) The Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman, M. P., offers a terse and frank discussion of what he calls "a new start in Europe." Like most writers who have occasion to touch on the Versailles Treaty, Mr. Runciman freely admits the imperfections of that document and demands a revision as the first step on the road to a revived Europe. He regards stability of governments as an essential condition to good health in trade and commerce. Lack of stability means lack of confidence, and without confidence neither the European nor any other peoples can trade with one another and foster their mutual prosperity.

Mr. Runciman names as a second essential element to recovery the supply of working capital. It is well understood that at the present time not one of the European countries is accumulating reserves of surplus wealth. Even in England, Mr. Runciman declares that three business men out of four are compelled to sell stock or investments in order to pay taxes. If it is true, as Mr. Chamberlain recently told the House of Commons, that England is more fortunate and more solvent than any of her neighbors on the Continent, we may form some idea of the desperate situation in the smaller European countries. Even France has been ready to pay nearly 15 per cent. for what she borrows in London. But England does not care to lend to any country at present outside the British Empire on a 6 per cent. basis, for the risks are far too great. Solvency is, of course, a condition precedent to the recreation of credit, and it is Mr. Runci-

man's contention that European solvency cannot be attained until armies are reduced all around:

The Brussels Conference summoned by the League of Nations in 1921 found that an average of 20 per cent. of the revenues of the European states was still being spent on armaments. They cannot pay for armaments on this scale, and every effort must be made to induce Europe to follow our example—if we set a good example. Washington was a financial rather than a peace conference, and its naval success (due in a large measure to Mr. Balfour) will ease our burdens. Nothing but an all-round reduction of armies will save Europe. We cannot afford to keep up an Army of Occupation on the Rhine costing more up to the present than we have received in reparations or indemnity from Germany. We cannot keep up expensive forces in Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, and Ireland; and if we, the richest country on this side of the Atlantic, can-



OUT OF BALANCE  
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Calif.)

not maintain armies of three or four hundred thousand, how can armies as large, although not as expensive, be paid for by the newer states? How can France hope to restore her national credit while she has over 750,000 men with the colors? If we are to lead Europe, we must set a good example.

The French unwillingness to disarm or to reduce armament, because of fear of a revived Germany, is well understood in England, but Mr. Runciman does not hesitate to pronounce it a bad policy, because it makes for instability and bankruptcy. Under it, he says, Europe can never recover, and France can never be safe. As to England's position, Mr. Runciman declares that she will not commit herself to an alliance of the old sort, either dual or triple, nor, on the other hand, does she wish to revert to her mid-Victorian isolation. English sympathy with the League of Nations is cited as the best evidence of her abandonment of isolation as a national policy.

Public, limited guarantees, based on and qualified by the League of Nations, seem to me to be feasible, and probably the only means open to us whereby menace can be swept out of the French imagination. We must be trusted by them and they must know clearly how far we can go, and beyond what limits we will not go.

In order to revive, Europe must have foreign trade. It is impossible for the various individual states to be self-supporting. They were not formed on an economic plan. At Versailles more consideration was given to ethnography and to military balance. Even the old countries cannot support their large populations without foreign trade. Italy, for example, must export to Great Britain and America. But America impedes her with a tariff, and the British Safeguarding of Industries Act is as hard on Italy as it is on Germany.

#### Dr. E. J. Dillon on Russia

In attempting a brief forecast of the Conference at Genoa for the *Fortnightly Review* (London), Dr. E. J. Dillon, who has been for many years especially well informed on Russian affairs, says:

The only delegates of the principal powers who not only know what they want, but are also free to work for it with singlemindedness, are the representatives of Russia. They are unhampered by parliamentary commitments, and can at will play off France against Great Britain and

Germany against both. And judging by their press they revel in the spectacle of cross-purposes which the Entente governments are unfolding to their gaze. Without losing a point in the game they could afford to suspend for an interval their propaganda work in the world and content themselves with the grist which the Allies are bringing to their mill. But they are resolved to be unsparing, and if they should be called upon to make any preliminary pledges at the Conference they will quit the hall. For Europe is dependent upon Russia and Germany, and has helped to make these nations what they now are.

The Soviet Government, however, takes the matter more seriously. It is therefore working for an understanding with France. It knows that Russia is so indispensable to Europe that no scheme of general reconstruction can succeed without her coöperation. That coöperation must be accepted in the form chosen by the Russian Government, and must also be duly paid for. Recognition alone is not enough. The Sovietists are realists, and demand an active, a leading rôle, in the work to be undertaken. If they be asked to forswear their principles and give up their program, they will make their exit from Genoa and leave the world-reformers to their own devices. They argue that if the peace treaties, although incompatible with reconstruction, can be left intact, the theories and aims of the Russian Communists have an equal claim to a like consideration.

That the Soviet Government will ultimately have its way and secure, at least from the European governments, unconditional acceptance of its terms may be regarded as a foregone conclusion. Nor am I concerned to discuss the subject on its merits here. But it is fair to ask the question: How do the high-principled men who thus dispense with all promises on the part of the Bolshevik régime reconcile their attitude with their refusal to recognize the Mexican Government, which has not only given ample assurances of the kind vainly demanded of Moscow, but has actually set about fulfilling them? The evils which these politicians have inflicted on Germany and Austria they are resolved to produce in Mexico, for the economic and financial pressure which they are bringing to bear upon all three countries must produce the same results—the decomposition of the state and the disintegration of the community against which it is directed.

#### The Little Entente

In an outline of "The Economic Prospect in Europe," which he contributes to the *Century Magazine* for April, Mr. Alfred E. Zimmern points out that among the smaller nations of the Continent a spirit of dignity and self-respect has been developed, which is likely to resent anything savoring of dictation by the Western Powers:

Its most significant manifestation, the Little Entente of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania, represents a movement of emancipation from the tutelage of London and Paris, and the transformation of what used to be a mere pro-

vincial slogan, "The Balkans for the Balkan peoples," into something more nearly resembling a Monroe Doctrine. British and American writers who still talk comprehensively of "Europe" and "the Continent" should realize that in Europe as in the United States a process of regional crystallization is taking place, and that the great

east-central area, extending from the Baltic to the Adriatic and the Black Sea, consisting of the Western Slav peoples and their non-Teutonic neighbors, intends to speak with a voice of its own. It is at this moment the most vigorous, the most forward-looking, the most American portion of the Old World.

## BRAZIL'S FOREIGN COMMERCE IN 1921

THE Brazilian Consul General at Buenos Aires has given out an extended statement relative to the foreign commerce of his country during the year 1921. Some of the more important data in this report have been reprinted by the *Revista de Economia y Finanzas* (Buenos Aires).

Brazil to-day suffers from unsettled economic conditions caused by the recent war in Europe.

Reaction, especially in Brazil, is now increasing and the health of the business world improving. With better conditions internally Brazil is regaining her economic independence, as is shown by a study of comparative conditions in 1914 and 1921.

Excellent prospects for export are shown in such nationally important products as rice, cotton, meat, "porotos" (a variety of pea), and so forth.

Had the rate of exchange been more favorable, Brazilian exports, in spite of general world conditions, would have shown (in value) a predominance of 30 per cent. over imports. Decreased production was not responsible for the results obtained in 1921. What was noticeable, however, was the disastrous lowness of exchange rates, followed by a natural withdrawal of products from the market.

Coffee, which is produced chiefly in Brazil, was sold at very low rates during the first months of the year. The government then intervened and valorized coffee. By this means prices *per arroba* (about 33 pounds, or 15 kilos) were nearly doubled between March and November.

Exportation from January to October reached 10,176,000 sacks of 60 kilos each. The government maintained its policy of valorization and will continue it in order to restore values permanently, thus defeating the bear movement in national merchandise.

From April to November, prices rose from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 9 centimos per pound.

This speculative march will continue until good prices are obtained. As Brazil pro-

duces almost four-fifths of the world consumption of coffee, the profits to the country should be enormous. During the last months of 1921, through Santos alone 4,371,684 bags (of 60 kilos each) were exported.

The attention of the government, always in accord with business enterprises and associations, is turning toward other national products in order to defend them. This it will effectively do with sugar (the President of the Republic has just sanctioned a law of Congress creating a protective arrangement for sugar), rubber, refrigerated meats, iron and coal, with a view to increased production of these commodities.

Figures for the period from January to November are encouraging. The unfavorable trade balance caused by excess of importations over exportations will not exist, probably, in 1922, if Brazil's advance to prosperity continues at its present rate.

In *contos of reis* (1000 reis, or about \$1080 at the normal rate of exchange) in the above eleven months an importation of 1,577,179 contos of reis over an exportation of 1,535,056 contos of reis existed.

Though in 1921, with low exchange rates, the foreign commerce of Brazil declined, the year 1922 starts with more favorable signs.

Brazil's exportation of meat to France is able to compete favorably with similar products of any other country. From January to October 57,679 tons of frozen meat and 584 tons of preserved meat were exported and the statistics up to December increase these figures greatly, owing to large shipments made in November and December. The same increase in exports extends to the principal products of the country, such as maize, rice, sugar, fruits (for oil), hides, etc., etc.

With such information before us, it is easy to believe that the year 1922 will be a prosperous one for Brazilian commerce. With the return of better economic conditions in all countries Brazil is sure to become increasingly prosperous.

## LAND UTILIZATION: A NATIONAL POLICY OUTLINED

AT the National Agricultural Conference, held at Washington in January last, the address delivered by Professor Richard T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, was regarded as the keynote utterance on the subject of land utilization in the United States. The substance of that address is reproduced as the leading article in the *Pacific Review* (Seattle, Washington) for March.

Professor Ely states at the outset his conception of the meaning and general aims of such a policy:

A national policy for land utilization means planning for desired ends with respect to the use of the land. It signifies that we ascertain what kinds of land we have and that we put each kind to its best use. The very fact that we use the term "land policy" signifies the inadequacy of *laissez-faire*. A land policy includes regulation for the present and the future of all those natural resources which we include under the term "land." This regulation means that we supplement individualism by social control and social control by land policy embraces, then, those relations among men which arise out of land utilization. Social control, as the experience of the world demonstrates, becomes more intensive as time goes on and that with an ever-increasing emphasis upon social welfare. But this control may proceed from private agencies as well as from public agencies.

In the United States we have never had a real land policy. Our course of action has been happy-go-lucky; in other words, such a plan as we have had has been partial, incomplete. Our land settlement has not been based upon any well thought out principles.

Starting with the assumption that any land policy worthy of consideration must be based upon the classification of land, Professor Ely offers several illustrations of this general principle:

Take the question of public ownership versus private ownership. One cannot say that land should be publicly owned or privately owned. It all depends upon the kind of land we are dealing with. The experience of the world shows that farm land should, in the main, be privately owned, but with equal clearness world experience shows that forest land must be largely publicly owned, if we are to have suitable areas of forest land suitably distributed over the country and to raise the forest crops that we need with the least expenditure of labor and capital on the smallest area of land.

We cannot consider one kind of land alone and reach satisfactory solutions of the problems involved in a national policy for land utilization. Here we come to something that is often over-

looked. Forest land must be considered in its relations to agricultural land; forest land is, after all, one kind of agricultural land. A good deal of the timber land of the country is found on farms and the farmers use a very large proportion of the forest products. The forest is simply one kind of crop. It has its peculiarities as have other crops, one of the chief being the time it takes to plant, care for, and harvest a crop. With forests go certain by-products, in some cases game, in some cases pasturage, but the forests of a country should be handled in accordance with sound agricultural principles; anyone who has advanced even through his A B C's in land economics must condemn most vigorously the policy to separate out forest land from the United States Department of Agriculture and transfer it to another department.

In Professor Ely's view it is a fundamental problem in land utilization whether or not we shall retain the principle of private property in land. In his opinion private property is beneficial alike to society and to the individual. He holds that methods of taxation should receive careful attention in order that the tax burden may become more and more widely diffused. Property, whether in the form of improvements or of land, should be taxed. Otherwise, this tax burden tends to become confiscatory.

Land utilization, according to Professor Ely, is very largely a matter of administration.

Given needed legislation, land utilization requires satisfactory administration agencies, and let us remember that these problems of our time are, in the main, first of all administrative problems and only secondarily legislative problems. It has already been suggested that we need land commissions, state and federal, to help bring about good settlement. We need these agencies for other aspects of land utilization. The policies grow more complex as wealth and population increase. The administrative agencies are to guide, to educate, to enforce, to exercise various degrees of control. Laws establishing them must be broad in scope and of a kind to attract to this high service talent equal to any that the country affords; men who will regard their office as an opportunity to serve, putting their souls into the work.

In conclusion, Professor Ely emphasizes the fact that a modern farm is a large enterprise, worthy of the best brains. In our early days as a nation our leading statesmen lived on the land and were proud to be farmers. Professor Ely would have our land policies so shaped as to encourage the breed of big men among those who farm the land.



## IRREGULAR EMPLOYMENT IN COAL MINES

FOR the past two years the Russell Sage Foundation has been investigating human relations in industry. In the course of these researches the Foundation has gathered facts regarding irregularity of employment and earnings in the bituminous coal mines. Miss Mary Van Kleeck, Director of the Department of Industrial Studies, has made public these facts in the form of a report by Louis Bloch, entitled "The Coal Miners' Insecurity."

The conclusion reached by this report is that no permanently satisfactory agreement on wage rates can be reached between miners and operators in the bituminous coal industry so long as the overdevelopment of many more mines than are required to supply the country's needs results in giving an average of only 214 days of employment in a year to the 600,000 men in the industry, thus nullifying to a great extent the advantage of increased rates of pay.

The investigation covered a period of thirty-two years, from 1890 through 1921. If 304 days be regarded as a full working year, the lost days of employment and of mine operation during those thirty-two years have averaged ninety in a year. There were two years during the war when the miner had as few as sixty-one idle days, but in eleven of the thirty-two years the loss of working time, and consequently of wages, has averaged 100 days or more.

The United States Geological Survey is authority for the statement that 37 per cent. of these lost days have been due to the overdevelopment of bituminous mines. Statisticians have estimated that existing mines could produce from 700,000,000 to 900,000,000 tons a year, while the country can use approximately 500,000,000 tons. This undue development results in bringing into the industry more men than are needed, and makes employment intermittent and uncertain. In the past thirty years the demand for soft coal has increased fourfold, and the number of mines and the number of employees has increased, but the days of employment in a year have shown no appreciable increase, except temporarily during the war period. As a result of the increased demand and higher prices, new mines have been opened, old ones have been enlarged, and more miners have been employed, but no



HAULING COAL TO THE SHAFT IN A BITUMINOUS MINE

more regular employment has been given to men in the mines already opened.

The Geological Survey further states that seasonal variations in demand account for 47 per cent. of the lost days in bituminous mining. In the period from 1913 to 1922 coal production in the month of greatest output exceeded that in the month of least output by from 11,000,000 to 16,000,000 tons. These seasonal fluctuations result in keeping more men and more capital in the industry to meet the annual peak of demand than would be needed if it were more evenly distributed throughout the year. This excess of numbers employed tends, in turn, to make employment irregular and uncertain. But even if seasonal variations could be eliminated, employment would not become regular so long as too many mines are operated.

The bituminous miners have sought higher rates of pay as an offset to periods of idleness and lack of earnings. But these higher rates, even when obtained by the miners, do not give a living wage throughout the year when there is opportunity to earn wages in comparatively few days of the year. In 1918, the year of greatest regularity of employment, the average annual earnings of the soft coal

miners varied from \$1364 in Ohio to a maximum of \$1583 in western Pennsylvania. Had the miners been able to work 304 days a year, their earnings at those rates might have reached a maximum of \$1850. In 1919 the average annual earnings of miners in the same area varied from \$1602 in Indiana to a maximum of \$1318 in Pennsylvania. In 1920 there was an average increase of 27 per cent. in wages, but the days of operations of the mines were 12 per cent. less than in 1918, while in 1921 the opportunity for employment decreased 23 per cent. as compared with 1920 and 32 per cent. as compared with 1918. In concluding his statement Mr. Bloch says:

Present conditions in the bituminous coal industry render precarious and difficult the lives of more than half a million miners and their wives and children. The adjustment of wage rates is sure to produce conflict and bitterness until the equally important questions of stability for the industry and security of employment for the miner receive effective attention from operators and public. Greater security in employment must be made the foundation of better human relations in this industry.

Wasteful over-development is a problem of organization of the industry as a whole in which either the operators or the public must take the initiative. The cost of living of everybody is increased by disorganization in the basic industry of coal. The public, the operator and investor, and the coal miner have a common interest in making bituminous mining efficient and economical.

## THE WORLD'S PRODUCTIVE POWER

IN a brief discussion of the economic results of the war, which he contributes to the *Illinois Magazine* (Urbana, Ill.), Professor William A. Noyes, of the University of Illinois, gives a clear-cut description of the situation in which the world now finds itself, and indicates the possibilities of recuperation.

Professor Noyes makes it clear that the difficulties which now confront us have not arisen because the world is not inherently able to care for all the people living in it. On the contrary, he maintains that the world is far better able to do that than ever before in historic times:

From 1880 to 1920 the annual value of the agricultural products of the United States increased from \$44 to \$185 per capita. The value of the mineral products increased from \$7.30 to \$62.70. The tons of coal mined increased from 1.33 to 6.0 per capita. From 1880 to 1918 the value of the coal produced increased from \$1.91 to \$17.60 per capita. The value added to raw materials by processes of manufacture increased from \$62.50 to \$108 per capita between 1899 and 1914.

It would be of great interest to determine the value of the total production of the United States in 1920 as compared with that of 1880. The figures given make it seem very probable that the total value per capita of the agricultural, mineral and manufactured products has increased at least fourfold. Even on the assumption that the purchasing value of money is only one-half what it was in 1880, this means that after supplying every man, woman and child with the same necessities of life which they would have used in 1880 there should still be available an equal amount to supply articles which would have been considered as luxuries then. This surprising and almost astounding conclusion we believe would be fully supported by an exhaustive statistical analysis.

The reasons for this remarkable increase in productive power, as revealed in the statistics given, are to be found in the introduction of labor-saving machinery in many industries, including farming, and the application of scientific knowledge to practical ends. It is well understood that this great increase in productive power was by no means confined to the United States, but up to the beginning of the war was shared by Europe and especially by England, France and Germany. In spite of the fact that a much larger proportion of the increased productivity went in Europe to the building of navies and preparations for war, the general standard of living rose there as well as in America between 1880 and 1914.

As to the losses of the war, Professor Noyes points out that the bonded indebtedness of the European nations, while it is a partial measure of the losses, actually represents, as capital, resources which were available at the beginning of the war or produced during the war. As capital, the bonds still exist and may be used by those who hold them for any purposes of trade or manufacture for which cash or other securities may be employed. The real losses of the war, measured very roughly by the bonds, may be classed under six heads:

First, there were military materials. These were mostly produced as they were used and the stocks of such materials are vastly greater now than they were in 1914. If such materials could be employed for any useful purpose, the world is better off than it was then. In this direction the world lost only a part of that which it actually produced during the period of the war. Second,

there was the destruction of property in the devastated areas. While the total amount was large, it is small in comparison with the amount of similar property which still exists in the rest of the world. If we could set ourselves to the task in a sensible way the restoration of these areas could be effected very promptly. Third, there were the ships sunk during the war. These were partly replaced during the war itself by the rapid building of new ships and there does not seem, even now, to be any very serious deficiency in the number of ships required for the commerce of the world. Fourth, there were at the close of the war depleted stocks of manufactured articles and, to a limited extent, of foodstuffs, because productive labor had been employed in the manufacture of munitions instead of in making useful articles. From the slowing up of production which has recently occurred it would seem that in America at least these depleted stocks have already been restored. Fifth, and most

serious of all the losses, millions of men have been killed or maimed in the prime of life. These men were selected because they were able-bodied and effective and their loss means a large decrease in the productive efficiency of the world. Sixth, the growth of populations was checked during the war and in many countries the prospective efficiency of the next generation has been greatly lessened by undernourishment and disease. So far as mere numbers are concerned, however, there is some question whether the desirability of a rapidly increasing population is not an imperialistic dogma which was fostered by rulers who wished "cannon-fodder" for future wars.

From this analysis it seems fair to conclude that if our productive energies could be used in a sane way, it would be possible to restore the world very soon to a better material condition than it was in before the war.

## AMERICAN DISARMAMENT IN THE PACIFIC

IN discussing our fleet and base limitations in the Pacific, as determined by the Washington Conference and embodied in treaties, few writers have devoted much attention to the relative weakness of the defenses left to the United States and her Pacific dependencies. A contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly* for April, Mr. William Howard Gardiner, sets forth "A Naval View" of the agreement to maintain the *status quo* as to the admittedly inadequate defenses of our Far Eastern dependencies. In Mr. Gardiner's opinion this phase of armament limitation is even more far-reaching than the limitation of fleet ratios—and this because the range of power of a battlefleet is only about 2000 miles from its base in waters infested by submarines.

It is as though the United States had a great gun—its fleet—which it could mount on a concrete base at Hawaii; and as though it had the location for a similar base at Guam. Because the gun mounted at Hawaii will reach only 2000 miles, it is impotent either to protect Guam or to attack Japan, both of which are over 3300 miles from Hawaii. And the only way to give the gun potency in the Far East would be to advance it to a base from which its projectile could reach the critical areas. But the first such American-base location is Guam, which could be reached by the Japanese fleet, as it is less than 1400 miles from Japan, and which is so lightly armed that it could be taken instantly by the Japanese fleet.

From this the inevitable conclusion is that the establishment of the *status quo* as to Far Eastern

American defenses has in fact made the United States impotent in the Far East in the event of war—provided Japan keeps submarines enough to oblige the American battlefleet to steam at high speed and, consequently, to burn its fuel so rapidly that it cannot travel far. And the corollary to this impotence of the United States in the Far East is that, as the Japanese fleet can have the Far Eastern waters to itself, it is really all-powerful there.

The conclusion seems unavoidable, therefore, that the naval effect of this whole arrangement is not the establishment of a 5-3 ratio of naval power between the United States and Japan with respect to the Far East. On the contrary, it means virtually complete disarmament by the United States in the Far East, while Japan—though statistically less heavily armed at home than the United States is at home—is left overwhelmingly armed in the Far East. And about the same thing might be said with respect to Great Britain's power to express naval force in the Far East *vis-à-vis* Japan. Consequently, in the Far Eastern situation, a region of international interest has been delimited in which Japan is omnipotent as far as arms go, and in which the other interests relatively are powerless.

The Far East, then, is a region in which, according to Mr. Gardiner, the practical equivalent of disarmament of all powers, except Japan, is proposed. Henceforth the only reliance will be in the validity of diplomatic agreements. Consequently, says Mr. Gardiner, this region may be looked upon in the immediate future as a localized experiment in disarmament, wherein, in spite of Japan's armaments, the world is trying the experiment of relying on agreements.

# THE UNEMPLOYMENT EMERGENCY

**I**N a survey of the unemployment situation, which he contributes to the *North American Review*, Mr. Arthur Woods, former Police Commissioner of New York City, and a member of the President's Conference on Unemployment, admits the great difficulty of getting accurate figures to measure the amount of unemployment in the country, its extent, and the severity of the distress caused by it. It will be recalled that the Department of Labor experts estimated the number of unemployed in September last at more than 5,500,000, while the experts who formed the advisory committee of the President's Conference on Unemployment placed the number at 3,500,000.

Enough was known beyond any doubt, however, to show that the situation in the autumn months throughout the country was extremely serious. The United States Employment Service had reports from 173 cities which showed that between September, 1921, and January, 1922, the number of unemployed increased 19 per cent. In the mining industry for the year ending in August, 1921, the decrease in employment had been 23 per cent., representing a total of 863,000. On the steam railroads the decrease has been 21.2 per cent., meaning that 445,000 men had been thrown out of work. The part of the country most heavily affected was east of the Mississippi and north of Mason and Dixon's line, and the larger cities suffered most. Naturally, conditions were better in centers where there was diversified occupation. In cities of a single industry, where large numbers of men were thrown out of employment, the suffering was most severe.

In European countries conditions were even worse. Great Britain had made special preparation to alleviate the distress resulting from a long period of unemployment through the operation of insurance, but even there distress was sharp. British industry had been dislocated by the war, and the stoppage of foreign trade produced an emergency which could not be met by the system of unemployment insurance.

In meeting the American emergency two

aspects of the situation had to be considered. In the first place, work must be provided at once, so far as it was economically sound to do so. Secondly, some means must be devised to prevent the occurrence of industrial depression.

Mr. Woods finds that the outstanding feature in the handling of the unemployment question last fall was the way in which each locality accepted the responsibility for its own situation. Practically every city in which there was distress from unemployment formed, under the leadership of the Mayor, a strong and representative emergency committee on unemployment. (Many of the methods adopted by these committees to provide temporary employment or to relieve acute distress were described in this *REVIEW* for November, 1921, by Major Sherman M. Craig.)

In regard to the building of public works, which has long been an expedient to relieve the hardships of industrial depression, Mr. Woods says:



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MR. ARTHUR WOODS

The movement during the winter toward the erection of public works has been not only unprecedented in volume but, according to all indications, has been guided by the sound principles that it was well to do now, in times when ordinary business had slowed up, public works which are necessary, which must be done anyway within a few months or a year, and which if done now, rather than a little later, will not merely give to the community the use of a needed bridge or building or sewerage system a little sooner than otherwise would have happened, but will also afford work just at a time when people are sorely in need of it.

The sales of municipal bonds for public works in 1921 were about double those of any previous year, and nearly three times the amount of those for any year before the war. In September the total sales of municipal bonds throughout the country amounted to \$86,477,162. In October the figure rose to \$113,787,230; and in November it was \$117,950,261; while in December it reached the unprecedented amount of \$210,819,584.

There has been a general impulse also toward the doing of work on public utilities and in private companies, on the same theory as that which has governed in the case of public works, although to nothing like the extent, since the possibility of raising money by the attraction of the sale of tax-free securities has not, of course, been available to public utilities and private companies. Much construction and repair work has however, been done.

In many instances much more work of this character, with consequent beneficial effect upon unemployment, would have been undertaken if construction costs had not been deemed too high.

Transportation rates, prices for material, the cost of labor—in some localities all of these have seemed too high, in others some of them have seemed so high as to prohibit new undertakings.

## HUGO STINNES AS A PORTENT IN POLITICS

AS a representative of the new German feudalism, which is replacing the old hereditary nobility, Dr. John Mez singles out for characterization in the *Atlantic Monthly* the great industrial magnate, Hugo Stinnes. Dr. Mez, who is one of the correspondents of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, asserts that while the people as a whole believe that they have assumed control of their destiny, they in fact merely retain nominal power, while the real power gradually passes into the hands of a small number of financiers.

The nobility of the past had always remained subservient to the state, or to the dynasty which was above it and whose interests it served primarily. But plutocracy has nobody above it; it controls and uses the state for the furtherance of its own interests; the state is merely its instrument, the playground for its growth and development. It is perhaps one of the greatest tragedies of the war that the masses of defeated Germany, after having freed themselves politically, should now have come under the economic control of a few men like Stinnes. Nor could a stranger paradox be conceived than this—one man emerging from a vanquished country as the world's greatest war-profitier and thus named "the man for whom the war has been fought."

"Never have such power, capital, boldness and enterprise been concentrated in one German. To the Socialist he is a Satan who desires to 'Stinnesize' the whole nation; to the Pan-German he is a Messiah, sent to avenge and save Germany." This is what Maximilian Harden wrote of Stinnes. A French paper called him the "new Rockefeller of Germany"; others describe him as the "Bismarck of the new régime," "Germany's new business Kaiser," the "man who grabs everything in sight," the "wealthiest, most influential, best-known, and at the same time least-known, man in Germany," or "the man who controls Germany's destiny."

Dr. Mez quotes, from Brinckmeyer's recent book, this description of Stinnes:

He has the appearance of a worker and could go about in the clothes of a foreman or a miner without attracting attention. His thick head is set upon a stocky trunk; his black hair is cut close; the face is pale and expansive; the beard is black as coal; the nose is curved, and the eyes are heavily underlined. His external appearance is devoid of pose; he seems heavy and solid.

Clothes, habits, and bearing denote a man of simple tastes.

Stinnes controls a vast number of enterprises—coal mines, steamship companies, steel mills, electrical factories, hotels, newspapers, banks, airship lines. So universal is his influence in the economic life of Germany, declares Dr. Mez, that it would be hardly possible to spend a single day in that country without paying him tribute indirectly, either by picking up a newspaper or by engaging a room in a hotel, or by using a street car, or by lighting an electric lamp, or by cashing a check.

After the armistice in 1918 Stinnes began to attract attention by buying newspapers, not only in Germany, but also in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, first acquiring the well-known semi-official *Deutsche Allge-*



STINNES AND ENGLAND

STINNES: "I will help Germany in her need. I do it out of pure patriotism. I will take over the Reichsbank as a private undertaking and pawn it to you for a loan of £500,000,000."

ENGLISH BANK DIRECTOR: "We admire your patriotism—but we can't advance cash on it."

From *Wahre Jacob* (Stuttgart)

*meine Zeitung*, he soon added, among the Berlin papers *Die Post*, *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, *Deutsche Zeitung* and the famous conservative daily, *Tägliche Rundschau*, edited by Count Reventlow. He is said to be the owner of the weeklies, *Simplicissimus* and *Jugend*, and several Munich dailies. In Vienna, Stinnes owns the two daily papers of large circulation—*Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Der Neue Tag*.

Stinnes entered politics early in the war. Called as an economic adviser to the German Government, he supported the policy of stripping Belgium of her factories, machinery and raw materials and was responsible also for the deportation of Belgian workers to be used to increase the output of munitions in Germany. He also brought about the demo-

lition of the factories and coal mines of northern France.

After the German revolution Stinnes became a member of the State Economic Council, and in that capacity was instrumental in defeating the socialization of German industries and mines.

At present, Stinnes is the acknowledged leader of the Deutsche Volkspartei, which he finances. He does not appear in public in person, but he is unquestionably the most powerful influence behind the screen. It is an impressive thing to note how, to-day, economic leaders shape the politics of a country, whereas, in the past, economic life was largely shaped by the politicians. It is true that Stinnes has not been able so far to substitute monarchism for democracy in Germany, but he certainly uses his influence in the direction of undermining faith in the democratic constitution and in discrediting the democratic government.

## AMERICAN DANCES IN FRANCE

IN the *Revue Mondiale* (Paris) of March 1st and 15th appears a remarkable symposium, made up of contributions from some of the most eminent French men and women, introduced editorially by M. José Germain, on the evils of the "American dances": notably, the "shimmy" and tango, now in vogue in social life and in the semi-public dancing places of Paris as of other cities. The introduction by the editor emphasizes the importance and merciless truthfulness of a recent romance, *Ici on Danse* ("Dancing Here"), by MM. J. Jacquin and H. Champly. Perhaps more truly pivotal for the discussion is the first of the contributions, namely, the unanimous declaration of the "Paris Academy of Dancing Masters," at a meeting held on January 11, 1921, as set forth by their secretary, M. A. Lafarge. Certain bitter words therein might seem to be aimed at "undesirables" from this country:

The violent and general criticism lavished on the new dances should have put a decisive end to the vogue of these exotic fantasies set to a savage music. Their survival, as well as their imperious vogue, is explained only by the secret, or indirect, certainly the selfish, influence exerted in dancing circles by foreign elements, which think everything is permitted them because of their wealth—persons who undoubtedly feel that, at Paris, they are rather in their own home than in ours.

However, the most emphatic declaration of the Professors is that they "will not teach the shimmy"; and there seems to be a general agreement, among the contributors, that this

crowning attack on public morals and the feminine constitution was borrowed from the lowest social outcast of Argentina, who dances in "cap on head and cigar in mouth, spitting over his partner's shoulder," according to the report brought back from Buenos Aires by Madame Regina Badet, star of the Opéra Comique. She adds words of bitter scorn for the mothers who say, "In our time this would have made a scandal," but submit, in their ill-directed and ill-rewarded struggle to see their daughters duly "settled." One of these matrons is quoted as saying to a dancing-master, himself a timid reformer, "Your ideas are correct, maybe, but quite too high-necked. No young man will be encouraged to declare himself." It is precisely against that attitude of the French mothers that this frontal attack in force is made. Great authors, with Maître Bourget at their head, actors and dramatists, the heads of the finest girls' schools, the Prefect and the Archbishop of Paris, speak out on this problem in earnest unison. But naturally the deadliest utterances are those of "the leading gynaecologist," Dr. G. L. C. Bernard. Disclaiming any allusion to his own patients as individuals, he says in substance:

The modern dances are a danger to be fought, a peril to be averted. Side by side with a revival of the sane, educative and beautiful antique forms appears a far more popular vogue of the most abnormal, harmful and degenerate sort. This indulgence brings on an organic excitement, and a craving for its constant repetition, resulting in the most serious physical and mental diseases.

The average mother is assuring her daughter's lifelong unhappiness. Vices, even hardly known by name to modern times, are declared to be springing from this same source. Like others among the contributors, this women's physician speaks at length with a stern frankness hardly permitted by our conventions; and concludes: "The essence of our customs and manners, the balance of French character, are suffering fatally from its sinister effects. Is the race dying while its conscience sleeps? That is the peril."

Perhaps the greatest surprise to the American reader will be the appearance of Jean Finot, who, besides conducting the *Revue Mondiale*, is editor of the *Alarme*, the chief anti-alcoholic organ, to urge that indulgence in the shimmy and tango is leading to heavy drinking in every city and village of the country. Feminine alcoholism in particular,

grown prevalent in the war time, has made long strides since. There are three-fourths as many confirmed drunkards as insane. The effective energy of the French worker is rated 60 per cent. below the German.

Doubtless the most surprising feature of this whole article is that the need of it should so acutely be felt, and acted upon, in France. The peril, if real, is not confined, of course, to any one country or race. Probably on this side of the Atlantic there has been more effort at reform, or restraint, in public places. American mothers, far more than the French, would plead ignorance, and inability to control the actions of "the younger set," though such a defense may well be considered worse than the Frenchwoman's confession of complicity or at least of complaisance. If any such frank, general utterance, by those best fitted to speak, be possible here and now, it would certainly be timely.

## OUR RELATIONS WITH HAITI AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

UNDER the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science a survey of economic, social and political conditions in Haiti and the Dominican Republic was recently conducted by Dr. Carl Kelsey, professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Kelsey's completed report of this survey appears in the *Annals* of the American Academy for March. So much material of a political and partisan nature relating to these two republics has appeared in the American press that an impartial and unbiased study of the situation by a man of Dr. Kelsey's standing as an investigator should be eagerly welcomed by intelligent public opinion in this country. Dr. Kelsey spent nine months on the island, and made a careful and searching analysis of all phases of the present situation in both of the island republics.

In summarizing the results of his investigation Dr. Kelsey comments on the Haitian attitude toward the United States. He found Haiti sensitive—possibly oversensitive—because of wounded pride. He concluded that much of the antagonism reported as coming from the Haitians was a smoke-screen to cover their feelings. As a rule, the Haitians are not antagonistic to Americans, but they are critical of our governmental policies. The chief criticisms that they offer are four:

1. Incompetency of our representatives.
2. Uncertainty as to intentions of the United States.
3. Failure to settle internal loans and to make a new loan.



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BRIG.-GEN. JOHN H. RUSSELL, U. S. MARINE CORPS  
(President Harding's personal representative in Haiti, who will endeavor to settle questions in controversy between the United States and that Government)



4. Arbitrary actions of both Marines and civilians.

In seeking the real basis on which these complaints are founded, Dr. Kelsey took account of the financial depression which Haiti is now experiencing. The Haitians had been led to attribute the low price level of their products to the American occupation. Furthermore, Haiti feels that she has surrendered many of the attributes of sovereignty without securing corresponding benefit. She does not believe that she has fared as well as Cuba or the Philippines under American administration. While he does not deny that there may be some measure of justice in their complaints, Dr. Kelsey holds the opinion that taking into account the effect of the war upon the United States and the world-wide financial crisis no American administration could have made a complete success in Haiti under existing conditions. He believes that the responsibility rests primarily, not upon the shoulders of the men sent to Haiti, but upon the Government at Washington.

Haiti was rather inclined to welcome the Marines but she wants to know why they are kept in the country after the problem has ceased to be military. She feels that their presence is a constant pressure to force the government to accede to any demands made. Leading Haitians do not emphasize the "atrocities" of which we hear so much. They believe many occurred but recognize that cruelty is not an American trait or policy. It is not the Marine, it is the uniform, the symbol of outside control, which irritates.

Let it not be inferred that Haiti is ready to have the Marines removed. Intelligent Haitians, says Dr. Kelsey, all think, whatever they say for publication, that revolution will occur if the Marines leave. He estimates that a free and honest expression of Haitian opinion would show 90 per cent. in favor of the continuance of order by the United States, but opinions differ as to the best scheme.

American accomplishment in Haiti is summed up by Dr. Kelsey under the following heads:

1. The maintenance of order.
2. Establishment of the Gendarmerie.
3. The honest handling of revenues.
4. The beginnings of roads.
5. The regular payment of government employees.
6. The cleaning up of the towns and the beginning of sanitation.

7. The maintenance of a fixed exchange rate of gourde and dollar.

Dr. Kelsey is fully alive to the advantages that have been conferred on Haiti by the American occupation. Yet he believes that our achievements there are not remarkably creditable to the United States. "We have signally failed on some of the big things, such as reorganization of schools and finances. Why, Washington must explain."

American policy in Haiti can no longer remain simply negative or passive:

If we believe that we have an obligation to help Haiti we must carry out our belief regardless of the protests of selfishly interested politicians, there or elsewhere. But we must not be satisfied with words or a purely negative program of "protection." There are many things we might do. We might as a nation refund the Haitian debt. We might admit the products of Haiti on the same terms as those of Cuba, for why should we discriminate between two islands in almost identically the same situation as regards our markets?

A clear declaration by Congress of our intentions with reference to Haiti might clear the atmosphere there. I do not believe there is any difficulty between Haiti and the United States which cannot be amicably settled.

No one knows the future. No one can be certain of the accuracy of his own ideas. It seems to me that to-day we are confronted with the necessity of a choice between two courses, simple yet complicated: complicated because they must rest on continuity of program. We can admit the impossibility of helping Haiti under existing conditions, and withdraw, or we can declare our program, organize our forces, and make good. My humble advice to the United States Government is then: Get in, or get out.

The situation as regards the Dominican Republic is different from that in Haiti, inasmuch as we have offered to withdraw, under certain conditions, and we must keep our pledge if the conditions are accepted. It is true that the Dominicans are farther advanced than the Haitians, but Dr. Kelsey regards their future as still somewhat problematical, and he thinks that we may find ourselves forced to intervene again. In his opinion, the United States made its first great blunder when it allowed Caceres to be overthrown and replaced by a revolutionary government. The second blunder was in recognizing the \$1,500,000 internal debt under Nouel. These two facts convinced the Dominican politicians that they could do as they pleased.

It is Dr. Kelsey's wish that we might complete the public-works program before leaving Santo Domingo. With this idea he says that many Dominicans agree.

## CAN WE CONTROL PROPAGANDA?

**PROPAGANDA**, as we are told by Professor Edward K. Strong, Jr., in the *Scientific Monthly*, has existed for ages. "But," adds this writer, "it has not been comprehended so clearly by the mass of people as it is to-day. And certainly it has never before been employed on such great numbers of men and women. To-day it is a clearly recognized method of social control." Since propaganda is being used so widely and successfully for all kinds of purposes, bad as well as good, its regulation has become a vital problem. Also a problem not easy of solution.

Professor Strong is a well-known psychologist who has specialized in the psychology of advertising. He rightly describes the control of propaganda as a psychological problem. In approaching this subject we must first of all define our terms:

The word "propaganda" means essentially the spread of a particular doctrine or a system of principles, especially when there is an organization or general plan back of the movement. Propaganda differs from "education" with which it is purposely confused, in that in the case of the former the aim is to spread one doctrine, whereas in the case of the latter the aim is to extend a knowledge of the facts as far as known.

Advertising men have never been able to agree on a definition of "advertising" and I should not want to attempt here what they have failed to do. But I think we can distinguish between advertising and propaganda by saying that advertising is usually concerned with making known and desirable a definite commodity or service with the definite aim of leading many individuals, as such, to acquire the commodity or service. Propaganda includes many types of advertising, but it is mainly concerned with the subtle presentation to the public of information so chosen and so focused that among many individuals there develops a general "point of view" which is favorable to the aim of the propagandist and leads to action in that general direction. A further distinction between these two methods of influencing people pertains to the *methods* employed rather than the *object*. The advertiser buys space upon which appears his message, and the reader knows it as a paid advertisement. The propagandist may advertise, but he especially aims to employ space he did not buy, at least directly, and not to permit the reader to know that the material is propaganda. He believes his material will have greater effect when its source is unknown.

The principal psychological process involved in propaganda is "motivation." It is something more than mere suggestion. First a strong desire is aroused, and then a certain action is presented which appears to be a

satisfactory way of expressing the desire. Motivation is further defined as "the process of deliberately developing a sentiment, of deliberately associating an idea with an emotion, of tying together in the mind of another the love for wife and the idea of buying a vacuum cleaner, or of sympathy with the Belgians and hatred of the Germans, and the idea of war." A very important fact in connection with this process is that no logical connection need exist between the emotion that is aroused and the program that is outlined.

The detailed suffering of a little girl and her kitten can motivate our hatred against the Germans, arouse our sympathy for the Armenians, make us enthusiastic for the Red Cross, or lead us to give money for support of a home for cats. The story may be true or concocted for the purpose; the inferences against the Germans or for the home for cats may be also true or false; the organization carrying on the propaganda may be efficiently administered or not—all these considerations little concern us. We feel the emotion, we want to do something because by acting we will feel better, and away we go regardless of mere intellectual considerations.

Professor Strong adduces many facts concerning the prevalence of propaganda that emphasize the magnitude of the problem under discussion. For example:

The drive, a new form of propaganda, has now become a regular business. According to James H. Collins, somewhere between a billion and a billion-and-a-half dollars have been raised in one year for various causes other than governmental. Many of these have been worthwhile, but unfortunately many have been the reverse. A bureau that makes a business of investigating national and interstate money-raising activities, reported that by April, 1920, the number of drives had risen to 1021, of which the bureau approved only 124. The district attorney of New York County investigated 534 money-raising activities in 1918 and put 384 of them out of business. One gang of ex-convicts had obtained \$500,000 in eight months.

In addition to campaigns to sell a commodity or service or to obtain gifts, there are other campaigns devoted to accomplishing specific actions of a sort much more difficult to estimate fairly. Political campaigns aim to secure votes for certain men; propaganda appears from time to time to influence citizens to vote for or against certain measures; propaganda appeared in many forms a short time ago, appealing to citizens of the United States to intervene in Mexico; lobbies are familiar accompaniments to our legislatures, each one aiming to accomplish a specific program; unions appeal to public opinion to aid them in winning a strike and companies appeal to the

same public to help them prevent or break the strike, etc.

We are so accustomed to our political machinery that we do not often stop and ask ourselves whether it is geared up so as to serve society in the best way. Only when some enthusiastic social uplifter boasts that she and four others alone put a measure through a State legislature by the use of skilful lobbying, or a secretary of a business man's organization calmly announces months in advance that Congress will do away with a bureau because his organization is demanding such action, and his prophecy comes true, does one wonder whether some sort of control of propaganda would not be worthwhile even here. And one waxes quite indignant, as did a former Secretary of War, when he comes to realize that much of the propaganda for bringing back the bodies of our dead soldiers was instigated by the journal of the undertakers and casket makers.

As to the prospects of controlling propaganda, the writer is not particularly optimistic. Propaganda can be fought with propaganda; but how can we count upon the

right side winning — especially when the wrong one happens to have plenty of funds and a strong organization? Undoubtedly the public should be taught about the methods of propagandists, so that it may be on its guard. People like to feel that they are being appealed to on logical grounds, and not merely through their emotions. Professor Strong concludes:

As far as I can see, society has reached the point in its development when it must take motives into account, because man has now learned how to arouse motives to action in an economical and wholesale way. And in regulating motives society must come to evaluate the sentiments that propaganda is aimed to create, and to regulate in some way the use of phrases arousing emotions, as distinguished from phrases appealing to rational consideration. Without control in some way of the emotional element in propaganda, legal action will never stop the most dangerous of propaganda which arouses a sentiment first of all and then at the proper moment in one fell swoop precipitates that sentiment into action.

## NUTRITION CLASSES IN AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND ABROAD

WE were somewhat startled from our burgher complacency by the statement a month or so ago by the South Orange School Board that the well-to-do children had been found notably wanting in the school system of nutrition classes. The mothers, the pedagogues complained, did not know how to feed their offspring, or, if they did, they must have neglected their prime duty and even failed to instruct their cooks properly. The fearful immediately scented another encroachment of the State upon our individual rights, but a little search for information shows us that here and in Europe civic experts have been for a long time undermining the Chinese wall of indifference and ignorance as to the nutrition of the future citizen.

The von Pirquet system used in the Hoover relief work in Vienna is the last word in scientific nutrition and has a decimal system of its own by which the quantity of health-giving foodstuffs is measured. The system is described in von Pirquet's textbook on nutrition. Its unit is the nem, which is equivalent to one gram of normal cow's milk, and which is used in his diet schemes much as the calory is in America and England. Dekanem, dkn, = the food

value of 10 grams of milk; hektionem, hn, = the food value of 100 grams of milk; kilonem, kn, = the food value of 1000 grams of milk (one liter); and tonnenem, tn, = the food value of 1000 kilograms of milk.

Von Pirquet has fixed the normal requisite diet at from 17 to 23 hektionem for children from two to six; 25 to 30 hektionem for children from six to ten, and 31 to 34 hektionem for the last group from ten to fifteen years of age. The feeding of individual children in a school or clinic is reckoned very rapidly by seating each child on a table and measuring its height when sitting. The food is divided into five meals, which should be taken at 7 a. m., 10 a. m., 1 p. m., 4 p. m., and 7 p. m. The first meal consists of milk, bread and cheese; the second of soup and bread; the third of soup, bread, vegetables and preserved fruit or butter; the fourth is milk; and the fifth is soup, bread and butter, or preserves.

In schools where only the noon-day meal is given, von Pirquet recommends a meal of the value of 10 hektionem (or the equivalent of 1000 grams of milk).

For the selection of underfed children from the schools for special classes where they may gain health while studying,



A HOT MID-DAY LUNCH IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

von Pirquet advises medical tests. Each child is placed in groups in charge of a teacher who sends the cards with the patient's weight and diet to the head of the nutrition experiments every month.

The similar experiments in New York City under the auspices of the American Red Cross nutrition department have followed the more conservative methods of the Massachusetts General Hospital under Dr. William R. P. Emerson. Their workers have, however, adopted valuable hints from the foreign methods, though the complete von Pirquet system has not yet been introduced in any notable school or clinic.

In France René Gaultier's diet plan has been introduced into the canteens of the Paris public schools. In the *Paris Médical* of September 25, 1921, Gaultier divides school children into four large groups: (1) Children under four years old who must not have meat; (2) children from four to six years old who must have 40 grams of cooked meat at least three times a week; (3) children from six to ten years old who require 80 grams of cooked meat every day; and (4) children from ten to fourteen years of age who must be given 100 grams of cooked meat every day. The first group has a lunch on Wednesday, for instance, of milk soup, mashed potatoes and bread. The second group has on Thursday, beef soup, boiled beef and bread, and the third group has on Friday clear vegetable soup, purée of beans or lentils, beef à la mode and bread. The oldest group of children from ten to fourteen has on Saturday a thick bouillon, pastry, stew and bread. As for liquid refreshment,

the plan makes us all long for childhood days in Paris. The happy Parisian gamin or *gosse* has wine, beer or cider with only a dash of water after they are ten years old, but coffee, tea and liqueurs are forbidden. Gaultier emphasizes the necessity for dining-halls in the school canteens with cement or brick floors, to be flooded every day, and white enameled tables and chairs. The plates, cups and spoons are of aluminum, and the directress and her assistants must cut the meat into small pieces. The children's hands must be washed before and after every meal, and they are taught to masticate properly and slowly. The parents are not allowed to put any dessert except fruit and dry cakes in their child's school-bag. While this diet plan is intended for the normal child, the malnutrition cases are cared for by classing them in the group of younger or older children, according to their height. Gaultier's food values are given in cubic centimeters for the soups and in grams for the solid foods. The simplicity of M. Gaultier's diet schemes and the Franco-American *entente cordiale* in cuisine seem to indicate that, as usual, our American schools follow our late ally in nutrition as in so many other subjects.

The Red Cross here believes that the teaching of the child to select its food from the market as well as the canteen dishes is no small part of the nutrition teacher's task. The foreign-born child in New York City can thus introduce to her parents the strange and more varied abundance of the American diet with shy hints as to the comparative food value whether in nems, calories or grams, of the new menu.

## ALCOHOL AS A WORLD PROBLEM

THE Sixteenth International Anti-Alcoholic Congress, held at Lausanne, Switzerland, August 22-27, 1921, afforded the advocates of abstinence an excellent opportunity for disseminating their views, and hence the résumé of the proceedings contributed by Dr. A. Angelini to *Rivista Internazionale* (Rome) presents elements of interest.

As many as 500 members were assembled from all parts of the world, and thirty-two different governments were represented, including a representative of the Holy See. One of the most important propositions was that made by Professor Schaffenberg, of Christiania, who urged that Europe should follow the example set by the United States in organizing a scientific and impartial investigation regarding the effects of alcohol. As, however, the financial conditions in Europe would render it difficult to secure the necessary appropriations for such a task, he advocated the founding of a scientific bureau at Lausanne, which should collect the international literature on the subject and disseminate it by means of a review containing articles in French, English, and German. This proposal is about to bear good fruit, for Dr. R. Hercod, director of the International Bureau at Lausanne, already announces the publication of a monthly review to combat alcoholism.

That alcoholism exerts a deleterious influence upon the race was insisted upon by Dr. C. W. Saleeby, of London, who found that this did not regard the number of offspring, but their quality, as he did not consider it clearly demonstrated that the stillbirths were necessarily attributable to this cause. As to certain special contagious diseases, it has been held that they are favored by the consumption of alcohol, either because this diminishes the resistance to temptation, or aggravates and complicates the symptoms of the disease when contracted. The speaker believed that the suppression of the liquor traffic in the United States, as compared with its toleration in Europe, would eventuate in a decadence of the races of the Old World and a corresponding improvement of the race in the United States.

Practical tests as to the effects of alcohol upon certain activities were reported by Dr. W. Vernon, of Oxford. The method adopted was to have the subject of the experiment typewrite a short passage which had been memorized, or else use a calculating

machine, both before and after having consumed a given quantity of alcohol, so as to determine the effect produced on the rapidity and accuracy of the work. To make the test still more rigorous, the experiment was repeated several times, the interval between the eating of food and the taking of the alcohol being progressively lengthened, and the strength of the beverage being varied. It was found that when alcohol was imbibed immediately after eating, the average errors were 1.7 per cent.; when taken an hour or two later; the errors increased to from 2.2 to 2.9 per cent.; when consumed three hours after eating, they mounted to 3.6 per cent., and when taken after a fast of twenty-four hours, they attained the maximum of 10.2 per cent. Hence he considered that the presence of food retarded the absorption of the alcohol by the blood.

Regarding the strength of the potation, it was demonstrated, as can be easily believed, that the effect was less with 5 per cent. of alcohol than with 20 per cent. Beer containing 5 per cent. of alcohol acted more strongly than that containing 4 per cent.; if it contained only 3 per cent., as much as five quarts was needed to produce intoxication. Experiments with men and dogs showed that intoxication depends rather on the rapidity with which the spirits are imbibed than upon the quantity of alcohol contained. It was also found that beer had a more deleterious effect upon the quickness of the work than did whiskey, while, on the other hand, whiskey induced more errors than did beer.

The general conclusions drawn from these tests were that alcohol should be taken only at meals, and never more than two hours after eating, and that beverages containing but a low percentage of alcohol should be less heavily taxed than those with a high percentage.

Finally, as to the medicinal value of alcohol, the writer cites the statistical reports of the Temperance Hospital in London, where in twenty-seven years, among 17,000 patients treated, the mortality was only 7.5 per cent., which was 10 per cent. less than the mortality in the other London hospitals; but he admits that this result may have been due in part to the fact that among those whose systems were not saturated with alcohol, the power of resistance against disease is greater.



PLOWING THE PRAIRIES OF ARGENTINA

## A FARMING CRISIS IN ARGENTINA

**I**N view of the present crisis in Argentine agriculture it is surprising, says *La Revista de Economía y Finanzas* (Buenos Aires), to note the public apathy toward remedial legislation. A large part of the country's wealth is based on agriculture; consequently unfavorable conditions spell disaster for the whole people. It is stated by Government statisticians that over 50 per cent. of the population is in agriculture.

It is clear that the present situation must last until some methodical study has resulted in curative legislation. The various farmers' associations (alas, too few!) should help solve present problems. Farm loans should be more readily available, whether for equipment purposes or to facilitate the movement of crops. At present overcaution in the granting of loans has led to an almost total suppression of that institution which previously functioned almost without an error in the era of high costs.

The law of 1914, which instituted the farm-loan, held as a final principle the aiding of the rural industries that play so important a rôle in the economy of the country. It made easier the borrowing of money on machinery, instruments of labor, animals and fruits, and even on growing crops. Thus it resulted that national work was protected and encouraged, rather than held back. Such a law is indispensable in a country where agrarian credit is far too scanty, where there are few farmers' coöperative societies, where there are too few legal aids and where, in a word, institutions are unknown that in all other countries of the least productive impor-

tance have been installed to foresee and avoid (or remove) difficulties inherent to the proper exploitation of farmlands.

Giving long-term credits to the farmers is not sufficient, though without doubt such loans will help make the present situation more bearable for those who seek to pay their debts, but find it impossible owing to the devalorization of those products on which money must be raised. What is necessary is a system that will furnish loans based on the actual value of the products opposed to the depreciated market price, which may be below the cost of production. The fact that the value of farms has decreased does not authorize a cessation of the functioning of agrarian credits, just as the lessened value of town or suburban property does not result in the total suppression of hypothetical credit.

It is well to face the facts. The backbone of the country's riches is the volume of its agrarian production. Failure to protect and strengthen it must injure the whole country.

What has brought about the present crisis? Nearly the same conditions that have affected the railroads: (1) low prices of cereals and fruits of the country (*i. e.*, prices paid the producer by the middleman); (2) lowered consumers' demand abroad; (3) lowered purchasing power of the peso; (4) strikes (the closing of the port of Buenos Aires was a severe blow to business); and (5) the socialistic tendency of legislation, which has lowered the hours of work, increased wages, and generally aided the Government employees.

# THE PAPACY IN THE MODERN WORLD

THE character and significance of the problems which the new Pope, Pius XI, will be called upon to solve are examined and analyzed by A. C. Jemolo in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). He finds that in the past century, especially in the last twenty-five years of the century, Rome was always obliged to keep in view the situation in western Europe. France, above all, and then Spain and Portugal, were by turns causes of anxiety or of rejoicing for the Papacy. England was not within the immediate range of Papal activity, except for a brief interval, under Leo XIII, when the idea of a unification of the Roman and Anglican churches was considered to a slight extent. Germany, after the termination of the conflict between the Catholic Church and the state, known as the *Kulturkampf*, which raged a half-century ago, was no longer the object of serious preoccupation. Austria, subsequent to the grave troubles of the early '70's, remained a peaceful region for the Roman Curia.

Now this state of things is destined to undergo a change. The situation of the Church in western Europe is not menaced by any grave dangers. A radical reaction in France is unlikely, neither will Pius XI, sagacious, intelligent, ductile and practical as he is, assume an anti-French attitude; this is shown by his recent conduct when Papal Nuncio to Poland, now so closely allied with France. Those who have remained faithful to the Roman Catholic Church in France are quite convinced that he will not place any obstacles in the way of a reconciliation of Christian precepts with the strongly nationalistic spirit animating French politics to-day. As to Portugal, the anti-Catholic spirit of radical republicanism seems to be overcome, and in Spain, where there has existed much opposition to the Catholic Church among the Catalonians, who wished to sweep away everything characteristic of the old régime, this local opposition will probably be neutralized by the influence of French sentiment, which has lately become a potent factor in Catalonian politics.

After having traversed the most terrible crisis of modern history, all the nations, in their depression, are influenced by half-defined hopes of millennial possibilities. It is one of those eras in which even the most intelligent are impressed with the mighty fatality that rules human progress, and are

irresistibly impelled to welcome a faith in the realization of vague ideals. This is all the more the case that the economic problems seem to defy any solution by the old formulas. The Italian writer thinks that such a state of things offers wonderful prospects for the success of religious influences, which appeal to man's spiritual nature and touch the very depths of his being, and he considers that the Roman Catholic religion is the one best fitted to utilize this opportunity, because of its great adaptability.

Another circumstance which, in the writer's view, must help the Catholic Church is the fall of the Russian Imperial Government, the great upholder of the Russian Church, and the advent of a government which was at the outset openly hostile to this church and has now assumed an attitude of unfriendly indifference. The Russian people, robbed of the elements of the old faith and convictions, may be the more ready to welcome a reunion of the Roman and Russian Churches.

However, there are other problems imperatively demanding solution. For example, the Papacy cannot, without serious loss of prestige, recede from the position taken by Benedict XV in regard to the holy places in Palestine; it cannot abandon its part as defender of the moral rights of the Christian world in the Holy Land. This is an extremely delicate question, for the Zionists have behind them the solid phalanxes of the Jews of Europe and America, and any antagonistic attitude of the Papacy toward Zionism would provoke a recrudescence of anti-Catholic feeling among all of Semitic blood. On the other hand, if the Papacy, even involuntarily, should give a pretext for the revival of the anti-Semitic spirit in the regions formerly controlled by the Austrian Empire, or in Poland and Rumania and in many parts of Germany, it would be rendering but poor service to the cause of peace. If, however, an accord can be reached with the Zionists, who so far have not shown any inclination to be fanatical, or to be careless of the rights of others; if the moral interests of the Christian peoples can be reconciled with the longing for a national centre of Judaism, then the Papacy will have achieved a great success, and one that will enhance its prestige in the whole Mediterranean region, both Occidental and Oriental.



## FACTORY LABOR IN INDIA

WRITING in the *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington, D. C.), Dr. Rajani Kanta Das describes one of the many far-reaching economic changes that have lately come to pass in India; namely, the marked increase in the number of factory laborers. He also sets forth in considerable detail the industrial conditions that prevail in Indian factories; hours of labor, wages, welfare legislation, and so forth. We are told, among other things, that people of all castes are found in the factories, that nobody is deterred by his caste from going to work in these establishments, and that Hindus and Mohammedans work side by side. Here, then, is a powerful influence in the direction of solidarity among the working classes which has perhaps helped to lead to the present state of unrest in Britain's Indian Empire.

The writer says:

Until the end of the eighteenth century India not only supplied the limited demand of her population for manufactured goods, but also enjoyed a large export trade. With the beginning of the nineteenth century, Indian industry underwent a complete change. Instead of exporting manufactures India began to import them and to send out grains and other raw materials in exchange. This rapid change was due to the policy of the East India Company, a policy which increased the export of Indian raw materials to British mills and the importation of British manufactured goods into India.

As a result of this change there followed a complete collapse of the industrial organization of the country. The artisan class suffered most, for its members had to fall back on the land and to depend wholly on farming. The produce from a little piece of farm land, which had for so long only supplemented the income from their craft, now became the sole means of their support. With the decline of the craft system, engineering, architecture, and other industrial skill also disappeared and the industrial disorganization was soon followed by intellectual stagnation and moral deterioration of the people.

From this condition India has, within the last two generations, been slowly but surely drifting toward modern industrialism. The self-sufficient village economy has, in many cases, been replaced by national and international economy. Mechanical power has begun to be applied to productive processes. Native manufactures are again finding their place in the domestic and even in the foreign market.

The most important factor which has brought about this change is the increased facility for transportation.

Although, we are told, India contained in 1917-18 a total of 4,868 large industrial establishments, employing a daily average of 1,238,238 people,

there has not yet appeared a sharp distinction between the laboring classes and the people from whom they are emerging. Nor does there yet exist a wage-earning class in the technical sense of the term, except in a few industrial centers. Unlike the wage-earning classes in Europe and America, the majority of the laborers still retain their homesteads, and some of them even own a piece of farm land, small though it may be, and they do not yet depend completely upon wages for their livelihood. The slow growth of the wage-earning classes in India may be accounted for on several grounds:

The laboring classes in India have always been freeholders and they are slow to leave their old positions, whereas in the West the ancestry of the modern wage-earning classes was remotely connected with serfdom and it was natural for their descendants to get away from their hard lot and humiliation at the first opportunity that presented itself.

Second, the joint family system in India holds together all the members of the family and even when some of them leave for distant towns they retain their love of home and return whenever it is possible.

Third, no opportunity has as yet been presented to the Indian laborers for successful careers and sure earnings. Although they find life miserable, owing to the very small size of their farms, they have, nevertheless, been unwilling to try to change conditions by leaving their homes to engage in something which to them is unknown.

The first signs of a modern wage-earning class have already appeared in some industrial centers, such as Ahmedabad and Cawnpore. The number of wage-earners who have been separated from homestead and farm land and depend solely upon wages for their livelihood is increasing, though they are still few in number.

In 1921 a resolution was passed in the Indian Legislature ratifying the draft convention of the International Labor Conference at Washington, 1919, which reduced the working hours in Indian factories to 60 hours a week for both men and women. Much longer hours had previously prevailed. Some years ago many operatives worked from dawn to dusk.

In the year 1898 the cotton factories of Bombay conceived the idea of working longer hours, and four years later many of the factories adopted electric light. Some idea of the long hours of work which prevailed in some of the textile factories of the country may be had from the report of the Factory Labor Commission of 1907. This commission found that in mills working daylight hours the average working time per day for the whole year was approximately 12 hours and 5 minutes; the longest day did not usually exceed 13½ hours of actual work, and the shortest day was about 11 hours. In mills fitted with electric light the hours varied from 12½ to 16 in different localities, weavers in Calcutta jute mills working 15 or 16 hours,

although each four weavers had an extra hand for relief. These excessively long hours, however, were unusual except in textile factories and in certain seasonal industries.

Child labor is very common and has given rise to many abuses, now largely corrected by legislation.

Though wages in Indian factories have risen materially in recent years, they remain

far indeed below the Occidental level. Moreover,

while only fragmentary data on cost of living in India are available, the fact that in 1919 the price of food grains had increased about 93 per cent., imported piece goods 190 per cent., and India-made goods about 60 per cent. over the 1914 prices shows that in India as in many other countries increased wages failed to keep up with the rising cost of living.

## THE RECORD-BREAKING CLIMATE OF DEATH VALLEY

WITHIN the past few years two meteorological "records" have been broken, and in both cases at places within the far-flung empire of Uncle Sam. A mountaintop in the Hawaiian Islands has captured (at least temporarily) the championship for raininess, which had long been held by the village of Cherrapunji, in India. The other event occurred within the continental United States. On July 10, 1913, a properly shaded and ventilated thermometer at a Weather Bureau station on the edge of Death Valley, California, recorded a temperature of 134 degrees Fahr., thus wresting the palm for hotness from Wargla, in the Algerian Sahara.

Apart from this particular occurrence, the climate of Death Valley is in many respects extraordinary, and formed the subject of the first bulletin ever issued by the United States Weather Bureau, as long ago as 1892. The maintenance of an observing station in this interesting region, however, dates back only eleven years, and its records furnish the occasion for an article by Mr. Andrew H. Palmer in the current *Monthly Weather Review* (Washington, D. C.). The writer tells us much about the valley itself, and explains, among other things, how Greenland Ranch, where the weather station is situated, acquired a name that hardly seems compatible with the climate. He says:

Until recently the only permanent inhabitants of Death Valley were a few of the Piute, Shoshone, and Mojave Indian tribes, whose day of total extermination is near. The first permanent white settlement was established about forty years ago by the Pacific Coast Borax Company of twenty-mule team fame. A tract of about sixty-five acres situated on the eastern edge of Death Valley was placed under irrigation. The water supply was a difficult problem to solve, in view of the fact that the normal annual precipitation is less than two inches. Not infre-

quently less than one inch of rain falls in a year. Successful agriculture cannot be maintained on less than fifteen or twenty inches of precipitation annually without the aid of irrigation. A group of springs known as Warm Springs was found in the Funeral Mountains nearby, and these serve as the source of irrigation water supply; the temperature of the water issuing from these springs is about 100 degrees Fahr.

This ranch was originally called Furnace Creek Ranch, because it was situated near a depression where the air suggested a blast from a heated furnace. In the latter depression water may be found throughout the year in what is known as Furnace Creek, which is fed by about 100 springs. After the ranch was successfully established its name was changed to Greenland Ranch because of the marked contrast between the green alfalfa fields and the eternally brown desert surrounding.

In 1911 the United States Weather Bureau established a weather station on Greenland Ranch in cooperation with the company which operates the ranch. Carefully tested maximum and minimum thermometers together with a standard eight-inch rain-gage and a regulation instrument shelter were lent by the Weather Bureau and were installed under approved conditions. The white foreman of the ranch was appointed coöperative observer. More than ten years of unbroken weather records at this unique station are now on file. They are among the most interesting weather records in existence.

Whereas the temperature occasionally falls below freezing during the winter months, it rises to 100° or more almost daily during June, July and August, and nearly every summer higher temperatures are recorded here than at any other place in the United States. The highest individual readings in Fahrenheit degrees for each year since the beginning of the record are as follows:

1911.....	122	1917.....	125
1912.....	120	1918.....	125
1913.....	134	1919.....	123
1914.....	126	1920.....	125
1915.....	124	1921.....	123
1916.....	127		

As to other climatic features we read:

Not infrequently six consecutive months have passed without measurable rain. During 1917 the total rainfall was less than one-half inch. During 1919 it was slightly over one-half inch. The average annual precipitation is less than two inches. However, "it never rains but it pours." Rainfall is usually of short duration, but it rains hard when it rains. Snowfall of measurable depth is unknown. Gales and dust storms are of frequent occurrence. There are few days when the sun does not shine. In fact, there is some sunshine practically every day in the year.

Though no long-continued records of humidity have been kept, occasional determinations show that during the hot summer months the relative humidity may fall as low as 5 per cent. Many curious facts result from this low relative humidity. A large portion of the irrigation water is lost through evaporation before it reaches the alfalfa fields. A four-inch iron pipe one mile long was installed between Texas Springs and the ranch in order to provide clean drinking water. While passing through the pipe this water is highly heated during the daytime, but its temperature is subsequently reduced to about 70 degrees even in the hottest weather by being confined in the common desert canteen which is covered with burlap, which is kept moist. The rapid evaporation of water from the burlap covering is sufficient to cool the water contained in the canteen.

Not being accustomed to persistent high tem-

peratures and moistureless air, white men do not remain long in Death Valley. While sunstroke is unknown there, several people have perished from heat, thirst, or exhaustion. During summer most of the work is done at dawn or shortly after sunset, as the blazing sun renders work in the middle of the day impracticable, and even dangerous. Mr. O. A. Denton, the white foreman who remained longest, namely, eight years, was a mechanical genius in providing a semblance of comfort in hot weather. During the summer he made his bed in front of a revolving fan, after wetting his blanket and after sprinkling the floor with water. The fan was driven by an overshot water wheel.

Like the St. Bernard hospice in the high Alps of Switzerland, Greenland Ranch also serves as a traveler's relief station. The immense barren tracts of the Southwest have no natural oases similar to those of the Great Sahara of Africa. However, they contain, separated by long distances one from the other, small springs and waterholes which lie concealed by surrounding scant bushgrowth, reedy vegetation, and quiete or desert grass. The chief evidences of human occupation are the long, long roads which lead from one watering place to another. Greenland Ranch has saved the life of many a lost traveler or prospector who has staggered within its borders with parched throat and speechless, swollen tongue. At the rear of the ranch there are four mounds—graves of those who have perished of thirst or heat before they were able to reach the ranch.

## THE CIVIC UNION IN FRANCE

Bolshevism, early in 1920, had decided to try an assault on France, which was impoverished, exhausted, bled white by the Great War, disheartened with all her agony and misery, by the injustice of Fate and the ingratitude of the nations; having been cruelly deceived even by Victory.

The revolutionists, inspired by the example, by the appeals and by the gold of the Muscovite Internationale, counted on this state of the public mind. A little more of upheaval, of misery, of discontent with the government and with the whole present régime—might throw the masses into that passive fatalistic condition wherein aggressive minorities can demoralize the most loyal troops, overturn seemingly stable governments, and master entire nations.

WITH such grim frankness does M. Saint-Marget, in the *Mercure de France* for March 15, explain the origin and purpose of the general strike planned for May 1, 1920. The plan was to cut off all transportation and inter-communication, to starve the urban populations into despair, and then, by a sudden seizure of the chief cities, to secure the control of France.

The reaction that is believed to have saved the nation was not, as in the previous

experiences of Switzerland, Denmark, etc., initiated and led by the armed protective forces of the state. Instead, taking advantage of the practical training of both sexes during the Great War, the widespread familiarity with the technique of automobiles and other mechanical applications, the Civic Union undertook the enrolment of all the conservative masses in order to fill, without delay, all the pivotal positions, at least, vacated by strikers, and to assure the unbroken supply of all the imperative needs of the people under the existing régime.

In the Union Constitution, the right to strike for economic profit is nowhere questioned. No word is said of compulsory state arbitration, or of the superior interests and rights of the public, as a third party that must always bear a heavy share of the costs and losses. It was simply a peaceful agreement to supply efficiently the imperative needs of the whole people in an urgent crisis. The epithet "strike-breakers" has been hurled in vain; for there is no thought of taking over permanently any striker's job or wage. As a matter of fact, the very general result has

been that the workingmen have refused to go out at all, in a hopeless struggle, at the bidding of "the ring-leaders (*largely foreigners*)," or else have hurried back within twenty-four hours. It is hoped that a goodly number of these workers have even come to see their revolutionary leaders in their true character, and to realize their own solidarity of interest with the rest of the nation.

An astonishing feature is the quiet, the calmness, and the ease with which all this is declared to have been effected. But of course it must be remembered that France is very badly frightened, alert, and also for long a completely unified country. Under whatever régime, "the provinces" have instinctively followed Paris, for good or ill; and in Paris, especially, there was enlightened and fearless leadership available betimes more fearless and competent than the strike-leaders could oppose to it. The first manifesto, of April 25, 1920, begins in clear and strong words:

In order to assure, in the event of a revolutionary strike, the continuance of public service, the protection and freedom of labor. . . . The general strike, paralyzing the nation's life, would lead to the worst of catastrophes.

It is frankly acknowledged that the fatal triumph of Bolshevism in Russia has made the agitators everywhere confident, and their eventual success elsewhere at least imaginable. There is, without doubt, a widespread belief in Europe that our own loose social organism, small army, great masses of unassimilated immigrant labor, and, not less, our easy-going optimism, make us a nowise unpromising field for similar plotting. Indeed, the question just now heard throughout the United States, "Will the railroad men join the coal strikers?" suggests a problem far larger than France has as yet actually faced.

The national committee of a hundred, the general motive power, contains not one member of Parliament, but members of every political group except the Revolutionists, and is drawn from all parts of the country. There is a select executive committee of eighteen, always available, at least four of whom are drawn from the Parisian organization. A general secretaryship, and permanent salaried working body, keeps in touch with the government, the press, foreign lands, and the liaison officers of all sections. There is the utmost independence of local organization and action in each factory town, especially, some of which have also federated by sections.

There is also a "flying force" equipped

and prepared for especially prompt activity at any remote point where there may be lack of preparation in a sudden emergency. A very moderate system of dues has made the Union financially independent from the beginning. It may be noted that two gallant ex-generals, Baillond (1920) and Balfourier, have thus far been the presidents; but perhaps the most notable single body of efficient volunteers at need has been the students of the higher technical schools. Indeed, scientific tests and severe classification have been enforced on all applying for posts of heavy responsibility.

The insurance companies in Denmark, it is noted, have given very liberal terms, protecting all members of the Union not only against injuries they may suffer, but also any inflicted, in self-defense or protection of state property, on opponents. This has had a notable deterrent effect on belligerent strikers. Similar action is held to be desirable in France.

The activity of the Union begins only when its offer of service is accepted by the local or general government, which thereby requisitions, and takes responsible charge of, all automobiles, trucks, or other property offered by individuals. Indeed the whole Union may be regarded as a purely patriotic preparation to meet that emergency call which any official from President to policeman—or indeed any mere citizen—has both the right and duty to utter to one and all, in the face of lawless violence or flagrant injury of whatever sort. It is a recognition of that solidarity and common interest which we call "civilization." Unanimity, enthusiasm, singleness of purpose appear to have made it for the time irresistible, and all but unresisted. But

"The years that are to be  
are the wisest witnesses."

Already it is gravely noted that certain Socialist city administrations have rejected and resented any plan to interfere with the power of "organized labor" to enforce any and all its demands on the "bourgeoisie." However, this full exposition of the Union's origin, organization, purposes and achievements is in itself (in its own closing words) "a confident appeal to all good Frenchmen: to all those who do not keep step behind the red flag"; and the communist organ, the *Faubourg*, recognizes as a worthy foe "the counter-revolutionary offensive of the Civic Union." Certainly there is abundant food for serious thought, here as much as overseas, in this hopeful but anxious study.

# THE NEW BOOKS

## NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

**Prime Ministers and Presidents.** By Charles H. Sherrill. George H. Doran Company. 314 pp.

There is no current book about politics that can be recommended more cordially to the general reader than Charles H. Sherrill's "Prime Ministers and Presidents." Special students of world affairs will have found the book in any case, but the average citizen may like to be guided. General Sherrill combines many qualifications. He is thoroughly experienced in our own military and political affairs. He knows how to serve the public interest with courage and industry. He knows also how to command leisure, how to travel far afield, and how to bring home with him a vast fund of knowledge about people, places, and things that are worth while. Whereupon, he proceeds to tell us about these people and places with an engaging frankness and a touch of real conviction. The present volume is the result of recent observation and interviews in many countries, and it tells us of present conditions in Great Britain, France and Germany; the Netherlands and Scandinavia; the new Central European countries, Austria, Hungary, and the Balkans; with a postscript on Japan and the Far East. It is more than a passing series of interviews and estimates, inasmuch as it gives us a well-digested view of comparative politics and government, under post-war conditions. General Sherrill's diplomatic experience abroad, and his public services in New York, together with the studies preparatory to writing a number of books, have contributed toward the making of one of the most attractive and promising of our present-day public men, whose brilliant future—to use a hibernicism—by no means lies behind him.



GEN. C. H. SHERRILL

**Gods.** By Shaw Desmond. Charles Scribner's Sons. 337 pp.

**Labor, the Giant with the Feet of Clay.** By Shaw Desmond. Scribner's. 251 pp.

Mr. Shaw Desmond, who has been spending the winter lecturing in the United States, and who returned to England last month, is a man of letters who has also been identified with advanced

labor movements in England and Ireland. He is an Irishman by birth, and well knows that country in every aspect. Some of his novels contain notable descriptions of Irish life and Irish scenes. This is particularly true of his latest novel, "Gods" (Charles Scribner's Sons), the best chapters of which deal with Irish conditions and character. For the present number of this REVIEW Mr. Shaw Desmond has written an article on Irish leaders of opposing sections and factions, which will be found of unusual interest. The Messrs. Scribner have also brought to this country Mr. Shaw Desmond's book entitled "Labor, the Giant with the Feet of Clay," which has won a great deal of attention in England. This writer is an idealist, whose convictions on human society have infused his novels and plays



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MR. SHAW DESMOND

as well as his public speaking and his writing upon labor and socialism. His book is all the more important because the Labor party in Great Britain has been ambitiously looking forward to a great victory at the polls in the near future. Mr. Shaw Desmond undertakes to show that its outward solidarity covers up all kinds of opposing principles, aims, and methods on the part of those who are nominally of one faith. In this volume one finds a portrayal of the personages of the British Labor movement, and a critical analysis of what the writer regards as the disappointing trends of the Labor party away from ideals to practical politics.

**Painted Windows.** By The Gentleman with a Duster. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 229 pp.

The English author of two widely read anonymous books, namely, "The Mirrors of Downing Street" and the "Glass of Fashion," has in a third anonymous volume invaded still another field. His first book was a general attack upon present-day British politicians, mostly those in office. The second was a diatribe against the frivolous tendencies of fashionable society, with the diaries of Colonel Repington and the autobiography of Mrs. Asquith as furnishing texts and horrible examples. The new volume, "Painted Windows," by "The Gentleman

with a Duster," takes up in a series of chapters the leading personalities in different denominations of the Christian Church in England. He discusses the position of traditional theology, and the diverse schools of thought in the established church. He devotes chapters also to leaders of the Nonconformist churches, not omitting the Salvation Army. While the volume as a whole is not profound, it is well worth reading by those who are interested in current religious and theological controversies.

**Asia at the Crossroads.** By E. Alexander Powell. The Century Company. 369 pp. Ill.

America's interest in the countries of the Pacific, stimulated by the Washington Conference, has helped to make more acute than ever the demand for impartial, up-to-date information concerning the lands of the Far East. Major Powell is an experienced traveler and author, to whom our reading public is indebted for a series of vivid sketches of foreign lands and peoples. In the present volume he deals with Japan, Korea, China, and the Philippine Islands. His book is not to be confused with the prolific "travel" literature which has recently included Asia within its scope. What Major Powell has sought to do is to discuss Far Eastern politics in a simple, often informal way, and to interpret for the benefit of American readers those problems that are now to the front in the countries that he attempts to describe. He makes no attempt to defend Japan's course in Korea, but he shows that under Japanese policy, frequently tactless and tyrannical, Korea is materially better off than ever before in her history.

**The Outlook for the Philippines.** By Charles Edward Russell. The Century Company. 411 pp.

Readers of Major Powell's chapter on the Philippine Islands will quickly discover that in his opinion the Filipinos still have a long way to travel before they will be equipped as a people for independence. In short, Major Powell accepts the conclusions of the Wood-Forbes Mission. Quite a different view of the Philippine situation is presented by Mr. Russell, who is also an experienced observer, and whose sympathies are naturally with the native population. On the question of Filipino independence, Mr. Russell is opposed to Major Powell. Although his account of the American occupation is not in all respects favorable to our Government, the chapter on the planting of Philippine schools is one of which no American need ever be ashamed. Apart from the controversial material, Mr. Russell's book has many passages of thrilling interest.

**The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence.** By Francis Burton Harrison. The Century Company. 343 pp. Ill.

Mr. Harrison was Governor-General of the Philippines during the greater part of the Wilson Administration. In this volume he sets forth his reasons for believing that the Filipinos have

demonstrated their capacity for self-government and should now have their independence.

**The Chino-Japanese Treaties of May 25, 1915.** By G. Zay Wood. Fleming H. Revell Company. 151 pp.

**The Twenty-one Demands: Japan versus China.** By G. Zay Wood. Fleming H. Revell Company. 178 pp.

An able presentation of the Chinese position in the diplomacy of 1915. The author gives legal, political, economic, and moral reasons for the abrogation of the treaties with Japan. It is the only complete statement of the situation in the English language.

**Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo.** By Ivor H. N. Evans. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott Company. 318 pp. Ill.

The author of this work, who is a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, gives a description of the lives, habits, and customs of the piratical head-hunters of North Borneo, and from the prehistoric objects discovered in the island reconstructs the history of the people in their political and social relations.

**South America from a Surgeon's Point of View.** By Franklin H. Martin. Fleming H. Revell Company. 325 pp. Ill.

Another wholly unusual book is Dr. Martin's "South America from a Surgeon's Point of View." Dr. Martin, who is Director General of the American College of Surgeons, has been interested in the Institute for Tropical and Preventive Medicine, established in Panama as a memorial to General Gorgas, and described in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for February. Last year Dr. Martin visited South America and interviewed the Presidents of Panama, Peru, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil in the interest of the Gorgas Memorial. This little volume summarizes his observations and gives much up-to-date information concerning the various South American Republics. An introduction is contributed by Dr. William J. Mayo.

**Problems in Pan-Americanism.** By Samuel Guy Inman. George H. Doran Company. 415 pp.

In connection with the fifth Pan-American Conference at Santiago, Chile, and the assembling of the conference between representatives of Chile and Peru at the City of Washington, all Americans who wish to inform themselves on Latin-American questions as they arise should be grateful to Mr. Inman for his comprehensive book on the relations, racial and political, between the United States and the twenty Latin-American Republics. The volume is especially valuable for its summary of what has actually been accomplished in the past, especially through the various Pan-American conferences, toward the solution of problems that have at times threatened our relations with the nations to the south.

## BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

**My Memories of Eighty Years.** By Chauncey M. Depew. Scribner's. 417 pp.

If Chauncey M. Depew had not been the greatest after-dinner orator of his time, he could not possibly have written this volume of recollections of his distinguished contemporaries. His book is noteworthy, not so much for what it reveals about its author as for what it tells concerning the leaders in politics, finance, and industrial and social life from the time of the Civil War to the present moment. From Grant to Harding, Mr. Depew has known every one of our Presidents, and among the politicians of both great parties during the entire period few indeed can be named with whom Mr. Depew has not at one time or another had personal contact. His connection for more than half a century with the New York Central Railroad associated him closely with our captains of industry, and in the later decades of his life the circle of his acquaintance has been broadened to include many eminent Englishmen. Possessed of an excellent memory as well as of a keen sense of the things that vitally interest human kind, Mr. Depew in the eighty-eighth year of his life has set down his reminiscences of fourscore years for the edification and amusement of his countrymen.

**The Life of Clara Barton.** By William E. Barton. Houghton Mifflin Company. Vol. I. 348 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 388 pp. Ill.

This is the authorized biography of the founder of the American Red Cross. Composed as it is so largely of Miss Barton's own letters and other writings, the work has almost the character of an autobiography. The materials for such a work, accumulated during Miss Barton's long life, were so extensive that the preparation of this work was the labor of years. A kinsman, Dr. William E. Barton, of Oak Park, Ill., has prepared the story of her life after extended research.

**Elizabeth Cady Stanton: as Revealed in Her Letters, Diary, and Reminiscences.** Edited by Theodore Stanton and Harriot Stanton Blatch. Harper & Brothers. Vol. I. 362 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 369 pp. Ill.

The career of Elizabeth Cady Stanton was identified with the Woman Suffrage movement from its very beginning in America, until her death in 1902. With the single exception of Susan B. Anthony, with whom she heartily cooperated throughout that long period, no other woman was so conspicuous in the movement for so long a time. The two volumes that have been edited by Mrs. Stanton's son and daughter are made up from her letters, diary and personal reminiscences. Besides being essentially the history of the Woman Suffrage movement down to the close of the nineteenth century, these volumes contain many historical and biographical sidelights of great interest. Mrs. Stanton enjoyed the friendship of many well-known personalities for more than half a century. Her letters and journal reflect the shifting of public opinion during her lifetime. They afford valuable material for the historian.

**Up Stream: an American Chronicle.** By Ludwig Lewisohn. Boni and Liveright. 248 pp.

It was Grantland Rice who said, "Only the game fish swims up stream." Of German birth, coming to America as a boy, the author of this book has encountered all the difficulties that naturally befall a foreign-born writer seeking recognition through American literary channels. In other callings we think of the advantages offered the immigrant by American institutions. In Mr. Lewisohn's experience the struggling young author finds no such easy pathway to success. So far from accepting recognized American standards of literature as the last word, this author bitterly assails those standards, and dares to declare himself a rebel against the conventions. Receiving his education here, Mr. Lewisohn seems in no mood to accept our literary ideals on faith.

**The Fall of Mary Stuart.** By Frank A. Mumby. Houghton Mifflin Company. 368 pp. Ill.

In matters of historical controversy we would all do well to go to the contemporary sources of information whenever possible. The culmination of Mary Stuart's tragic career has been traced, step by step, in letters written by herself and her contemporaries. All this material has been brought together and skilfully edited by Mr. Frank Arthur Mumby, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of England. Some of the documents bear the signatures of Queen Elizabeth, Catharine de Medici and others among the foremost personalities of that time.

**General Robert E. Lee after Appomattox.** By Franklin K. Riley. Macmillan. 250 pp. Ill.

In this volume Professor Riley gives for the first time a complete and connected account of General Lee's activities as president of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University). In that capacity General Lee rendered, during the last five years of his life, what may in time to come be regarded as his most signal service to Virginia, and in so doing set a noble example for all who had followed the fortunes of the Confederacy under his leadership. This book has been prepared as a memorial volume dedicated to the "Lee Alumni" by their Alma Mater.

**Guy Hamilton Scull: Soldier, Writer, Explorer and War Correspondent.** Compiled and with an Introduction by Henry Jay Case. Duffield & Company. 267 pp. Ill.

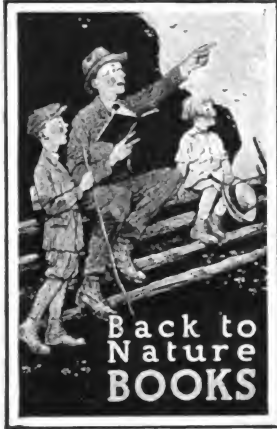
A Harvard man who saw service in both the Spanish War and the World War, and in the interim did much exploring and newspaper and magazine work, besides serving for several years as Deputy Commissioner in the New York Police Department, is the subject of this memoir. The men who were associated with "Skipper Scull," as he was called, in his various undertakings, have contributed accounts of the adventurous episodes in which he figured. Colonel Arthur Woods, Colonel James Barnes, Eliot Wadsworth, Lincoln Steffens, and Carl Hovey have cooperated with Mr. Case in the compilation of this unique record.



# BACK TO NATURE

**The Open Spaces.** By John C. Van Dyke. Charles Scribner's Sons. 272 pp.

In art criticism and in descriptions of American scenery Professor Van Dyke is equally at



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home. Everything that he writes is imbued with a keen appreciation of the beautiful. The present volume is largely reminiscent of a boyhood passed in Minnesota on the banks of the Mississippi River. Fifty years ago that region was still sparsely settled and commerce was largely dependent on river steamers. The boy quickly became acquainted with the abundant wild life, learning the names and habits of the fish, the game birds and some of the quadrupeds that roamed the timber lands. The spirit of outdoor life on the upper Mississippi in those days is vividly reproduced in Professor Van Dyke's pages.

**Rivers and Their Mysteries.** By A. Hyatt Verrill. Duffield & Company. 213 pp. Ill.

The author of "The Ocean and Its Mysteries" and "Islands and Their Mysteries" gives in this new volume a novel description of the world's great rivers. The illustrations of his theme are gathered from widely separated sources. Altogether, he gives a fresh and striking presentation of a subject that has heretofore been scantily treated or to a great extent overlooked by authors of geographical text-books.

**Wild Brother.** By William Lyman Underwood. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. 140 pp. Ill.

If any skeptical reader were disposed to question the sub-title of this book—"Strangest of True Stories from the North Woods"—Mr. Underwood's photographs would still remain undisputed. The various episodes in the life of the Maine woods cub passed in review before Mr. Underwood's faithful camera. The result is a unique and unusually interesting series of animal photographs. But one should read Mr. Underwood's text to get the whole story.

**Truly Rural.** By Richardson Wright. Houghton Mifflin Company. 219 pp.

This is the record of the making-over of an old country house. One who is in a mood to yield to the "Back to the Land" movement may gain from it practical suggestions for house-

building and gardening. But whether or not one is able to put such suggestions into effect, the entertainment offered by the book itself is sufficient reward.

**Natural History Studies.** By J. Arthur Thomson. Henry Holt. 244 pp. Ill.

A clever grouping of selections from Professor Thomson's writings, according to the seasons of the year. Professor Thomson is an English naturalist who has a remarkable gift for popular description and treatment of topics in the field of natural science.

**The Psychic Life of Insects.** By E. L. Bouvier. The Century Company. 377 pp. Ill.

Dr. L. O. Howard, one of the best known of American entomologists, has translated from the French this remarkable discussion of a subject that to most readers is altogether new. From his penetrating studies of the behavior of insects M. Bouvier concludes that "Never do insects differ from us more than when they appear to resemble us most." It is a fascinating subject handled in a stimulating and entertaining way.

**Some Fish and Some Fishing.** By Frank Gray Griswold. John Lane. 251 pp. Ill.

The greater part of this book is devoted to sea fishing, which Mr. Griswold has made a pastime for many years. He describes fishing for tarpon, tuna, swordfish, giant bass, bone-fish and salmon. Three chapters are devoted to salmon fishing on the Pacific Coast.

**Fishing with a Boy.** By Leonard Hult. Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd Company. 214 pp. Ill.

A delightful narrative about the fishing exploits of a boy who caught old-fashioned fish in the old-fashioned way. There are chapters about catfish, perch, suckers, and eels. Almost the only concession that the book makes to the expert sportsman is a chapter on fly-fishing for striped bass, but while most of the fishes described in the volume are of the humbler species, their importance cannot be doubted.

**The Fly-Fisher's Entomology.** By Alfred Ronalds. Edited by H. T. Sheringham. Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd Company. 152 pp. Ill.

A new edition of the classic English work which originally appeared in 1836. The value of the book is greatly enhanced for the uses of the day by the introduction, written by the editor, Mr. H. T. Sheringham, of the *Field*.

**Days and Nights of Salmon-Fishing in the Tweed.** By William Scrope. Edited by H. T. Sheringham. Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd Company. 281 pp.

This book, regarded as a masterpiece in its field, originally appeared nearly eighty years ago. The new edition contains the original plates reproduced in color, together with additional illustrations.

# THE FARM AND COUNTRY MOVEMENT, IN VARIOUS REPORTS

WITH the clear perception of great needs, there comes the effort to meet situations to which the social consciousness has awakened. A generation ago the condition of our cities was such that reformers—medical and sanitary experts, leaders in education and various other spheres of interest—began to cooperate for the regeneration of town life. There remains much to do, but the general conditions of life for ordinary families in our cities have been vastly improved during the past thirty or forty years.

There is now a general recognition of the fact that the movement cityward has gone too rapidly, and that things must be done in a variety of ways to make life in the rural districts better worth living. At Washington, broad measures of national policy are under consideration. Meanwhile the Department of Agriculture is studying hundreds of particular problems that bear upon the success of individual farmers and of farm communities. The same thing may be said of agricultural departments in all of our forty-eight States, agricultural experiment stations, State colleges of agriculture, and similar agencies.

## TAYLOR, GALPIN, SMYTHE

No movement of our day is more fortunate in the character of its exponents and leaders than is the present-day advocacy of better standards of family and social life for the men, women, and children of farming districts. These leaders are coming to the front in every State, and they are honored and supported by the Department of Agriculture at Washington. Such a leader is Dr. Henry C. Taylor, head of the Bureau of Farm Management at Washington and author of the most authoritative book on "Agricultural Economics." Associated with Dr. Taylor is Professor Charles J. Galpin, a veritable apostle of progress and reform in our farming districts, and author of an admirable volume (The Century Company, New York) entitled "Rural Life."

The careful study of a book like Dr. Galpin's, supplemented by one of his inspiring speeches, might well bring a new spirit into many a stagnant neighborhood. The profound enthusiasm for country life shown by Mr. William E. Smythe of California in his recent book on small farms, called "City Homes on Country Lanes," will encourage many a puzzled town-dweller to study the methods by which it is possible to combine the conveniences of the city with the benefits of an out-of-door life.

## FARM BUREAUS AND UNIONS

We have important and widespread organizations representing farmers and their interests. One of these is the American Farm Bureau Federation, which is well described in a book by Mr. Orville

Merton Kile (New York, the Macmillan Company) which appeared last year and which was noticed in our February number. Another of these organizations is the Farmers Union. It is especially devoted to cooperative activities, both local and on the larger scale. An excellent study of the work of the Farmers Union has been made at the University of Kentucky by Mr. C. B. Fisher, published at Lexington by the university as one of its Studies in Economics and Sociology. This organization works not only for practical cooperation among farmers, but is very active in promoting legislation of all kinds that is deemed beneficial to people living under rural conditions. We have also previously noticed Dr. Benjamin H. Hibbard's volume (D. Appleton & Company, New York) on Marketing Agricultural Products, which also deals with the various farm organizations, and methods of improving agriculture on the business side. Various works have appeared recently in the field of improved community organization for rural neighborhoods; and these are all of them sympathetic and useful.

For example, Dr. Edwin L. Earp, of Madison, N. J., has written several small books on rural life and institutions, including a new one entitled "Rural Social Organization." (The Abingdon Press.)

Very valuable are the reports of the several conferences that have been held by the National Country Life Association. The head of the organization is Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, who is President of the Massachusetts College of Agriculture at Amherst. The conferences have summarized in an admirable way the present condition of life in our rural districts, and have set forth the methods by which to bring about a radical improvement.

The first conference, held in Baltimore more than three years ago, mapped out a program. The second conference, held in Chicago, was devoted especially to the problems of Rural Health. The third conference was held at Amherst, Massachusetts, and its proceedings, under the head of Rural Organization, are extant in a volume published some months ago. The proceedings of the fourth conference are not yet available. The third volume was issued through the University of Chicago Press. This Country Life Association, already influential, is destined to have an almost incalculable value in the reconstruction of the United States.

## IMPROVING COUNTRY SCHOOLS

From various States there come to hand publications which show the fresh energy with which the problems of country life are being studied. For example, there lie on our editorial desk, at the moment of present writing, a volume of 324 pages setting forth "The Course of Study for the Rural and Elementary Schools of Vermont," and



DR. K. L. BUTTERFIELD

a similar volume of 239 pages from the Educational Department of Louisiana, detailing the courses of study for rural and elementary schools in that Southern State. These are typical, and they show a new and earnest spirit of determination to improve the rural schools in every way—including technical instruction in agriculture—with the object of bringing the standards of rural education somewhat nearer those of the towns and cities. In many States this direct study of agriculture as a prescribed subject in the schools is carried on with a steadily increasing efficiency.

The experiment station at the University of Wisconsin, together with the United States Department of Agriculture, has been conducting some interesting researches into conditions of agricultural neighborhoods, a recent one being entitled "Rural Primary Groups." A small but remarkably intelligent little volume (published by Warwick & York, of Baltimore) deals with what is called the Zone Plan in rural schools, and is written by Prof. Mervin Summers Pitman, head of the Department of Rural Education in one of the Michigan normal colleges. The book is entitled "The Value of School Supervision." This little book on supervising country schools is based upon study and knowledge.

#### SURVEYS AND SUPERVISION

It should be remarked that among the least known but not least valuable spheres of activity of the General Education Board, there has been for a good many years a thorough recognition of the importance of constant and intelligent supervision of rural education. In the Southern States where some years ago the need was greatest, the General Education Board has co-operated with the State Departments of Education in vastly improving the systems of school inspection and superintendence. More particularly, also, it should be said, the General Education Board has given constant support to the improvement of rural schools for Negroes in the South, associating itself with work carried on by special boards under the direction of an eminent Southern educator, Dr. James H. Dillard, formerly of Tulane University.

#### FINE OFFICIAL LEADERSHIP

Few people who are not following these matters closely are aware of the wide range and permanent value of the bulletins that are constantly issued as pamphlets, or as considerable volumes, by the Department at Washington and the Agricultural Experiment Stations of the various States, East, West, North, and South. A great library of exceedingly valuable information is thus rapidly accumulating for the benefit of workers in the field of agricultural and rural progress. Not merely the success of the individual farmer, but above all the success of neighborhoods in their associated life, is the object of the endeavors of all of our present-day leaders in the field of rural advance. One of the most important methods of advance has been known as Farm Demonstration Work, of which the great apostle was the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, of the Department of Agriculture, and formerly head of the Iowa Agricultural College. This work related not only to better farming, but—through boys' and girls' clubs and various special efforts—its aim was to build up a mod-

ern and successful neighborhood spirit. It was substantially supported for some years by the General Education Board, but was afterward more completely financed by the Government. That work has been intelligently described in an excellent volume by O. B. Martin ("The Demonstration Work," Stratford Company, Boston).

#### KENTUCKY AND NORTH CAROLINA

Various educational surveys covering entire States have dealt with rural conditions. One of the most recent is a survey that was provided for by the legislature of Kentucky, and conducted through approved experts by the General Education Board. A resulting volume of more than two hundred pages (General Education Board, 61 Broadway, New York City), covering the whole subject of public education in Kentucky is particularly valuable in its appreciation of rural problems. This report, like many others, is promoting the movement for rural consolidated schools, with a number of teachers and with proper accommodations for the principal of the school as well as for the teaching staff.

The latest evidence in documentary form of the continued concern of the General Education Board for local progress is its report upon "Public Education in North Carolina." This document has been prepared by the experts of the Board on request of the educational authorities of North Carolina under the terms of a new law. Its conspectus of the school system amounts, in simple fact, to an accurate survey of social conditions, and of economic as well as of intellectual progress. The most important conclusion is that the rural State of North Carolina has begun to grasp the essentials of its problem, and that it is engaged in rebuilding its thousands of country neighborhoods, each around an improved school as the focus of rural life.

As States and localities become more definitely aware of their necessary policies and functions, they are compelled to study anew the practical problems of "ways and means." Thus we have at hand a volume issued by the University of Kentucky entitled "Taxation in Kentucky," the author being Prof. Simeon E. Leland. With the present-day recognition of the need of improved schools, good roads, and rural health administration, it becomes necessary to revise our obsolescent systems of local taxation.

#### THE FARM CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON

Last month the Government Printing Office made available the report of the National Agricultural Conference held at Washington in January. This document contains much valuable material bearing upon the fundamental conditions of our agriculture as well as upon present problems of prices and markets. President Harding's address was statesmanlike, and there were a number of papers that showed the highest order of ability and comprehension. Such, for instance, was Dr. Richard T. Ely's noteworthy address entitled "A National Policy for Land Utilization." And of similar value was the address of President Pearson of the Iowa Agricultural College on a "National Policy for Agricultural Research." If the need of improvement in the economic and social aspects of country life is great and urgent, it is at least a fortunate thing that this need is recognized by leaders of the highest type of character and knowledge.—A. S.

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

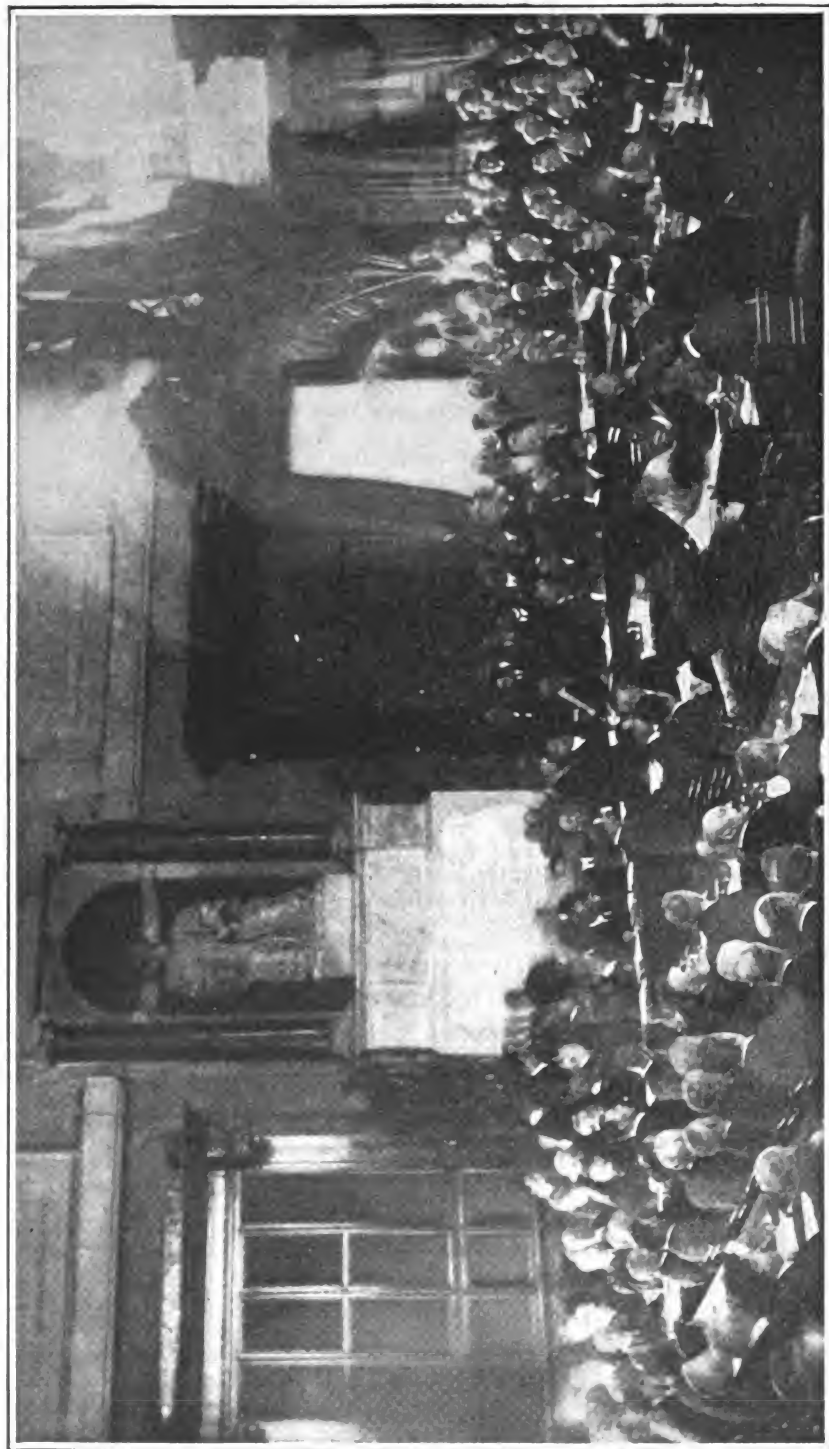
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#### A SESSION OF THE GENOA CONFERENCE

The Conference met on April 10. Thirty-four nations were represented, including Germany and Russia. The article by Mr. Simonds (page 597) summarizes the proceedings. No agreement with Russia having been reached, it was announced on May 15 that the powers which called the Conference would invite all the governments represented at Genoa to meet at The Hague on June 15 for the purpose of making another attempt to adjust the Russian economic situation. The United States was invited to join in this parley, but declined, mainly on the ground that it seemed to be "a continuance, under a different nomenclature, of the Genoa Conference and destined to encounter the same difficulties."

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## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Government and  
Business—the  
New "Entente  
Cordiale"*

Having measurably recovered from the worst effects of the business reaction following the inflation of the war period, the people of the United States are now entering upon a new era that may prove to be notable chiefly for its economic developments. To a much greater extent than in previous periods, the nation's economic life will be dependent upon public policies; and the current resources of the country will henceforth, as never before, be absorbed into public treasuries and expended through governmental agencies. We are therefore facing, as we enter upon this new era, attempts of profound importance to readjust the relationships between Government and business. Nothing could be more significant of the new period than the work of Secretary Hoover in various directions as he is making the Department of Commerce a real aid to business in a hundred different ways. No one could be more thoroughly loyal to the public interest than Mr. Hoover, and he is beyond all suspicion of encouraging any indulgence by Big Business in objectionable practices. But he is trying to put an end to obstructive and harmful antagonisms on both sides. He is helping to bring about a very timely "entente cordiale" between government and business.

*Hoover Favors  
"Trade  
Associations"*

The present Administration is not fighting to break down the business structure of the country. It is endeavoring to remove temptations to violate laws by making it lawful to do things that are up to date and worth while. Thus on May 10 Mr. Hoover made a speech at the convention of the National Association of Manufacturers in New York advocating changes in the Clayton Anti-Trust law in favor of "trade associations." He deprecated uncertainty as to the bearing of the laws

upon what are now admitted to be useful forms of non-competitive business development. His conclusions were based upon exhaustive study of actual business movements. At this convention, there were several other speakers representing the Administration and Congress, and they all showed from the Government standpoint an attitude of friendliness and confidence. The nation in its public capacity, with its enlarged fiscal operations, is just as dependent upon the success and prosperity of private business as are our hundred millions of people in their work-a-day capacities.

*Federal  
Reserve  
Functions*

The Federal Reserve system—already very elastic—is being freshly adapted in certain ways to the expanding needs of the country as regards a safe and satisfactory system of banking and commercial credits. The foremost object of the Federal Reserve Banks, as operated under the central direction of the Federal Reserve Board, is to insure the business of the country against banking panics by an effective kind of coöperative agency that protects the bankers while the bankers are protecting the business men. The second great object is to provide elastic currency, responsive to general or regional needs. Recent annual reports show the magnitude of the active operations of the Reserve Banks and indicate their varied usefulness; yet their most important services lie in the passive sphere of protection and prevention, rather than in that of their current business activities. The New York Federal Reserve Bank is of course the largest in the series. Its total discounts last year exceeded thirty billion dollars. One service that these Government banks render is a wholesome kind of oversight of the business situation in its entirety. The recent annual reports show

a steady return throughout the United States toward normal conditions. They summarize a rather dull business year, with unemployment considerable but diminishing, interest rates going down, the credit reservoir strengthening, and the price levels much more correct and suitable than those of 1920.

*Personnel of the Reserve Board* Thus, through the Government's relation to banking, we are likely in the new period to be saved from the panics and violent crises that formerly afflicted our world of business. There has been much praise accorded to the personnel of the Reserve system, and it was suggested last month that Mr. W. P. G. Harding, who was made Governor of the Federal Reserve Board in August, 1916, for a full six-year term, should be reappointed as head of the Board. Mr. Harding was formerly a banker at Birmingham, Ala., and is a member of the Democratic party. His retention would perhaps help to convince the public of the entirely non-partisan character of this great agency which is so promotive of our economic welfare. One of the least

noticed but most valuable efforts in connection with the Genoa Conference is the organization of a standing commission of the European powers to deal with problems of money, banking, and finance. This commission has requested that a representative of our Federal Reserve Board should join in its efforts to solve some of the most difficult financial problems; and it is understood that the invitation will be accepted. The present members of the Reserve Board are W. P. G. Harding (Governor), Edmund Platt (Vice-Governor), Adolph C. Miller, Charles S. Hamlin, John R. Mitchell. Ex-officio members are the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency.

*Financing American Agriculture* The task of putting American agriculture upon a business basis is not only too large to be performed by the available resources of private loan agencies and local bankers, but is too essential for the nation's well-being to be met in a haphazard way. A proper financing of American agriculture requires a general method and a national point of view, supplementing detached and local activities. Thus we find here a necessary field for statesmanship and for governmental action along several lines. This is a comparatively new departure, but the main object is no longer a matter of dispute. For several years a Federal Land Bank system has been helping, though in a limited way. Mr. Eugene Meyer, Jr., the capable banker who is at the head of the War Finance Corporation, has been giving his principal attention lately to the problems of agricultural credit and finance, and has been studying nation-wide conditions of farm production at first hand. A month ago he was able to make some important recommendations to President Harding for permanent improvement in the farm credit system. His proposals have to do with (1) creating institutions that will properly finance the cattle and live-stock business, (2) changes in existing loan systems which would better recognize the longer periods necessary for producing and marketing agricultural products than for the average turnover of merchants and manufacturers, (3) plans for encouraging co-operative marketing organizations by enabling them to rediscount their notes easily in adequate amounts, (4) extension of the powers of the Federal Reserve banks to handle the paper of properly warehoused agricultural products, (5) changes that



HON. WILLIAM P. G. HARDING, GOVERNOR OF THE  
FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD

(Mr. Harding was born in Alabama fifty-eight years ago. After graduating at the University of Alabama in 1880, he entered a bank and steadily advanced until in 1902 he became president of an important national bank at Birmingham. He was made a member of the Federal Reserve Board when first constituted in August, 1914, and has been Governor since 1916)



would permit many hundreds of the smaller State banks to enter the Federal Reserve System, thus bringing that system closer to rural neighborhoods, (6) changes in the National Banking act to permit branch banking within a limited radius, thus again bringing banking facilities closer to the farms and rural villages.

These six proposals have to do with permanent conditions. Mr. Meyer's report contains an amount of information upon the relation of capital and credit to farm prosperity that makes it a notable contribution to our current literature of applied economics. It should be added that while Mr. Meyer has been arriving at these valuable conclusions as to Government policy, he has also been distributing great sums of Government money through existing loan agencies for the relief of agricultural credit needs, under special authorization of Congress as extended to the War Finance Corporation. With all these plans to give American agriculture a better financial support, Secretary Wallace is not only in hearty sympathy, but is working all the time in direct coöperation. One of the most important steps that the Agricultural Department has taken in its efforts to help agriculture in its business relations has to do with the Department's own efficiency. Several bureaus and services have been grouped together to form what is now the new Bureau of Agricultural Economics. At the head of this Bureau is Dr. Henry C. Taylor, who has directed the Bureau of Farm Management for several years, and is a distinguished economist as well as an authority in all that relates to farming. The Department of Agriculture will not lessen its interest in everything that has to do with plant industry, animal industry, farm demonstration, rural life, and the advancement of practical and scientific farming; but it will give increased attention to farming from the standpoint of business management, which includes accounting, credits, markets, coöperative buying and selling and many other things. Congress is fully supporting these services.

*Farm Economics*  
*Under Secretary*  
*Wallace*



© Paul Thompson

HON. HERBERT C. HOOVER, SECRETARY OF COMMERCE  
(Who has been using his official position in many ways to promote American industry and commerce)

*Fresh Hope*  
*for the*  
*Railroads*

Another sphere of paramount economic interest is that of transportation. It will be several years before the Railroad act of 1920 has begun to fix upon the economic map of the United States the new pattern of its series of rearranged railroad groups. But the fifteen or twenty corporate units that the existing law contemplates will probably begin to evolve themselves in the near future, and to present something like a completed series within twenty years. This of course is sheer guessing; yet business tendencies and the persuasive influence of Government policy can produce a result that statesmen like Senator Cummins and experts like the Interstate Commerce Commission have sponsored, while leading railroad economists like Dr. Ripley, and great transportation administrators like President Daniel Willard of the Baltimore and Ohio system, have endorsed as practicable. In a speech last month before the Academy of Political Science in New York, President Willard strongly supported the existing Railway act. The President of the United States took a hand in the railroad discussion last month, both from the standpoint of the demand for reduced freight rates and also from the standpoint of the proposed regrouping plans. As a mark of the improved relations between Government and Business, President Harding invited railroad executives to the White House

for a friendly conference on May 20. American railroads have never had an abler or more highly respected group of directing minds than at the present time. It seems to be the sentiment of the country today that railroads ought to have their innings. They have been ground between the upper and the nether millstones, until at last they have gained sympathy, and have won a favorable hearing in their righteous appeal for just treatment and for a greater liberty to manage their own affairs. The country begins to understand that dollars invested in railroads are as fully entitled to be protected as dollars invested in any other forms of business.

Government is calling for vast sums of money to be used in ways that might roughly be grouped in two main divisions, one representing current expenditure, and the other representing investment. This distinction,

*Government  
and Its Use  
of Funds*

however, is not very valuable. The building of the Panama Canal, for instance, or a State's creation of a good-roads system, might be called investment of capital, taken from the people by power of taxation, for enduring purposes of a broad general welfare. The sanitary administration of the Canal Zone, on the other hand, would be regarded as a sort of current housekeeping expense, and so would be the work on the public highways for their ordinary protection and upkeep. A little thought shows that the distinction between the two kinds of expenditures does not touch any deep principles. There is only one principle of an underlying sort, namely, the use of Government as a central agency for deciding from time to time upon measures deemed highly beneficial to human society, these measures being of such kind and scope as to be reasonably well inside the capacity of the public purse, without too drastic an exercise of the taxing power.



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HON. EUGENE MEYER, JR., HEAD OF THE WAR  
FINANCE CORPORATION

(Mr. Meyer was born in California and educated on both coasts, becoming a successful banker and man of affairs. Since 1917, he has been serving the Government, and of late he has given particular attention to the financing of agriculture)

*Socialists  
and  
Realists*

The difference between some people known as moderate Socialists and others who detest the word Socialism but are eager for human progress consists chiefly in the fact that one group prefers to start first with theories, while the other group likes to start with concrete undertakings. Experience affords the great test both of theories and of practices. Thus recent experience in the world has shown that while aggregations of capital and organizations of workers must be held subordinate to wise laws, they are not to be crushed upon mere theory, without risk of terrible social disaster. Capital, to be most efficient for the welfare of the whole community, must be allowed to act in a large way with due reward for initiative and for achievement. Labor must be allowed to act in association for the standardizing of conditions, and for the securing of those fresh margins of benefit that from time to time may be granted as dividends upon the results of industrial progress, in an age of science and invention. Russia's horrid demonstration of the folly of trying to revolutionize human society by applying impossible doctrines will not have the effect to strengthen reactionary hands or to bolster up an arrogant capitalism in the United States. But it will afford valuable object lessons, and form a fresh starting-point for the teaching of sound economic principles. Never was the opportunity better than now.

*Certain  
Truths  
Emerging*

There are many millions of wage-earners who now see clearly that confiscating lands and factories, destroying private industry, forbidding the possession or use of capital in non-governmental hands, and reducing the so-called "rich" to abject poverty, are things that can indeed be accomplished swiftly. It is only necessary to let military power become centered in the hands of a fanatical and criminal autocracy, inspired by the ruthlessness of revolutionary Communism. The mechanism of modern industry that has so marvelously improved the average welfare of human beings during the past century can be wrecked in short order by the criminals and the fools of Bolshevism. This is all perceived now, clearly enough. And it is also seen—though not so universally—that the scrapping of a great mechanism of privately directed industry and commerce, while it can quickly destroy "capitalism" and make refugees and outcasts of the wealthy, must at the same time reduce the mass of wage-earners from their already attained status of security and comfort to pauperism and starvation. Europe has within a few years provided object-lessons enough for a century.

*Public  
and Private  
Spheres*

The broad object of American public policy is to support the whole nation in its gradual rise to the level of self-respecting citizenship, intelligence, and social security. A sound economic system is in no way inconsistent with the motives that underlie our democratic public policy. The concrete measures that may best be assigned to Government as public functions come to be agreed upon as a result of experience, rather than through the acceptance of theories or doctrines. Control of the monetary system is by general consent made a function of Government. If national defense were relegated to a private insurance agency, Government would lose both power and dignity. On the other hand, we trust private agencies to provide fire insurance, while we somewhat inconsistently make the business of fighting fires a function of local or municipal government. We have habitually assigned the postal service to Government, while relegating the express service to private agencies—all of this being done with less reference to theory than to practical convenience, and resulting in part from the fixing of tendencies, as a nation passes from simpler to more elaborate stages of development.

*Post-War  
Changes*

A great war stimulates private and public effort in such abnormal ways that it has been historically true of all modern countries that the period following war effort offers peculiar difficulties and results in marked changes. War activities involve the expenditure in a few days or weeks of as much public money as had been ordinarily raised and spent in an entire year. Besides the millions of young men employed as soldiers and sailors, the war period multiplies the civil activities of Government, and the new bureaus provide places for myriads of people who find public employment more agreeable than private effort. Demobilizing armies and navies usually proves to be an easier matter than dismantling obsolete bureaus, and discharging civilian supernumeraries. War taxes continue to be imposed, long after peace has been made. The habit of commandeering and controlling on the public side, and the habit of profiteering and evading on the private side, which are so characteristic of war periods, have a decided tendency to linger on when war is over.

*How War  
Unfits for  
Private Life*

Millions of men wearing uniforms in war time are not merely told that they must obey and must not think, but are so organized and drilled under the traditional discipline of armies that they lose to some extent the power of self-direction and initiative that is developed in the wholesome activities of ordinary life. Far from being a good thing for millions of young men to have military discipline of a year or two as actual soldiers under war conditions, we have learned that the truth lies rather in the opposite direction. Military life has a tendency to paralyze some of the faculties of the average soldier. When war is over and he is brought back to spheres of life where he must think for himself, make decisions, and face the advantages or disadvantages of freedom, he finds that his army life has made it harder for him to succeed under existing conditions. There are individual exceptions, but the truth of this general observation is too obvious to be denied. The best soldiers had to become automata, and a good battalion was produced at the sacrifice of much that belonged properly to the individuality of the human units. Most of the restlessness that it attributed to other causes, such as prohibition, is in simple fact due to the return of millions of soldiers from camp and field.

*Psychology  
of the  
"Bonus"*

These are not merely casual or unimportant reflections. They are things that must be borne in mind if we are to understand the conditions with which Americans have to deal in the nation's pending efforts along the line of reconstruction. Thus the unreasoning demand for a cash bonus for ex-service men is to be largely attributed to the peculiar psychological effects of this recent intensive military experience. Following leaders has, for many young men, become a substitute for independent thought and action; and the "Legion" posts tackle politics in a sort of military attitude of mind. No one would go on record as saying that army service had not shown the high spirit and fine courage of young Americans. Many of them have come out of it strengthened rather than weakened, in all respects, for the battle of life under normal conditions. But war, generally speaking, tends to make victims of the young men who through no choice of their own are compelled to submit to military discipline and to face the horrors of modern combat. All the more reason for giving them consideration. It was a grave injustice that resulted from the mistaken application of our so-called "selective" draft. We built model villages for the men who worked in shipyards, and we paid inordinate wages for slacking efforts. We ought, of course, under the selective draft to have produced war material with a work army; and we should have set up the fighting army on a wage scale incomparably beyond what the bonus advocates are now demanding, on their principle of "adjusted compensation."

*Why the Bonus  
Does Not Meet  
the Case*

Our policies were so glaringly unfair, and the consequent disadvantages of many of the ex-service men to-day are so evident as they try to adjust themselves, that it is not easy to refuse them something that they believe they ought to have. Unfortunately, however, the legislation now proposed does not meet the situation. The service men have more to gain from general prosperity in the country than they could possibly get from the public treasury under proposed cash bonus measures. It is too late to recover and redistribute several billions of war money that was squandered by reason of false policies. Far beyond any other class, the young men who wore uniforms have just grievances by reason of those war policies. But these same young men are now an inseparable part of

the body politic, and of the nation in its aspect as an economic unity. It is to their interest that taxation should be reduced rather than increased, and that Government expenditures should be cut down all along the line. Everyone agrees that disabled soldiers should have proper care and treatment, and that special facilities should be maintained for aiding service men in obtaining employment, or to secure education and training for success in life. We are steadily improving these methods of helping the service men as the authorities at Washington learn this new business by experience.

*Relief  
Measures*

Several different services, including that of soldiers' insurance under the former War Risk Insurance Bureau, are now brought together under unified direction, in what is officially termed the Veterans' Bureau. The efficiency of hospitals for service men is showing improvement, and Congress does not hesitate to provide generously. The insurance policies, which were issued by the War Risk Bureau to such a high proportion of the service men, have been allowed to lapse through non-payment of premiums until now there are only about 600,000 policies in force, amounting to about three and a half billions of dollars in the aggregate. Senator Smoot has been pressing a plan for giving paid-up insurance policies to the service men in lieu of a cash bonus. Senator McCumber, as chairman of the Finance Committee, early in May was confronted by an embarrassing dilemma. Certain Senators were threatening to force the bonus bill out of the hands of the Finance Committee unless it reported the measure promptly. The Committee, meanwhile, was trying to satisfy itself that it could present a bill that would gain the acquiescence of the President.

*Differing  
Views at  
Washington*

President Harding had not retreated from the position that he took openly last year, when he asked Congress not to pass a cash bonus measure without providing additional taxes with which to pay the bills. Secretary Mellon, and the Administration in general, has been opposed to a cash bonus on any terms; but it has been believed that this opposition would be laid aside if Congress should levy a sales tax calculated to provide for bonus payment. Our readers are already aware of the overwhelming majority by which bonus legislation on March 23 was carried through

the House of Representatives. Most of the Democrats in the Senate and a powerful body of Republicans were bringing increasing pressure last month for the passage of bonus legislation. Among the most active Republican supporters were Senators Medill McCormick of Illinois and Lenroot of Wisconsin. It would be difficult to determine how strong are the opposing currents of public opinion on this question. It would seem within bounds to say that a rather small minority of the ex-service men are openly demanding the cash bonus.

*Politics  
and the  
Bonus Issue*

Congressmen who seek reelection in November are anxious to have the bonus question disposed of in such a way as to trouble them least in their campaigns. Great numbers of them are under the embarrassment of having promised in advance that they would support bonus legislation, and they see no way to break that promise without facing prompt retirement from public life. Probably a great many of the men who find themselves obliged to support the bonus are hoping that President Harding will veto it. No one accuses Mr. Harding of being stubborn and self-opinionated. He shows most scrupulous regard for the prerogatives of the Senate and for the position of Congress as a coördinate branch of the Government. There is no criticism of him in responsible quarters that takes a bitter or malevolent tone. He does not make enemies, and he is not hated. The only serious criticism of him as he approaches the middle of his second year in office takes the rather foolish form of disparaging him for not getting himself involved in controversies. Mr. Harding's patience, poise, good temper, courtesy, ability to smooth out differences, are especially good qualities in a President at this time, and form a valuable public asset.

*Would a  
Veto Find  
Favor?*

If he should veto a cash bonus bill, he would not act as a stubborn and contentious person, and he would not be so regarded. In this particular issue, it happens that the President is so placed that he can act upon the national plane. He is in a position to give due weight to all the factors that enter into the problem. The members of the House of Representatives, on the other hand, come from several hundred local districts in every one of which a Congressional election is to be held this year. Most of these Congressmen, in spite of themselves, are compelled to look at things



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HON. MEDILL MCCORMICK, SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS

(Mr. McCormick, who was born in Chicago just forty-five years ago, has been active in politics since he left Yale in 1900. After serving in the legislature, and the House of Representatives, he was elected United States Senator for a term that will expire in 1925. He has always been identified with the Progressive wing of the Republican party.)

from the standpoint of politics in their particular districts. A Presidential veto would be strongly supported by the responsible sentiment of the country. The lower house would pass the bill again over the Presidential veto, but it seems likely that in the Senate the attempt to pass it would fail to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority. It is not in the least true that there exists in the country any emergency that calls at the present moment for the passage of a soldiers' bonus bill. The only emergency is the political one that confronts candidates for office who had given promises, and who are afraid of the antagonism of certain groups and elements. If the responsibility were assumed by the President, these Congressmen would be relieved of embarrassment, and the country would be saved from the consequences of hasty and unwise legislation, which, once adopted, could not be recalled. In the opinion of many thoughtful men, a Presidential veto would not only add to the prestige of Mr. Harding and the Administration, but would lend strength to the Republican party.

*How Issues  
Hinge upon  
Each Other*

Many people form the habit of criticizing the conduct of public business at Washington without asking themselves in a searching way how they would deal with one problem after another if theirs was the responsibility. Even in a matter where the pros and cons seem rather definite, as in the case of bonus legislation, it would be a great mistake to assume that the arguments on either side are wholly unworthy and therefore easily refuted. Such an issue has various angles, and it is natural for some minds to dwell upon ethical or sentimental aspects, while other men are reasoning in the realm of economics and finance. The great problems at Washington, as we have already intimated, are to-day predominantly those that relate to the nation's economic life, and all these problems are closely interrelated. Thus the bonus issue impinges directly upon all the other issues that have to do with the imposition and collection of taxes. We have learned that collecting greater sums as taxes is to divert capital by just so much from productive uses in private industry; and this means a lessening of the total volume of current wealth production out of which large taxes must be paid.

*Evils of  
Drastic  
Taxation*

Our own experience is sufficient, without the ample testimony from other countries that is now available, to show the dangers and failacies of tax systems that demand too much in total quantity, or that are made to apply unwisely in the methods they use to levy upon the resources of citizens as individuals or as grouped in business corporations. The Government is no longer dealing blindly or recklessly with these great subjects. But we are so far from having found conclusive answers to our pending questions involving economic legislation that there is no reason for encouraging national complacency. Yet our Government policies and the normal flow of private business activities are so satisfactorily adjusted to one another, when compared with conditions at this time in almost every other country, that most people who are intelligent and well informed are not criticizing affairs at Washington either with violent wrath or with gloomy pessimism.

*First Year of  
the National  
Budget*

On May 8 General Charles G. Dawes, Director of the National Budget, made his report to the President—who in turn sent it to Congress—showing the results of his energetic efforts

to conduct the people's \$4,000,000,000 a year business on an economical and efficient basis. In the May report, the Director shows a reduction in the year's ordinary expenditures in the business of the Government of no less than \$907,500,000, as compared with 1921. Of this vast sum, General Dawes claims \$250,000,000 are savings effected by executive pressure through the Budget Bureau. These figures will naturally and inevitably be challenged and will become bones of contention in political debate. Some criticisms may be justified as to details; but there is no doubt that the new system and General Dawes' highly energetic management have produced very substantial savings in the expenses of the national household. The actual expenditures of the Government for all purposes in 1921, according to the Treasury statement, were \$5,538,000,000. The latest budget estimate of our total expenditures for all purposes in 1922 is \$3,922,000,000, showing \$1,616,000,000 less of total outgo for this year than last. Of this inclusive figure, the War Department shows the largest cut—\$712,000,000; the Navy Department accounts for \$192,000,000, the Shipping Board for \$57,000,000 and the Post Office, \$59,000,000. The Grain Corporation will require less this year by \$83,000,000 and the item of purchase of foreign securities is less by \$74,000,000. The only important items of increase in 1922 over 1921 are in expenditures for the United States Veterans' Bureau, amounting to \$477,000,000, compared with \$371,000,000 last year, and the War Finance Corporation, which showed an excess of repayments over expenditures last year, but this year will need \$190,000,000.

*How  
Savings Are  
Made*

The most interesting statement made by the Budget Bureau is, of course, that such a sum as \$250,000,000 has been clearly saved by the firmness and alertness of the executive control exercised through the Budget Bureau. This imposing figure is the aggregation of thousands of transactions, some of them exceedingly small in the number of dollars involved. The bulk of the savings came from changing the methods of the departments. For instance, the rooms of the Department of State had been cleaned by specially employed scrubwomen; it was found that the messenger force could clean them and it was so ordered. In the Veterans' Bureau, an order effecting the prompt dis-



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THE FIRST MEETING OF THE COMMISSION APPOINTED TO ARRANGE FOR FUNDING THE EUROPEAN DEBTS  
(From left to right: Representative Theodore Burton, Senator Reed Smoot, Secretary Charles E. Hughes of the Department of State, Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, and Secretary Hoover of the Department of Commerce)

charge of patients from hospitals saved \$2,800,000. When the Lighthouse service, which is under the Department of Commerce, was about to spend \$500,000 annually for three years for new boats, General Dawes' expert economizers found out that several now useless mine planters could do the work and they did it with a big resulting saving to the taxpayer. Hundreds of such instances show how great an improvement the new budget system is over the old, in which each department of the Government ran a business all by itself, regardless of the successful and economical operation of every other department.

*Economy Approaches Limits* Impartial students of public finance would undoubtedly agree that there had been a very commendable effort under the direction of Mr. Dawes to have Government business conducted less expensively. Furthermore, such experts would agree that there is ample room for further economies, although these might not result in sensational reductions of total outlay. It should be remembered that most of the money that is spent by Government is paid out for objects that are either essential or desirable. We have a public war debt that compels us to pay about one billion dollars a year in the form of interest. This burden will be somewhat lightened as foreign nations gradually begin to pay interest upon those parts of the public debt that represent the money that we loaned abroad. The British Government will begin to meet its interest payments in the near future. France will not pay anything until Germany makes reparation payments. The French people are thrifty and they are said to have

saved money and to be remarkably well off at the present time. But the French Government has expended so much since the war for the reconstruction of the country that it cannot meet interest payments on the sums loaned to it by the United States, especially in view of the adverse conditions of exchange.

*Commission on Funding Foreign Loans* A careful regard will be paid to all these circumstances by the United States debt commission, which is now duly constituted. It will be remembered that Secretary Mellon's bill, as originally presented to Congress, vested in the Treasury Department the unrestricted power to arrange for the funding of these foreign obligations into long-term securities. Congress preferred a commission of five, to be headed by the Secretary of the Treasury. As selected by the President, the Commission consists of Secretary Mellon, as chairman, Secretary Hughes of the State Department, Secretary Hoover of the Department of Commerce, Mr. Smoot of Utah on behalf of the Senate and Mr. Theodore Burton of Ohio on behalf of the House. Delay was caused by a doubt as to the legality of the appointment of members of Congress to such a commission. The Attorney General decided that service of this kind does not constitute the acceptance of an additional public office, this being forbidden by the Constitution. The naming of Messrs. Smoot and Burton was accordingly ratified.

*European Finance, and Exchange* The Genoa Conference, meanwhile, has absorbed the attention of Europe's governmental financiers, and it was announced last month that our debt commission would defer all impor-



tant negotiations until the European conference was ended. It is evident that international questions of finance are too complicated for simple or rapid settlement. While the political storms were raging at Genoa there were strong committees quietly working there upon various economic problems, with some hope of gradual, though not immediate, accomplishments. Doubtless Europe will make renewed efforts to check the floods of paper money. If France were paying interest at this time to the United States, it would take about eleven paper francs as now current in France for every dollar of payment in American money. In ordinary times, the dollar is worth slightly more than five francs. A year ago it would have taken a little more than twelve francs to buy a gold dollar. Thus the exchange situation for France is improved. The English pound, which in normal times has a parity of \$4.86, was worth \$4.44 last month, a gain of more than 10 per cent. within a year. Belgian exchange has improved only a little, and the same is true of the Italian. The neutral countries, Holland, Switzerland, and Sweden, are on practically a normal basis as regards money and exchange, while Germany and Austria have gone from bad to worse. In May, 1921, the German mark, the par value of which is a little under twenty-four cents, was worth approximately one and a half cents. Last month it was worth about one-third of a cent. This German situation was well explained for our readers last month by Professor J. Laurence Laughlin.

*"Prosperity"  
Needed to  
Carry Debt*

While there are questions of great future moment involved in the proper treatment of the foreign indebtedness to the United States, the immediate situation is simple enough. With the notable exception of the British loan, the taxpayers of the United States will have to continue for the present to pay the interest that is owed by European governments to American investors. This represents a cash item of something like \$400,000,000 a year that has to be earned by American effort and handed over to the tax collectors. It can be done without being too painful a burden if the United States is now headed for a long period of prosperity. Such a period, while seeming to depend chiefly upon business activities apart from laws and public policies, can be very severely disturbed by mistaken conceptions underlying legislation, and by harmful methods of official interference with

industry, trade, and commerce. We are at a point in our business development—as affected by action at Washington—which compels us to face some puzzling alternatives.

*Foreign Versus  
Domestic  
Trade*

Shall we continue mainly to develop the home market, reserving it particularly for our own producers, or shall we enter more actively than ever before into the competitive scramble for foreign trade, which would mean a corresponding reduction of the barriers against outside producers? The Great War made Europe a buyer rather than a seller of all sorts of manufactured goods. America was asked to supply South America and Asia with many things that could no longer be obtained from England, France, Germany, or other European countries. All sorts of products, besides war materials, were sent from the United States to the Western European countries, and the money to pay for these purchases was borrowed to a great extent from the United States. We are now told that we can never obtain payment for these wartime exports, unless we change our policies and take payment in European manufactures. We are further told that our great investment in a merchant marine, most of which is already a demonstrated loss, will be an almost total failure if we do not force foreign trade in order to supply the needed cargoes both ways.

*How the War  
Changed  
Our Markets*

For some years before the Great War we were growing toward a balanced economic life; that is to say, our great agricultural States were building cities, diversifying their industries, and depending less and less upon selling their wheat, pork, beef, butter, cheese, and eggs, in markets thousands of miles distant. Quite apart from political and economic theory, there was a prevalent business instinct which made it seem to be a good thing to have steady markets at home, rather than to be seeking outlets for surplus goods in markets that were under the control of distant governments, and subject to all sorts of varying factors of competition. The war period, however, with its abnormal changes in the conditions of demand and supply, reversed the viewpoint of millions of people. Our dairy farmers were supplying Europe at high prices, in the form of milk-powder and condensed milk. American householders were cutting down their consumption of white bread, while the farmers were increasing



MR. LLOYD GEORGE, WITH HIS LEADING SUPPORTERS AT THE GENOA CONFERENCE

(In this group the smooth-faced man on Mr. Lloyd George's right is Sir Robert Horne, British Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the right of the picture is Signor Facta, the Italian Premier, who has officiated as president of the Conference. At the left is Senator Schanzer, the Foreign Minister of Italy, who was also prominent in the Washington Conference and has been aiding the British leader in his discouraging efforts to make the Conference a success)

their acreage of wheat in order to sell to Europe at high prices. Beef, pork, and other products of agriculture went abroad in vast quantities. Soon after the end of the war, Europe stopped buying these American supplies, and our inflated agricultural prosperity was wrecked almost before signals of distress could be exhibited.

*Vanished,  
Not to  
Return* We were told that Europe needed our stuff more than ever, but that we must supply the credits; that is to say, we must continue to furnish the money to Europe on condition that Europe should spend it here. Doubtless some temporary expedient of this kind was justifiable in view of all the facts. But the emergency conditions of two years ago are no longer existent. Speaking broadly, the European peoples are industrious and skilful; and, being too poor to buy high-priced supplies in the United States, they have worked the harder to meet their own needs, and they will never buy from us again. In their humbled state, they work

longer hours for less pay, and make goods for export to South America, Asia, and Africa at reduced prices with which American industry will not be able to compete. Why should we not be glad to see Europe trade again with China and Argentina? And why should we not also be able to learn the most elementary lessons that are to be derived from the world's recent experience?

*Britain's  
Difficult  
Position* Great Britain has a congested industrial population that must import food and raw material and export manufactured goods, or else face misery and starvation. To get a job and to hold it is the absorbing anxiety of a great proportion of the British population. Vast merchant fleets are maintained to bring foreign food to three-fourths of the British people, to bring materials for industry, to carry abroad the articles with which to pay for the food and the raw material, and to do freighting business for India, China, South America, the United States, and various other regions. This British situation is now

topheavy and dangerous. It grew out of the economic facts of the middle of the last century. British industry in those times was far better developed than that of any other country. British economists and statesmen were unable to see that the system they were building up took it for granted that other countries would always remain industrially inferior, and would continue to supply foods, fibres, and minerals and to buy British textiles and manufactured goods in general.

*When Germany Became a Rival* But the United States, under protective tariffs, began to develop varied industries until this country had outstripped Great Britain. Germany proceeded with scientific thoroughness to train her people in technical ways until her chemical industries, her iron and steel output, her cotton, wool, and linen manufactures, and her product in many special lines, such as tools and toys, had gone beyond the British output in quantity, in quality, and in cheapness of production. Germany then ceased to export her surplus inhabitants, giving them employment in her growing factory towns and cities. With her fast doubling population, she gave her sons military training, manufactured war supplies for all the smaller countries, built great merchant fleets to handle her foreign trade, and entered upon a policy of naval competition with a view to rivaling the British Empire on the seas, and with the fundamental object of securing permanently those foreign markets which had now become necessary because population and industry had far outgrown the home supply of food and raw materials, and the home market for manufactures.

*Asia's New Competition* France, meanwhile, had not been growing in population, but had been developing in the refinements of industry and of civilization, had continued to produce her own food, and had maintained a good distribution of prosperity and of thrifty comfort among her people. The peoples of Asia, possessing civilizations far older than that of Europe, had through countless generations made beautiful textiles, metal objects, pottery, and many other useful and artistic things. They had lived frugally, and maintained great populations on rice and a simple diet. It should have been evident to thoughtful men that Japan, China, and India, with their teeming millions of disciplined and naturally skilful

workers, and their very low wage scales, would some day introduce steam, electricity, and methods of large-scale production and make their own cotton cloth, not to mention numerous other things that England and Germany had been selling to them. Canada and Australia, it is true, will for a good while have breadstuffs and meat, wool and hides, to market in Great Britain; but these surpluses will diminish as Canada and Australia build up their industries and increase their own consumption.

*Bread-and-Butter Motives at Genoa* Mr. Lloyd George's Genoa Conference has meant from the English standpoint only one thing; namely, that the bread-and-butter conditions of the British population demand the opening of foreign markets and the recuperation of foreign trade. From the market standpoint, there seems more to gain by doing business with Russia and Germany than by espousing the point of view of France, Belgium, and Poland. It is the economic motive that dominates the British mind to-day. In like manner, it would seem to be financial and economic motives, rather than political and military, that lie behind the immediate plans and policies of Germany. Since Germany's former merchant fleet has been lost, and her position in distant markets has been mainly destroyed, her boldest maneuver at present has to do with securing the chief place in the economic resuscitation of Russia. It is quite possible that for several decades to come British and German policies may be able to maintain foreign trade in sufficient volume to support the populations that are now congested in manufacturing districts. But the system that had thus concentrated industry in Britain and Germany is doomed.

*The Lesson for America to Learn* And this is the lesson that Americans ought to learn. If they are in danger of missing the lesson, it will not be through their lack of intelligence so much as through the misguided teachings of leaders who are either unwise, or else unfit by reason of their own interests. The faults of the European economic system are not so great as to demand that it be crushed out of hand. That system must be gradually reformed until it is transformed. It can have some support from the United States, but mainly it must stand or fall on its own merits. The leaders and teachers who ought not to be too blindly fol-

lowed are groups of people who are professionally employed in trying to divert American capital and American economic energy from the symmetrical development of our own industrial life, to serve the immediate convenience of European countries. New York, for example, is a great center of Americanism, and it has a host of capable men in the pursuits of industry and finance who see things in terms of our national development and progress. But there are also in New York able men whose point of view is essentially international, some of whom are for business or personal reasons more concerned about restoring European industry with American capital than in the vitalizing of our own production and commerce.

*The True  
American  
Policy*

All the markets of the world are of slight use to the United States as compared with our own domestic market. Europe is far richer and better developed than the United States. Every European country is devoted to its own interests, and all of them look upon the United States as an easymark. Americans



RUSSIA'S CHIEF DELEGATE, TCHITCHERIN, AT GENOA  
(The Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs [at the left] is caught by the photographer while on a stroll through the streets of the Italian city)



THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR, DR. WIRTH, AT GENOA

(In the garden of the Eden Hotel, with his secretaries—Chancellor Wirth standing at the left of the group. It was Wirth and Tchitcherin, pictured at the top of this page, who arranged the much-discussed Russo-German treaty at Genoa without the knowledge of the Allied delegates)

are self-reliant and hospitable, and they have been trained to an attitude of philanthropy hardly known in most other countries. So many nations are represented in our population, particularly through recent drifts of migration, that our contacts with forty different countries have more intimate ways of expression than those of any other nation. It does not impoverish us to help the hungry, and it would not benefit us to turn a deaf ear to foreign appeals; but it would be a calamity if European propaganda, cleverly directed here, should so puzzle us as to existing business conditions that we should waver and break along the line of our soundest policies. Our best service to the world lies in maintaining our national life and character. One way of doing this is to refuse firmly to open the floodgates to fresh millions of undesirable immigrants. Another way to do it is to refuse to break down our industries and our home markets by opening trade doors to floods of cheap foreign commodities, while we in turn are forcing down wages and despoiling our farms in the attempt to export increasing food surpluses to pay for foreign goods. We shall not collect the sums that European Governments owe us by the mere process of opening the bars to foreign manufactures.

*The West  
also Makes  
Mistakes*

Some of the most mistaken leaders at the present moment are not international bankers in New York, or European agents seeking American capital. No leaders could be more honest, while at the same time mistaken, than some of those in the middle west who are continuing to pursue the *ignis fatuus* of vanishing and illusive foreign markets for western farm products. What our middle-western States chiefly need is a policy of their own. A generation or two ago they had much land and relatively few people. They invited settlers and opened up farm lands. Their local markets were small, and they had immense quantities of corn, wheat, beef, pork, and other things, which they had to sell. They fought the railroads to a finish and secured low freight rates on long hauls. They broke down the established agriculture of New York, New England, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and demoralized that of Ohio and Kentucky. They flooded Ireland and England with their food products and upset the landlord system. Gradually they learned that this dependence on distant markets was not desirable as a permanent thing. They began to build up industries in their own States and to consume more and more of their farm products in local markets and on the short-haul theory.

*The Rise  
and Fall  
of Exports*

This permitted them to diversify their agriculture and to produce more dairy products and a greater variety of crops. The process was going on very well before the Great War broke out. Gradually the undue congestion of manufacturing east of the Alleghanies was being relieved. Eastern agriculture was slowly recovering. Manufactures were increasing throughout the Mississippi Valley and even farther west. There was still, however, a preponderance of agricultural land; and the abnormal demands of Europe and the world at high prices created a new flood of export business for the benefit of western farming. It was very unfortunate that freight rates had not moved up instantly along with farm prices and railroad wages. Our system of public control of rate-making is not merely stupid, not merely unjust, but it is harmful to all business interests—especially those that have been wrongly stimulated to seek distant markets by unduly low rates. It happened that after long delay the railroads were permitted to advance their rates. But the new rates did not go into

effect until the loss of foreign markets had brought farm prices down with a crash. One blow was sufficiently hard for western agriculture, but the double blow resulted in a temporary knockout.

*Vain  
Remedies*

Some of the remedies prescribed were about as wise as proposing to find markets in Mars by perfecting airships. One of the plans that secured foremost hold upon midwestern fancy was a great ship route connecting our Great Lakes with the St. Lawrence River. It was proposed to invest several hundred millions of dollars through the United States Government in a ship-canal enterprise on Canadian soil. There were all sorts of practical problems having to do with engineering, navigation, and the like, that many of the enthusiastic supporters of this project passed over without close scrutiny. But there were also several more important considerations that they forgot altogether. In the first place, it would probably be fifteen years before such a canal could be agreed upon and carried to completion. The political, diplomatic, legislative, financial, and engineering preliminaries would presumably occupy five years. Construction would probably require ten years or more. Nothing could justify large outlays upon such a project except the assurance of an enormous permanent export and import trade between the upper Mississippi Valley and northern Europe. Yet a little thought ought to show that no fate could be more unhappy for our Northwest than the need of permanently exporting its phosphates and other precious soil elements to foreign shores. This would mean the ruin of our Western States within a century.

*No Wheat  
to  
Sell*

Of course nothing of this kind is going to happen. It is a very safe prediction that the United States will have no wheat at all to export within so short a period as ten years. The Western States will import manufacturing populations, and create profitable local markets for their food. They will not have to do such expensive things as to build ship canals in order to sell their bread and beef to Europe. Upon a theory that will probably have proved to be quite fallacious, the people of New York State alone have recently spent more than \$150,000,000 in improving the water route from the Great Lake system to the Hudson River, by broadening and deepening the Erie Canal system.

As yet, very little business is seeking to use the improved canal. What the people of the West need is to think less in terms of long haul and distant markets, and to think constantly in terms of intensive development.

**Tariff  
Principles  
Involved**

These considerations are presented here for very practical reasons. The country is just now dealing with all sorts of problems that bear upon its true development and its permanent prosperity. Sound economic and commercial views are essential at this moment. A new tariff bill is pending at Washington. Those who criticize the Senate for delay in passing the Fordney bill as it went from the House ought to be told that there are times when prompt action is bad statesmanship and when delay is the mark of wisdom. The Democrats are already lining up to put the tariff question back into politics. They are proposing to stigmatize the new tariff as the "worst ever," and as something wholly scandalous. The mere truth is that it has been hard to find a broad line of tariff policy that meets the conditions of this new era, and not less difficult to deal with the hundreds of details in the schedules that seem to present facts contradicting any broad theory. The war period created for us a vast congeries of foreign interests that were either non-existent before, or else were relatively unimportant.

**More Business,  
Less  
Politics**

The tariff-makers at Washington are thoroughly sound in their intention to maintain at this time the general preference for home development. The Democratic South has just as much benefit to derive henceforth from this American policy as have any States of the North and West. If the tariff is to figure in politics, it ought to be upon broad lines. But our traditional policy was made non-political by the adoption under Democratic leadership of the Underwood Tariff, and by the establishment of a scientific Tariff Commission. The Underwood Tariff made many changes in detail and slightly lowered the average rate of duties; but it was just as truly a protective tariff as anything that Mr. McKinley himself ever advocated. There are some puzzling problems having to do with a reconciliation between our tariff policy and our shipping policy. But statesmanship is something more than an exercise in severe logic. It deals with facts, and it admits of compromises. We shall con-

tinue to have a very large import and export trade, even while we continue to build up American industries, and while the West learns that its true prosperity does not lie in digging canals to reach non-existent foreign markets, but in setting up thousands of industrial establishments to create a balanced economic life at home.

**Ships  
and  
Subsidies**

There are vast agricultural regions in Russia, Siberia, and Africa for Europe's exploitation. Europe is not destined to feed itself upon the fatness even of Canada, much less of the United States. Meanwhile, Great Britain has far greater need of a merchant marine than has this country. Some of the arguments for maintaining vast American fleets of ships for handling freight and passengers are highly fallacious. At the present time the world's shipping is greatly beyond the world's needs. It happens that other countries have hundreds of thousands of seamen working at low wages, while Americans can do much better on land, unless they are paid at sea on a scale which makes it impossible for us to carry freight in competition with Japan, Great Britain, Norway, or Italy. They are now proposing at Washington a wholly new policy, in accordance with which our railroads will be invited to link up with steamship lines and even to own and operate such lines on the plan of the Canadian Pacific. We should, of course, allow American ships to go into the international labor market. The sea population is essentially



AND IT LOOKS LIKE A LONG VISIT, TOO  
From the News (Rome, Ga.)



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HON. ROBERT S. BROOKINGS, OF ST. LOUIS AND WASHINGTON

(Mr. Brookings is a wealthy banker of St. Louis who has given his time and money to the creation of a great university and a great medical school in that city. He was head of the Price-Fixing Board at Washington in the war period. He is founding an Institute of Economics at the national capital)

international. Our ships should be officered by Americans, but they might well carry Chinese crews. It is just as desirable to have American-controlled ships on the Pacific employing Chinese crews, as it is undesirable to establish Chinese immigrants in residential communities on American soil. The two things are entirely separable.

*Flexible  
Rates  
Proposed*

If we should recognize the international character of sea labor, we should not need to pay large subsidies to a merchant marine; and if we encouraged railroads and other large interests to own and operate ships, we should without undue cost to the Treasury be able to keep the American flag afloat on all seas, and have it welcomed in all harbors. As regards the tariff, Chambers of Commerce and business men generally should insist upon keeping it out of party politics. The proposed plan of making tariff rates flexible at the discretion of the President, under guidance of a scientific and practical Tariff

Commission, is well worth trying. If it does not work well, nothing is easier than to modify it or repeal it. The relation of special interests and particular industries to tariff legislation should be made as public as possible. No Congressman or Senator should lay himself open to the charge of having been privately persuaded or convinced as respects any schedule or item. All the cards should be exposed, with lobbying and log-rolling discouraged. Republican tariff-makers should do their best to gain the support of such experienced Democrats as Senator Underwood, just as Republican leaders dealing with questions of finance and taxation should seek the approval of Democrats like Senator Glass. In short, the merely partisan aspects of our great problems affecting business and the economic life of all the people should be reduced to the narrowest possible terms.

Washington  
as an  
Economic Focus

With the piling up of huge problems of an economic character for treatment at the nation's capital, we are also training men capable of dealing with these issues. We have already referred to men in the Administration like Secretaries Hoover, Mellon, and Wallace. Economic study in Congress has produced great railroad authorities like Senator Cummins, and financial experts like Senators Glass and Smoot. In the bureau of the Government, in addition to those services under the direction of the Secretaries of the Treasury, of Commerce, and of Agriculture, we have an increasingly large number of men of remarkable attainments in the theory and practice of public administration, especially from the economic standpoint. Recognizing the vital importance of sound knowledge and wise training, Mr. Robert S. Brookings, with large support from the Carnegie Corporation, is establishing an institution at Washington as a center for economic study and research. It is not intended to compete with other institutions, but rather to coöperate with them for the general good. Mr. Brookings rendered valuable war service at Washington on one of the principal boards, and he has long been known throughout the country for his efforts as a public-spirited citizen to promote the best interests of his home city of St. Louis. To no one else does that city owe so much for the splendid development of its facilities for advanced education. Among the veterans who have promoted economic study in the United



States, there is no one else who has taught so many who have themselves become distinguished teachers as Professor Richard T. Ely of the University of Wisconsin. Nor is there any other economist whose sound views have been so widely and popularly absorbed. Dr. Ely is now at the head of a special organization which is carrying on extensive research in the economics of landed property and public utilities. In the Agricultural Department and elsewhere at Washington are vast accumulations of economic material; and these are all available for serious-minded interpreters and teachers. Thus Washington is destined in the immediate future to become not only the great American center for the shaping of public policy as bearing upon our economic progress, but also the Mecca for investigators, teachers, and students of economic science.

*Use Money  
for Internal  
Improvements* If anything like the Mississippi Valley floods of April and early May had occurred on the Lower

Danube, or along the banks of Russia's great river the Volga, one may venture to assert that the fact would have been brought much more startlingly to the attention of the whole American people. Several thousand square miles of rich agricultural land, in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas, were transformed into temporary lakes. Thousands of refugees had to be cared for, with inadequate means at hand. Congress, on May 2, added an emergency appropriation of \$200,000 to the sum of \$1,000,000 that had previously been granted. Various agencies entered in proper spirit upon relief work. The thing to be emphasized is not so much this particular emergency as the more permanent situation. The West should talk less about ship canals in Canada, and should demand the systematic expenditure of half a billion dollars upon the vast central waterway system that drains the region between the Alleghenies and the Rockies. Another half billion could well be expended nation-wide upon water power, drainage, and a variety of internal improvements. A rapid, scientific, and intelligent development of the United States, at an outlay of from one to two billion dollars, would be worth more to the ex-service men than any bonus they have thought of asking, and would bring prosperity enough to help us forget the uncollectible war loans to Europe. A national policy of improvement, with State and local coöperation, is a pressing need.

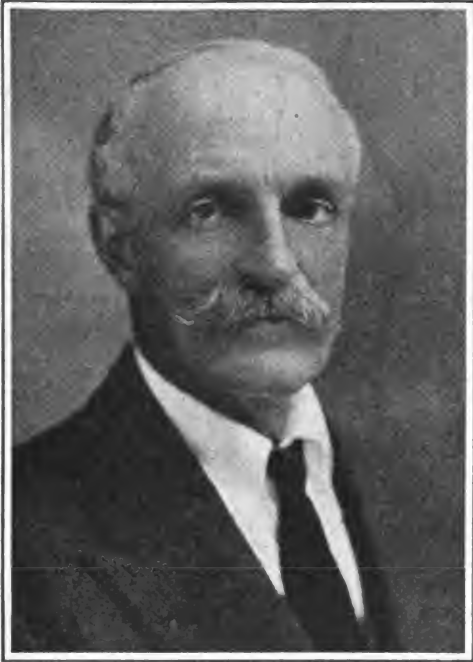


THE LATE JOHN HENRY PATTERSON, OF DAYTON, OHIO

(Mr. Patterson, who died last month in his seventy-eighth year, was descended from the earliest pioneers of southern Ohio, and achieved business success through the development of the cash-register business. His greatest accomplishments were those of a leader in social progress)

*Leaders  
in Western  
Growth*

Our obituary list each month notes the passing of men who have achieved important things for the country and their fellowmen. One of those who died last month was John H. Patterson, of Dayton, Ohio. Dayton was an unknown little town in the Miami Valley, when Patterson was a boy in that neighborhood. To-day Dayton is a thriving city of great industries and pleasant homes, known throughout the world. This creation of a notable center was due to the imagination and the energy of Mr. Patterson, more than to anything else. Southwestern Ohio, which has been a fine farm region for more than a hundred years, prospers safely through the growth of places like Springfield, Dayton, and Hamilton, not to mention such a metropolis as Cincinnati. Several men of genius have been the leaders in changing the little town of Akron, Ohio, into the most important center of rubber industries throughout the world. A group of men with great vision, of whom Mr. Henry Ford is only one, foreseeing the irresistible growth



© Chandler, Philadelphia

HON. GIFFORD PINCHOT, FOREMOST ADVOCATE OF  
AMERICAN CONSERVATION POLICIES

(Mr. Pinchot's canvass to secure the Republican nomination for Governor of Pennsylvania resulted in a notable victory in the primary on May 16)

of automotive industries, rapidly lifted Detroit from stagnation to its eminent place as an industrial city, and thus enriched the whole State of Michigan. At an earlier day a group of business leaders, taking advantage of new methods and conditions, created Minneapolis as the world's foremost milling town; and one might continue to show how specialized industries had developed Omaha or Kansas City. Smaller instances, none of them to be despised, might be mentioned by the hundreds. These should indicate the lines of future progress to the people of the West and South. Europe will not fail to work out its own restoration. The chief business of Americans, so far as economic programs are concerned, is to work toward a more intensive development of their own country, with a more even distribution of agriculture and manufactures, and with a more efficient transportation system.

Many communities are learning to make use of the art of publicity in order to bring to their reinforcement the right kind of people and the desired industries. Advertising is one of the foremost modern agencies for equalizing

conditions, and for lifting national levels toward the best standards. There is hardly any more hopeful mark of American progress than the steady advances that are coming about through the wise employment of advertising as the way of showing people what is worth while and as a means of facilitating multiplied transactions. The tendency is to make advertising truthful, artistic, and appropriate. The advertising pages of a periodical like *THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS* are not extraneous, from the Editor's standpoint. For the most part they carry reliable information, agreeably presented, that helps to make them in some real sense a part of the aggregate budget of news and discussion. Elsewhere in this number, Mr. Ernest Knaufft presents a careful article upon the manner in which American advertisers are employing artistic embellishment.

*Notes of  
Independence  
in Politics*

Last month we gave a general survey of the approaching political season. It will be time next month to make another survey, in the light of such events as the notable victory of Mr. Beveridge in Indiana on May 2, and the similarly significant canvass of Mr. Gifford Pinchot for the governorship of Pennsyl-



MR. GEORGE E. ALTER, ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF  
PENNSYLVANIA

(Mr. Alter was the candidate of the regular Republican organization against Mr. Pinchot)

*Publicity as  
a Means  
of Progress*

vania. As the date of the Pennsylvania primaries approached (Tuesday, May 16) it became increasingly probable that the organization candidate, Mr. Alter, would be defeated by a leader who has always been in the front rank of those standing for political reform. While the victory of Mr. Beveridge in winning the Republican nomination for the United States Senate was chiefly a personal triumph, it has also certain wide political bearings that we shall present more fully next month. Mr. Beveridge's canvass was based upon an exceedingly able discussion of public questions. It left Indiana Republicans better united than they have been for a generation. At the same time, it served timely notice to people in other States that the primary system remains a practical method of securing the popular will when occasion arises. Senator New would probably have regained his nomination in an old-fashioned State convention. He has not been discredited by the vote in the primaries, and his seeming acceptance of the result in good spirit augurs well for improvement in the tone of political manners and methods.

*Prohibition  
Stands Its  
Ground*

Mr. Welliver's article in this number on the working of our prohibition laws presents facts and issues so conspicuously that there is little need to comment upon it. The author has been particularly well situated for inquiring into the subject in all its bearings. His conclusions are upon the whole favorable to the contention of those who say that prohibition, in the main, has already proved a success. Those who believe that the law ought to be modified will do well to insist upon having statutes enforced as long as they exist. If we mistake not, the temper of the American people is steadily rising against the lawlessness of those who are treating the Volstead act with contempt. It will be time after the law is more thoroughly enforced to consider, first, whether the Volstead act should be modified, and second, whether the Eighteenth Amendment should be repealed. The notion that the wet and dry issue would have a very prominent place in this year's politics is already disappearing.

*The  
Coal  
Strike*

By the middle of May seven weeks of the great coal strike had passed with curiously little attention paid to the matter, considering its magnitude, by anyone except the operators and miners. No reports of violence had

come and, indeed, the suspension of work in this most basic of industries for weeks was noted only in fugitive paragraphs in the newspapers. During these weeks the actual production of coal was about one-third the normal amount. This current production, with the aid of unusually large accumulated stocks and of the smaller demands of industrial plants, due to the general manufacturing depression, prevented any shortage of fuel and any increases in the price of coal to the consumer. If, however, the strike is not ended by some time early in June, the inroads on the stocks to make up for the subnormal production will become ominous. The whole matter will rush to the front in the news, in Congress, and in the public mind. During the first few weeks of the strike, the public was not interested enough to register its opinion very clearly or forcibly. The general trend of that opinion has undoubtedly been that there should be some reduction of wages in the coal fields and that the miners could have been brought to agree to some reductions, though not to such radical decreases as the operators had demanded.

*Twenty-one  
Years of  
Labor Troubles* Of the twenty-one years from 1899 to 1919, not one failed to have important strikes in the coal mines. These varied in magnitude from a loss of 508,526 working days in 1918 to a total loss of 19,250,524 working days in 1910. The smallest number of strikers in any year of the twenty-one was 20,593 in 1901. The largest number, until this year, was 446,000, in 1919. To-day there are more than half a million men away from work, making it the most considerable strike in the history of the industry. This extraordinary record of labor disturbances, combined with the present very high price of coal to the consumer, and with the complaints of both capital and labor that they have not been getting a sufficient return, prove that things are radically wrong in the coal industry. The basic day wage is now \$7.50, which sounds high as compared with other labor, but the miners show that they get so few days of work in the year that their total annual earnings are inadequate to support them and their families. The operators claim that during the last four years, very much the best in standpoint of profit-making in the bituminous coal industry, they earned only an average of 9 per cent. on their investment of two billion dollars. The house-

holder and the manufacturer are now being charged for coal, even in this time of depression with consumption away below the normal production, two or three times as much as they were charged ten years ago.

*The Root of the Trouble* Congress is considering the creation of a federal commission to find out the true facts of the costs, production, profits, and ownership of the coal business. The most important suggestion for remedying the really shameful state of affairs of the coal industry has come from Representative Bland of Indiana. It is that the summer production of coal be increased and encouraged by a preferential freight rate during that season, and that the railroads be required to store their coal in the summer and to educate the public in doing the same thing. Such devices are good as far as they go, but that they do not go to the root of the trouble is recognized by Mr. Bland himself. The coal business has been very much over-developed and there are about one-third too many miners in the business. The public is called on to pay such a price for coal as will give a profit to very high-cost mines and pay wages to miners who work only one-third of the time. Some small relief may be had from putting a freight-rate premium on summer production of coal and forcing the railways, which consume about one-third of all the coal produced in the United States, to store it.

*150,000 Too Many Miners* There is, however, no way of getting around the essential fact that there are something more than 150,000 miners, who, for the good of the public and for their own good, too, ought to be doing something else. The 400,000 that would be left can produce all the coal the public can consume. They could work full time and make a fair living wage, while the cost of coal to the consumer would be reduced. Except for the period of the peak of the war demand, there has always been a surplus of labor in the coal fields. A high rate of wages, with much time off from work, has apparently proved attractive to a greater number of men than was warranted by the interests of labor, capital or the public. It is very obvious that the present trouble in the industry cannot be helped by paying full-time wages for half-time work. Such a policy attracts still more men to the mines, raises the price of coal to the consumer, increases the cost of power and

transportation and therefore the cost of living for everybody, and does the miner no good at all, because there comes to be a still greater number of men among whom to divide the available working days, and the average annual yearly earnings become still smaller.

*The Railroads Doing Better* There was some abnormal stimulation of railroad traffic in the month of March, coming from the unusual production and movement of coal in preparation for the April strike, but even after making allowances for this artificial aid to the month's operations, March showed the best operating results that the railroads have had for several years at this season. The total was \$83,500,000 net operating income, which is equivalent to an annual rate return of 5.83 per cent. on the tentative valuation fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. This approaches hopefully the 6 per cent. set by Congress in the Esch-Cummins Act as the desirable rate of return for the country's transportation lines as a whole. March of last year showed only \$13,800,000 operating income, or 2.15 per cent. These encouraging results were obtained chiefly through efforts of the railroads to control operating expenses. The total revenues were very slightly in excess of those in March of last year, while operating expenses were 9.8 per cent. under those of March, 1921. The most important improvement showed in the Eastern roads, which last March had an operating income at the annual rate of 7.8 per cent. on their Interstate Commerce Commission valuation. The Southern roads earned 4.07 per cent. and the Western only 4.12 per cent. The rather extraordinary showing of the Eastern lines was undoubtedly partly due to the unusual coal traffic and the poor results of the Western railroads was partly caused by the considerable reduction made by the Commerce Commission in the freight rates on hay and grain—no less than 16½ per cent.

*Lower Freight Rates Expected* The railroad managers were in May looking forward to an early notice of reductions in freight rates, a move which the Interstate Commerce Commission will be encouraged to back by the better earnings reported this spring. It has been anticipated that reductions aggregating some \$200,000,000 annually may be ordered and that they will be confined largely to basic commodities, such

as coal, coke, ore, brick, stone and structural steel. The railroads have been expecting and ardently hoping for reductions in wages that will about offset the lower freight rates. They promised last autumn to turn all savings in wages granted by the Railway Labor Board into lower rates.

*Motor  
Truck  
Competition*

A new problem added to many old ones that railway executives have had to wrestle with during the past five years is the serious competition of motor trucks for the cream of short-haul traffic. The managers of the railways are becoming much exercised over the matter, frequent protests being seen in the annual reports published in 1922, and many State legislatures are preparing to deal with this new transportation factor with legislative regulation. This motor-truck competition came into being under the pressure for transportation facilities caused by the war. Great numbers of trucks were pressed into service, new companies have constantly been formed and regular route schedules laid out. These have been developed most importantly in two widely separated sections of the country: New England, on account of the density of population and of manufacturing establishments, combined with the relatively short hauls; and California, because of its unusually good roads and a climate permitting year-round operation. The constant pounding of roads not built for such heavy use has been most disastrous to them, especially New England's. The main and historic road from New York to Boston, for instance, has virtually gone to pieces under this freight traffic. There are already projects for building concrete highways parallel to the existing highways, the new roads to be used exclusively for trucking. Such a development would need an enormous increase in taxes unless the trucking companies themselves were obliged to pay much more of the cost.

*Protests  
from the  
Railroads*

The President of the New Haven Railroad has recently pointed out that the trucking companies competing with this line take annually the cream of the "less-than-carload" traffic, leaving the unprofitable business to the railroad. Trucks are not subject to the regulations hampering the railroads; they are not obliged to be ready to transport goods offered at any time, and they can restrict their movements to favorable weather, leaving the railroads to handle the traffic in bad weather conditions, when it is done at a loss. In other words,



THE LATE HENRY POMEROY DAVISON, OF NEW YORK

the public is to a certain extent supporting duplicate systems of transportation, one of which must operate at all times, the other free to move only when its owners find it profitable. In New England the railroads find also that their passenger traffic has been importantly affected by automobile competition for local travel between nearby stations.

*The Late  
H. P.  
Davison*

Comments following the death of Mr. Henry P. Davison have helped to show how marked is the tendency to lay aside prejudices against excellent men, merely because they have been successful in financial and business enterprises. Upon his own merits, Mr. Davison had risen rapidly from the position of a clerk in a small bank to a place among the leading financiers of the world. He left a considerable fortune, but the accumulation of money had not been his chief object. His crowning service had been rendered as head of the American Red Cross during and after the war period. As one of the younger members of the Aldrich Commission, he had spent years in a study of the principles of currency and banking that led up to the establishment of our Federal Reserve system. His had been a steady growth in public spirit and in the willingness as well as ability to render service at home and everywhere.

# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From April 15 to May 15, 1922)

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

April 15.—In the House, the Naval Appropriation bill is amended by vote of 177 to 130 to provide for 86,000 enlisted men instead of 67,000 as proposed.

The Senate passes the House Immigration Restriction bill but adds several amendments; the Three Per Cent. law is extended to June 30, 1924.

April 18.—Senate Republicans, in caucus, decide to pass a soldier bonus bill at the present session.

April 19.—In the House, the Naval Appropriation bill is passed, 279 to 78; the bill carries \$251,269,000, an increase of \$18,000,000 over the amount reported by the Appropriations Committee.

The Senate passes the Departments of State and Justice Appropriation bill, adding \$2,000,000; and the bill goes to conference.

April 21.—Both branches appropriate \$1,000,000 for flood relief along the Mississippi River.

April 28.—In the Senate, Mr. La Follette (Rep., Wis.) criticizes Secretary of Interior Fall for leasing naval oil reserves, especially the Teapot Dome reserve in Wyoming.

The House adopts the Denison "blue sky" bill without record vote; the law is designed to prevent sale of spurious stocks in interstate commerce and is in furtherance of State laws.

April 29.—The Senate unanimously empowers the Committee on Public Lands to investigate naval reserve oil land leases.

May 1.—The Senate extends the powers of the War Finance Corporation until July 1, 1923.

In the House, the Good Roads bill is passed, appropriating \$140,000,000 for highway construction.

May 2.—The House votes to extend the three per cent. immigration restriction law to June 30, 1925; the measure goes to the President.

May 4.—In the House, a bill is passed to create a Federal Narcotic Control Board, to stop opium traffic.

May 5.—The House passes the \$17,000,000 Soldier Hospital bill, which goes to the Senate.

May 6.—The House Labor Committee reports favorably a bill creating a Coal Commission, to gather facts and prevent disputes in the coal-mining industry.

The Senate adopts the measure appropriating \$17,000,000 for hospitalization of World War veterans; \$12,000,000 is made immediately available.

May 10.—The House, voting 148 to 139, passes a bill extending a \$5,000,000 credit to Liberia under an agreement establishing a virtual protectorate.

May 12.—The Senate passes the La Follette resolution calling for a report by the Attorney General and the Federal Trade Commission on the proposed merger of independent steel companies.

The House passes the McKenzie bill readjusting pay and allowance of the military services.

May 13.—In the House, \$513,911 is appropriated for the pneumatic tube mail service at New York City, where, according to Mr. Steenerson (Rep., Minn.), postal revenues are \$53,000,000, nearly half of which is clear profit.

## AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 14.—Governor Nathan L. Miller of New York signs seven housing relief laws, which continue and add to measures protecting tenants and stimulating new building.

April 16.—United States Attorney William Hayward informs Senator Borah that no court in the country has jurisdiction, civil or military, to prosecute General Semenov for murder of American soldiers in Siberia.

April 23.—At Charlestown, W. Va., the trials of 500 United Mine Workers members and officers begin; the men are charged with treason.

April 27.—President Harding participates in a celebration at Point Pleasant, Ohio, commemorating the centenary of President Grant's birth.

The Radio Telephone Conference reports recommendations for legislation by Congress; a wave-band of 150-275 meters is assigned to amateurs.

April 28.—New York Courts, striving to reduce crime, impose sentences aggregating 458 years on 72 criminals among 116 up for sentence.

The War Finance Corporation Director, Eugene Meyer, Jr., recommends increased rediscount facilities and branch banking legislation to improve the service for agricultural credit.

May 2.—Indiana Republican primaries result in nomination for United States Senator of Albert J. Beveridge, who defeats Senator Harry S. New by 20,472 votes; the Democrats nominate Samuel M. Ralston, former Governor.

The New York Transit Commission orders the Interborough Subway to put on 360 more trains a day and buy 350 new cars in order to reduce congestion.

May 3.—At Madison Square Garden, New York City, 10,000 persons meet in advocacy of revision of the Volstead prohibition enforcement law in the direction of moderation and tolerance.

St. Paul, Minn., elects Arthur E. Nelson as Mayor by a 13,000 majority over William H. Mahoney, Labor candidate.

May 4.—The State Department confirms the report that the Western Union Telegraph Company has been permitted to land, but not to operate, the Miami-Barbados cable at Miami, Fla.

May 5.—John C. Higdon withdraws from the Democratic Senatorial contest in Missouri on advice from ex-President Wilson; the field is clear now between Breckenridge Long and Senator James A. Reed.



THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. HARDING, WITH THEIR PARTY, BOARDING A STEAMER AT CINCINNATI EN ROUTE FOR POINT PLEASANT, OHIO, WHERE MR. HARDING OFFICIATED AT THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF ULYSSES S. GRANT ON APRIL 27

May 7.—Director Charles G. Dawes reports for the Budget Bureau a saving in Government expenditure of \$907,500,000, of which \$250,000,000 is due to Administration economies; the 1922 budget estimate is \$1,600,000,000 less than the preceding fiscal year.

May 10.—President Harding calls a conference of railroad executives for May 20 to discuss a general reduction in freight rates throughout the country.

More than 2500 citizens of Missouri petition Congress to modify the Volstead act by restoring light wines and beer.

May 11.—The New York Transit Commission announces a program for building new subways at a cost of \$318,000,000, extending the system 32.55 miles, with 84.2 miles of new track.

At Chicago, while Mayor Thompson is absent on a return visit to Mayor Hylan of New York, two policemen are shot by gunmen and the police round up over two hundred labor radicals, while eight leaders, including Fred Mader, "Big Tim" Murphy, and "Con" Shea, are indicted for conspiracy; the courts refuse a writ of habeas corpus.

Henry O'Malley is named Commissioner of Fisheries by President Harding.

May 13.—The Federal Trade Commission orders independent steel companies to submit facts and plans for their proposed merger.

#### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 14.—At Lahore, India, Khara Singh, president of the Punjab Congress Committee, is sentenced to three years' hard labor for sedition.

April 17.—Dr. Sun Yat-sen, of South China, is reported to have joined Chang Tso-lin, of Peking and Manchuria, against Wu Pei-fu, of Central China.

April 20.—At Dublin, a conference is held by Arthur Griffith, De Valera, Michael Collins, Charles Burgess, Stephen O'Mara, Mayor of Limerick, Lord Mayor O'Neill of Dublin, and Archbishop Byrne; O'Neill is secretary of the Irish Labor party, which declares a strike in protest against armed domination by contending factions.

April 24.—The Irish Labor party's strike proves entirely successful as a demonstration against militarism of opposing Irish Republican Army factions.

April 30.—Armies of Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu battle near Peking in a civil war for the unification of China; 150 American marines reinforce the United States legation guard and the Peking gates are closed.

May 1.—Six insurgent Irish Republican generals are reported in agreement with regulars that the majority of the Irish people favor the treaty creating the Free State.

May 3.—The Venezuelan Congress unanimously





A DECK VIEW OF LOADED BARGES ON THE OHIO RIVER

(American waterways afford a solution for the problem of high freight rates on the railroads. Pittsburgh steel-makers are learning to use the inland system of barge routes connecting with the "Father of Waters," which, with systematic development, could be brought to even more important use)

elects General Juan Vicente Gomez as Constitutional President for the next seven years.

At Dublin, the Dail Eireann adopts a resolution ordering an immediate truce between opposing factions of the Irish Republican Army along lines of their own agreement.

May 4.—General Chang Tso-lin, Manchurian dictator, is defeated by General Wu Pei-fu near Peking.

The Russian Orthodox Council at Rome announces that "in four and one-half years of the Soviet régime this freedom (of worship) has not hindered the execution of 28 bishops and over 1000 priests."

Irish Army factions agree to a truce.

May 5.—At Peking, China, General Wu Pei-fu is recognized as in control, while Chang's army, routed, retreats to Tientsin; Sun Yat-sen's forces failed to reinforce Chang Tso-lin in time; Presi-

dent Hsu Shih-chang will remain in office until his term expires in October, 1923.

May 6.—Chinese Premier Liang Shih-yi is dismissed and ordered arrested at Tientsin; Finance Minister Chang Hu and Communications Minister Yih King-cho are also dropped, thus ending General Chang Tso-lin's control; Sun Yat-sen, with 150,000 troops in the field, refuses to negotiate with General Wu.

May 12.—General Chang, dismissed as military governor of Manchuria, proclaims the province independent; former Premier Liang Shih-yi is now at Tokio.

May 14.—The British Admiralty retires 1835 of the 9450 naval officers now in service.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

April 15.—At Genoa, Lloyd George (British) informs Tchitcherin (Russian) that Russia must recognize all her debts, assume liability for foreign property confiscated by the Soviets, and give up fantastic claims against the Allies.

The United States recognizes General J. M. Orellana as President of Guatemala; he succeeded Carlos Herrera December 5, 1921; Herrera was a strong advocate of a unified Central America.

April 16.—German and Russian representatives at the Genoa economic conference conclude a two-party treaty; indemnity claims are canceled, diplomatic relations restored, and pre-war debts are canceled; the treaty is reciprocal both in the military and economic fields; the Brest-Litovsk treaty is annulled; the Allies receive the news in consternation and anger.

April 18.—At Genoa, the Allies notify Germany she cannot participate in further conferences on Russia.



THE NEW AMERICAN EMBASSY AT SANTIAGO, CHILE

(Purchased by the United States at a cost of \$146,000. It was the palace of a former Chilean Senator and is situated in Forestal Park)



SUPREME COURT JUSTICES REDEDICATING LAST MONTH THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE FEDERAL BENCH AT PHILADELPHIA

(From left to right are: Mayor J. Hampton Moore of Philadelphia, Justice Mahlon Pitney, Chief Justice William Howard Taft, Justice John Hessin Clarke, and Justice Robert L. Von Moschizaker of Pennsylvania. The old building at Fifth and Chestnut Streets, which 121 years ago housed the first Supreme Court, has been faithfully restored)

Mr. J. P. Morgan is asked to participate in a meeting of the financial subcommission of the Allied Reparations Commission to decide on an international loan for Germany.

The American Relief Administration reports the Russian famine is under control; 5000 tons of food are moved inland daily to feed 3,000,000 children and several million adults.

April 20.—Germany agrees at Genoa to stay away from further Allied conferences on Russia.

The new American Ambassador, Hon. Alanson B. Houghton, takes charge of the Embassy at Berlin, resuming official German-American relations after five years.

April 21.—Soviet Russia agrees to drop claims against the Allies for intervention losses, and to pay the Czarist pre-war debt, in return for an international loan and foreign recognition; the Allies agree to forego £600,000,000 unpaid interest on the Russian pre-war debt, including a part of the war debts.

Louis Barthou, head of the French delegation, telegraphs Premier Poincaré to come at once to Genoa, the position of the delegation having become untenable under its strict instructions.

April 23.—The Allies at Genoa notify Germany that they reserve the right to nullify any clause of the Russo-German treaty that is contrary to existing treaties.

April 24.—Premier Poincaré, at Bar-Le-Duc, announces the French program as adherence to Genoa agenda, submission by Germany to demands of Reparations Committee by May 31, full examination of the Russo-German treaty, and execution of the Treaty of Versailles.

British and French financial experts notify Russia she may not expect a cash loan of any size.

Polish and German plenipotentiaries in Upper Silesia reach an agreement on economic matters under Dr. Felix Calonder.

April 27.—President Harding recognizes King Fuad of Egypt, and Secretary Hughes con-

gratulates the King on "the happy fulfillment of Egyptian aspirations."

April 29.—The opium rules of the advisory committee for the League of Nations are accepted by the member nations: Government certificates are required for all exportations or importations of the drug.

April 30.—The Pope sends a peace message to all the Governments and peoples of the world.

May 2.—The Allied plan for Russian recognition is handed to the Soviet representatives without the approval of the French and Belgian delegates; M. Barthou leaves for Paris, and Ambassador Barrere heads the French delegation.

May 4.—The second plenary session at Genoa emphasizes the necessity of settling international debts before attempting to restore financial stability. . . . The French claim that Lloyd George is trying to help the Soviets arrange land terms which will enable Russia to shift ownership of oil lands from France and Belgium to England and Germany on long leaseholds under the guise of Russian land nationalization.

The French notify Lloyd George that they will ratify the European general non-aggression agreement on condition (1) that every European nation sign, (2) that Russia recognize for ten years all her existing boundaries, and (3) that France surrender none of her rights for enforcement of the Versailles treaty.

The Reparations Commission hands a long note to Germany; no immediate violation of the Versailles treaty is found in the Russo-German agreement.

It is learned that France, Germany, and England have each requested the United States not to withdraw troops entirely from the Rhine.

John Bassett Moore, American member of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, is selected as the American representative on the International Commission of Jurists to amend the rules of war.

May 6.—China ratifies the two Washington

Conference treaties to which she is a party; the Nine Power agreement on Chinese policy and the one on customs revision; the Shantung treaty with Japan is also ratified by Presidential decree.

The United States notifies Germany of the revival of the Patent Convention of 1909; consent was given by the Senate after passage of the Stanley Patent bill.

May 8.—Walter C. Teagle, who headed a commission of oil producers in conference with Mexican Government officials, announces that inordinate taxes on production and exportation of petroleum in Mexico have been satisfactorily readjusted.

May 10.—At London, it is officially announced that Britain and the United States have agreed on division of the world's oil supply outside of Russia; the agreement includes middle eastern Europe and South America.

Germany, replying to the Reparations Commission note of April 13, claims she cannot meet her obligations under the moratorium of March 21 before May 31 without the aid of foreign loans; she alleges it is impossible to levy 60,000,000,000 marks new taxes before May 31, but pleads good intentions.

May 11.—At Genoa, the Russian Soviet reply to the Allied proposals is received and published; while denouncing the Allies in scathing terms, it is considered conciliatory in the main in its actual commitments; but French delegates appear to be aroused over Russian "impertinence."



MARCELO T. DE ALVEAR  
(Argentina)



ARTHUR BERNARDES  
(Brazil)

#### NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENTS OF ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL

(Dr. Alvear was elected on April 2, and will be inaugurated on October 12. He is a graduate of the University of Buenos Aires, 53 years old, and has served prominently as a Radical member of the House and as Argentine minister to France. Dr. Bernardes was elected President of Brazil in March, with the returns disputed by his opponent, Dr. Nilo Pecanha. Bernardes is only 47 years old and has served as mayor of his home town, as secretary of finance and governor of the State of Minas, and as a representative in the federal Congress. His achievements as a financial administrator have won high praise.)

May 13.—The Prince of Wales arrives at Manila from Japan and is personally received and entertained by Governor Leonard Wood.

France requests the United States to join in a proposed international commission to investigate the Russian situation; it is understood that if America accepts, France will consent to Russian participation.

Dr. Otto L. Wiedfeldt, the new German Ambassador to the United States, arrives at New York on his way to Washington.

May 14.—The Genoa Conference having reached a deadlock, the Allies plan a conference at The Hague on June 15 to agree on Russia. France and Belgium are in disagreement with the other Allies, and Germany is out because of her separate agreement with Russia.

May 15.—At Washington, a conference begins between statesmen from Chile and Peru who expect to settle the so-called Tacna-Arica controversy arising from the Treaty of Ancon.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

April 15.—Thousands of homes are destroyed and 100,000 acres inundated by floods in southern Illinois, with damage estimated at \$1,000,000.

The Veteran's Bureau reports that 600,000 ex-service men are carrying \$3,500,000,000 in war risk insurance.

April 17.—Floods, snow, sleet, and tornadoes sweep from Ohio to Kansas and Nebraska, inflicting tremendous damage.

April 18.—The Portuguese aviators Countino and Sacadura arrive at St. Paul's Rock, the third leg of their transatlantic airplane journey; the machine is wrecked and they wait for a new one to continue their trip to Brazil.

April 19.—Lady Astor, M. P., arrives at New York on a visit to America, her native land.

April 20.—The Carnegie Corporation establishes an initial endowment of \$1,600,000 to found an Institute of Economics to supply reliable information to individuals, business concerns, and Government officials.

The Mississippi River at New Orleans reaches a new record high level of 21.1 feet (the previous record was made in 1912).

At Baltimore, Md., the Pan-American Conference of Women assembles under the auspices of the National League of Women Voters (see page 635).

April 25.—Fort Worth, Texas, is swept by floods from the Trinity River; 17 persons are lost and there is \$1,000,000 damage.

April 27.—Forest fires in Ocean and Monmouth counties, New Jersey, cause a property loss of \$3,000,000.

Three of the robbers who held up a United States mail truck in New York City in October, 1921, are caught disposing of securities.

The Grant Memorial at Washington, D. C., is dedicated; it is one of the largest groups of statuary in the world, executed by Henry Merwin Shrady.

April 30.—The typhus germ is reported discovered and isolated at Moscow by Dr. N. Kritch, a woman.

May 1.—The Chief of Police of East St. Louis, W. J. Mulconery, Chief of Detectives James Nevill, and seven other police officials are ordered to resign after the death during the "third degree" examination of a prisoner.

The Mississippi River floods 1400 square miles in Louisiana, with Harrisonburg as the worst sufferer, and inundates 1700 square miles in Mississippi; refugees suffer from lack of food, and thousands are homeless.

May 4.—Dr. Charles L. Slattery, of Grace Church, New York, is elected bishop coadjutor of Massachusetts Episcopal Diocese.

May 8.—At Columbia, S. C., 150 prisoners in the State penitentiary revolt and set fire to the prison chair factory; eleven are shot by guards.

May 10.—The Russell Sage Foundation announces a plan for improving New York City by surveys of economic, social, physical, and legal phases and conditions of the city's life.

### OBITUARY

April 14.—Alexander Crawford Chenoweth, engineer, 72. . . . Adrian Constantine ("Pop") Anson, veteran baseball player, 69.

April 15.—Dr. Edward Kellogg Dunham, prominent pathologist, 62.

April 17.—Henry V. Esmond, English actor and playwright, 52.

April 18.—John Foord, editor of *Asia*, 78. . . . Dr. Abraham John Palmer, Methodist lecturer and minister, 75.

April 19.—Rev. Dr. Arthur Whipple Jenks, author and theologian, 58.

April 21.—Christopher A. Buckley, San Francisco's former "blind boss" of Democratic politics, 77.

April 22.—Grand Duchess Marie of Mecklenburg, 72. . . . Dr. Willis Gaylord Tucket, of Albany, chemist, 72. . . . Eduardo Suarez Mujica, first Chilean Ambassador to the United States.

April 24.—Brig.-Gen. William R. Blackwood, U. S. A., retired, 84.

April 28.—Paul Deschanel, ex-President of France, author and orator, 65. . . . Judge Edwin Baker Gager, of New Haven, Connecticut Supreme Court Justice, 70. . . . W. H. Odell, former editor of the *Oregon Statesman*, 93.

April 29.—Richard Croker, for many years leader of Tammany Hall and Democratic "boss" of New York City, 80.

April 30.—Commander James Douglas Jerrold Kelley, U. S. N., retired, author, 75.

May 1.—Major-Gen. James William McAndrew, Chief of Staff of the American Expeditionary Force, 60. . . . John Vance Cheney, California poet, 74. . . . Edmund Abbott West, Chicago lawyer, early participant in the founding of the Republican party in Wisconsin, and oldest graduate of Oberlin College, 99.

May 2.—Dr. Heber Roberts, X-ray and radiium specialist of Belleville, Ill., 70.

May 4.—Asle J. Gronna, former United States Senator from North Dakota, 64. . . . Isaac Broome, of Trenton, N. J., sculptor and ceramic expert, 86.



A ROOSEVELT STATUE FOR PORTLAND, OREGON

(The work of A. Phimister Proctor, and a gift of Dr. Henry Waldo Coe. The unveiling ceremonies—probably in August—are expected to bring to Portland President Harding [on his way to Alaska], Vice-President Coolidge, and Chief Justice Taft)

May 5.—General Emilio Nunez, noted Cuban revolutionist, 67. . . . Hugh Reed Griffin, American Red Cross officer in the Baltic States, 72.

May 6.—Henry Pomeroy Davison, New York banker and Red Cross organizer, 55. . . . Dr. Carl Lumholtz, explorer and ethnologist, an authority on Australia, 71.

May 7.—John Henry Patterson, founder of the National Cash Register Company, 78. . . . Judge Beverly Daniel Evans, of the United States Southern District Court in Georgia, 57.

May 10.—James Augustus Wendell, New York State Comptroller, 53. . . . Sir Henry Davy, British physician and medical author.

May 11.—Allen Miller Fletcher, former Governor of Vermont, 69. . . . William Wesley Masterson, American Consul at Plymouth, 61.

May 13.—Commander John Martin Poyer, U. S. N., retired, former Governor of American Samoa. . . . Sir Walter Raleigh, Oxford (England) professor of Modern Literature, 61.

May 14.—George Marion Howe, noted metallurgist of Columbia College, 74.

# THE GENOA CONFERENCE

## AND VARIOUS OTHER TOPICS, IN CARTOONS



THE ANGEL OF PEACE AT THE CONFERENCE OF GENOA  
 THE TURK: "I was not invited, and could not attend."  
 PEACE: "I was invited, but ought to have remained away."  
 From *Il Travaso* (Rome, Italy)



DISCORD AT THE GENOA CONFERENCE  
 NOAH-LLOYD GEORGE: "If the Russian bear will not let the French cock alone, I shall have to throw him overboard; it is too much of a strain for my ark."  
 From *Kikeriki* (Vienna, Austria)



THE LATEST TRADE UNION  
 From the *Daily Express* (London, England)  
 [Referring to the treaty signed, without the knowledge of the Allies, by German and Russian delegates to the Genoa Conference on Easter Sunday]



**RUSSIA AND GERMANY DISTURBING THE "PEACE"**  
**THE ALLIED POWERS: "Either join in the chorus or get off the platform!"**  
 From *Reynold's Newspaper* (London, England)



**THE GERMAN-RUSSIAN TREATY AND THE FRENCH KNIFE-GRINDER**  
**FRANCE: "I think I will now cut both their throats—if my friend Lloyd George will permit."**  
 From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



**AMERICA'S SYMPATHY**  
**UNCLE SAM: "My Christian heart bleeds at the sight of you, poor Germania, but my business principles prevent me from relieving you of a shilling of your debts."**  
 From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



**WIRTH'S DESPAIR**  
**THE ALLIES (as reparations flow from the tub of new taxes): "Let him moan! We'll help ourselves so long as the tub leaks, and we'll not let the Germans mend it."**  
 From *Wahre Jakob* (Stuttgart, Germany)

The cartoons reproduced on this page and the following one will give the reader some knowledge of how Uncle Sam's aloofness from European politics—and from the various conferences to adjust economic problems—is interpreted abroad.



**WHY AMERICA STAYED HOME**  
**"Why didn't you go to Genoa?"**  
**"Because I am so tender-hearted and it might have caused me to send some of my money to Europe."**  
 From *Wahre Jakob* (Stuttgart, Germany)





THE WAR DEBT COLLECTOR

"Wal, I guess I'd better make up my mind where I'll start!"

From the *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England)



THE RESURRECTION OF EUROPE

ITALY (to the guests of Genoa): "If you wish her to rise again you had better begin by relieving her of some of her burden."

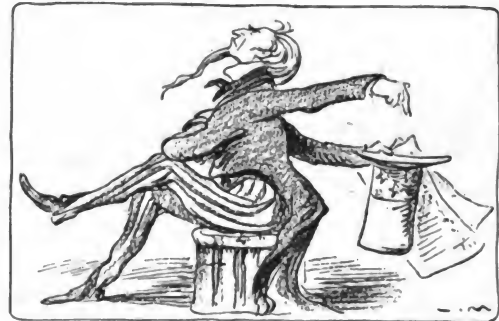
From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



OUR GOOD FRIEND—OR BAD LUCK TO THE CONQUEROR!

From *Le Journal Amusant* (Paris, France)

[To scales already overbalanced against the French peasant—with the victor's laurel wreath—Uncle Sam is adding demands for repayment totaling milliards of francs, while the German off to the right is shown making reparation payments in ridiculously small amounts. England is pictured as contributing an Anglo-French pact of questionable advantage to the Frenchman.]



DISINTERESTED IN THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE

(What an odd creature, who is able to present a bill, with arms crossed and without turning around!)

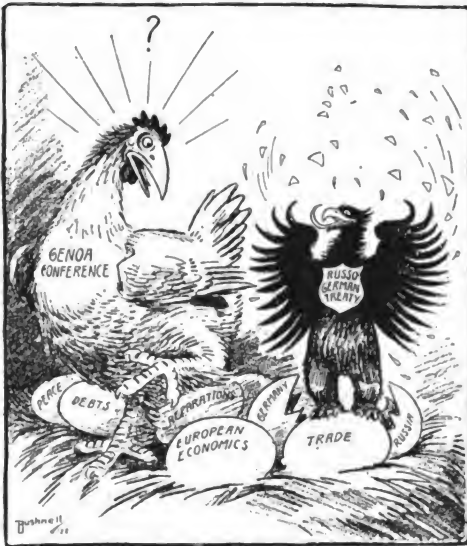
From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



OLD EUROPE (TO UNCLE SAM): "YOU WISH TO ROB ME!"

From *Il Travaso* (Rome, Italy)





AN UNEXPECTED HATCHING  
From the Central Press Association (Cleveland, O.)



"ABOUT THOSE BILLIONS WE OWE EACH OTHER—  
LET'S CALL IT OFF"  
From the Times (New York)



"AND EVERYWHERE THAT MARY WENT—"  
From Newspaper Enterprise Association (Cleveland, O.)



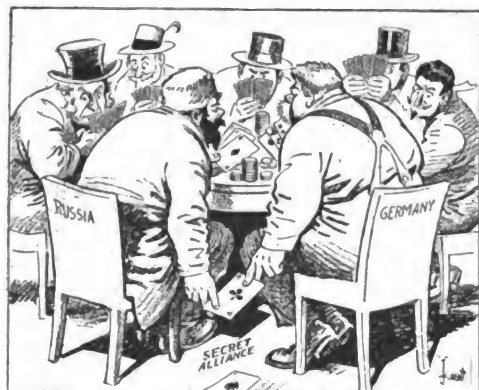
THE BACKDOOR ECONOMIC ALLIANCE  
From the Bee (Sacramento, Cal.)  
June—3



A MARRIAGE THE OTHERS DON'T LIKE  
From the American © (New York)



GOT THE WORLD GUESSING  
[Russo-German Treaty]  
From the *Evening World* © (New York)



THE SAME OLD GAME!  
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



ROCKING THE BOAT  
From the *News* (Rome, Ga.)



"I WISH AMERICA WERE HERE"  
[A remark by the British Premier, Lloyd George]  
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

The atmosphere and results of the Genoa Conference were vastly different from those of its immediate predecessor, the Washington Conference; and it is easily understood why Europe may have wished that the United States had been represented at Genoa, and why at the same time many American observers were glad that their country remained out of the discussions there.

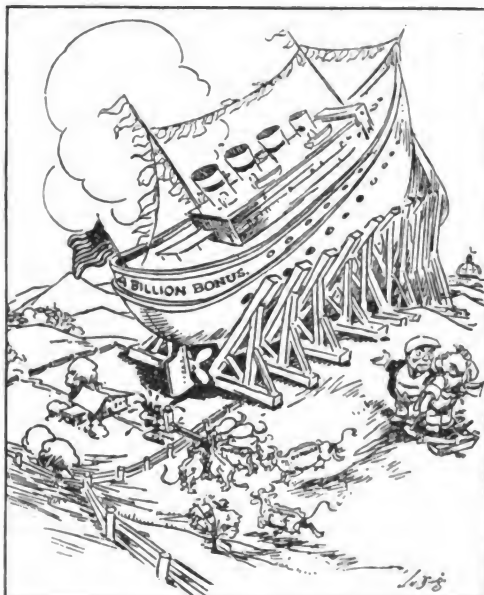


HE KEPT US OUT OF GENOA  
From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



GENOA: A FINE PLACE NOT TO BE  
From the Times (Los Angeles, Cal.)

The proposal has now been made that the United States should be represented at a new conference, called to meet at The Hague on June 15, in a further attempt to adjust the complicated Russian problem.



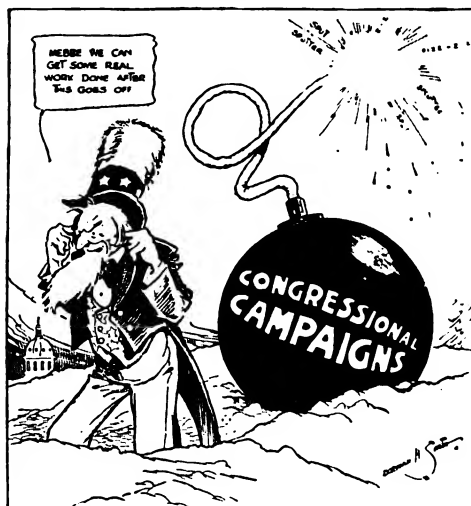
ALL THE PRESIDENT ASKS BEFORE THE LAUNCHING  
IS WHERE AND HOW TO FLOAT IT  
From the Tribune © (New York)



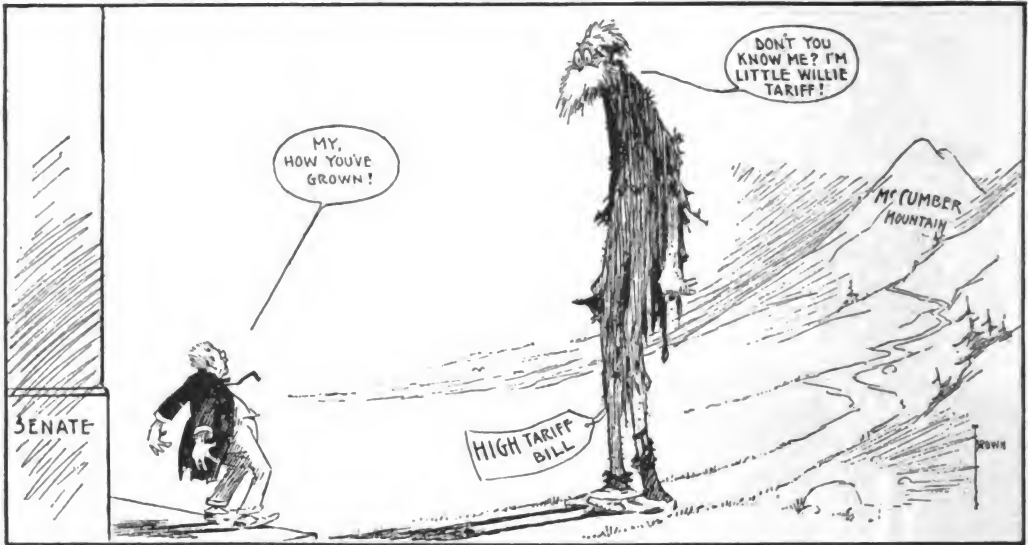
BETWIXT AND BETWEEN  
From the Constitution (Atlanta, Ga.)



THE MODERN WILLIAM TELL  
By Reid, in the National Republican (Washington, D. C.)  
[Can Congress hit the "bonus" apple without harming the taxpayer?]



MIGHT AS WELL QUIT WORK UNTIL IT GOES OFF  
From the News (Rome, Ga.)



THE TARIFF BILL REACHES THE SENATE—THE POLITICAL RIP VAN WINKLE

From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)

The soldiers' bonus proposal and tariff revision continue to occupy the attention of Congress—especially the Senate. Meanwhile all the members of the House and one-third of the Senators are individually interested in the November elections, their terms of office expiring in March,

1923. In the first primary to be held—that of Indiana on May 2—the success of former Senator Beveridge, a Roosevelt Progressive, is pictured below administering a shock to the Republican "Old Guard." The political season thus opened will last a full six months.



A SHOCK FOR THE OLD GUARD  
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)



THE SHADE OF T. R. GIVES ADVICE TO PRESIDENT HARDING  
From the *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, N. Y.)

# THE BATTLE OF GENOA

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. THE CONDITIONS OF THE CONFLICT

TO take a clear view of the events of Genoa, it is essential to fix upon some simple conception of the conditions of what has been from start to finish not so much a battle, as a complicated and confused struggle between various elements and interests. We shall be right, however, in assuming that the most important single issue was that of Russia. About the effort to bring Russia back to the European economic circle centered most of the debate, and this was the ostensible purpose of the Conference itself.

The position of Russia differed materially from that of Germany in the Paris Conference, primarily because Germany appeared at Paris as a conquered foe, while Russia, to a limited degree at least, confronted Europe victorious in the long struggle which has been waged by the western world against that group which controls the Russian Empire and since the fall of Kerensky, five years ago, have made war upon western civilization, upon the western conceptions of property and government.

In the last five years and particularly since the close of the World War, Europe, and even the United States—that is, the allies who conquered Germany—have sought by making use of the opposition to the Bolsheviks within Russia to overthrow the Lenin-Trotsky régime. Thus the western world has financed and munitioned a number of ventures, of which those of Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel are the most notable. All of these failed, completely and dismally; and the failure of Wrangel left the western world at last satisfied that the Reds could not be overthrown by outside influence.

So far one has fairly good historical precedent. What had been attempted against the Russian Communist state had been in the past undertaken against revolutionary France, with quite the same result. On the other hand, Red Russia had been less successful than Revolutionary France in passing its own frontiers. Its most ambitious venture, the invasion of Poland, had been beaten

under the walls of Warsaw by an amazing Polish rally aided by French generalship. Before that, the Bela Kun experiment in Hungary had also failed, and this experiment was the single real extension of Russian ideas beyond the Russian boundaries.

The war between the West and Russia reached a complete deadlock following the defeat of Wrangel and the collapse of the Russian offensive in Poland. The Treaty of Riga marked the resignation by the Bolsheviks of any immediate aggressive purposes. Russia had not, then, succeeded in overflowing Europe as France had, something more than a century before. But Europe had failed to overturn the revolutionary government of Russia at home.

It was inevitable, then, that there should be some effort made to adjust a condition which promised to endure. The western nations needed Russia. Britain needed the Russian market for its manufactures and desired cheap Russian wheat. Italy was equally anxious to open the Black Sea grain ports. With comparative rapidity national and official views both in Britain and Italy have been changed and the new watchword, voiced alike by Lloyd George and various Italian statesmen, has been "peace with Russia."

By contrast, France and Belgium, and in a limited measure the United States, were more concerned with investments already made in Russia than with the future Russian market or with imaginary Russian food supplies. France, like Britain, was prepared at last to take the preliminary steps in the direction of recognizing Russia, but only provided Russia agreed to recognize the debts of the past and in a probationary period preceding recognition reinforced her promises by her performances.

Once more, it is necessary to perceive that a difference of interest explains a difference of policy. The British and the Italians wanted one thing, the French, supported by the Belgians, wanted still another. Each side naturally invoked moral issues to sustain selfish purposes, or perhaps more accurately legitimate interests. The British argued that

it was essential to restore peace and stimulate commerce in Europe, precisely because these processes were a matter of life and death for Britain with her vast unemployed hosts. The French insisted that it was vital to establish property rights, because France had billions involved in the matter.

But the Russian position was enormously strengthened at the outset by this obvious difference existing between the nations which had been enemies of Red Russia and allies against Germany. The British, supported by the Italians, proclaimed in advance that they must, as a matter of national prosperity, reach a settlement with Russia. And since the British leadership at Genoa was certain, Russia thus began the conference with assured allies.

In addition, Russia had certain things with which to trade. Money she lacked; immediate liquid assets were also lacking, but despite the contemporary misery and chaos in Russia, there was worldwide recognition of the fact that the natural resources of Russia were almost incalculably rich and the western nations which could obtain the chance to exploit them would profit enormously. Russia, coming penniless, nevertheless had the strong position because she had those things which Britain and Italy announced in advance they must gain.

Russian policy, therefore, was dominated by two purposes: to obtain full recognition from the West and to obtain loans, which might enable her bankrupt government to survive. These loans were to be bargained for as the price of the concessions Russia had now to offer; concessions of which her vast oil resources were but the most conspicuous.

## II. GERMANY

Still another advantage Russia possessed and meant to use to its full extent. There was in Europe another great nation, momentarily broken by defeat but industrially speaking still the most potential of all the Continental states—namely, Germany. The French and the Belgians, who were precisely the most exigent in respect of Russia, were similarly most insistent upon German fulfilment of the terms of the treaty which marked German defeat.

Moreover, Germany came to Genoa in as unhappy an outward position as Russia—that is to say, she was being received as an equal for the first time since the war, and even this equality was open to question. Yet

it was quite clear that Germany possessed the machinery with which to develop Russia, that she had the best-trained human machine as well, and that all German policy was really concentrated upon getting hold of Russia and achieving the regeneration of Russia and the renaissance of Germany in a single effort.

That Germany should dominate the Russian market was almost as undesirable for Britain as for France, although the British interest was commercial and the French political. Russia was then in the position of double advantage. Since the old allies were divided, she could hope to play Britain and Italy against France. And since Germany was present, she could endeavor to stimulate British apprehensions and work upon British fears by emphasizing the possibility that Germany and not Britain would obtain the shining price, which was the opportunity to rebuild Russia.

Parenthetically, too, it must be noted, the Germans had still another advantage. Lloyd George, Poincaré (represented by Barthou), and Rathenau were all the creatures of unruly and unreconciled legislatures. Each was subject at any moment to attack from behind and had at all times to keep an eye upon the home front. The Russian envoys, by contrast, had a free hand. No parliament, no public sentiment, no potent press operated to control them. They had the ideal position of men free to negotiate. They alone of all the representatives present actually enjoyed the liberty of action which once belonged to the diplomats who met at the Congress of Vienna.

It was clear, then, in the nature of things that the Russian representatives would, from the outset, make their first play in the German direction. There was every reason why they should seek to gather the Germans into their corner. And, since Germany was still isolated in fact, there were plain reasons why the Germans might be tempted to strike hands with the Russian Reds. Any agreement, however innocent, would at one time rouse British commercial anxieties to the maximum and stimulate French political fears. One may question the wisdom of German statesmanship in yielding to the Russian temptation, but no one can fail to see the astuteness of the Russian use of Germany.

The opening days of the Conference at Genoa, too, contributed to add to the German inclination. Once more, as at Paris,



Lloyd George had recourse to secret conferences and called to these conferences only the representatives of the larger members of the old alliance against Germany. Not only Russia but Germany was excluded and Germany felt, or was permitted the excuse of alleging the feeling, that Britain, France and Italy were plotting to gain exclusive control of Russian markets.

We had, then, at the opening of the second week that thunderbolt which was the announcement of the signing at Rapallo, near Genoa, of a Russo-German agreement. No one can exaggerate the greatness of the sensation thus created. Not even time and the close examination of the actual text of the agreement have served in any large degree to eradicate the first impressions. The two greatest nations on the Continent, in population, in resources human, mechanical and material, had struck hands. The condition created by the war and the victory over Germany was abolished.

For the moment even Lloyd George was paralyzed. He had brought France, herself reluctant, to Genoa by pledges that nothing but the economic reconstruction of Russia should be discussed. Now, in the first breath, there had emerged, not an agreement to reconstruct Russia, but a Russo-German combination which menaced the very existence of France and promised to reverse the decision of the World War.

From the situation Lloyd George, on the whole, extricated himself with his accustomed dexterity. He could not, however, restore the old atmosphere of the Conference. He had lost all chance of reconciling France. His relations with the Little Entente and Poland were weakened because these countries felt themselves menaced by the double danger of Russia and of Germany as well as by the standing threat coming from Hungary and Bulgaria, certain ultimately to join this new bloc.

At first Lloyd George had to reconcile the French by drastic action against Germany. She was forbidden further participation in the discussions dealing with Russia. She was admonished, but that which was necessary to restore the original situation was impossible. The Treaty of Rapallo stood. Germany consented to remain absent from the discussions, but the discussions themselves assumed a far less significant character in the face of that Russo-German agreement, which assured Russia the coöperation of one great nation and at least hinted

that Germany might in the end monopolize the Russian market.

The Genoa Conference had been called in the name of economics. The United States had stayed away because it believed that politics would be the burden of the debates and, at the first stage, a vast political fact had emerged and henceforth obscured all economic considerations.

In addition, while Genoa was still struggling with the disorder incident to the announcement of the Pact of Rapallo, Poincaré, speaking in his native town of Bar-le-Duc, announced that if Germany, on May 31, failed to comply with the terms of the Reparations Commission, France would be obliged, either with her allies or alone, to act—and action meant invasion of Germany—meant war, not peace.

### III. FRANCE

Under the double menace of Rapallo and Bar-le-Duc, the whole Genoa Conference staggered. Crisis followed crisis, the reports of speedy dissolution multiplied and to the outside world the prospect of failure increased in clarity with each day. Nor was the atmosphere cleared when Lloyd George responded to Poincaré with a direct criticism of the French attitude and all the British press agents in Genoa put forth attacks upon French militarism, so-called.

Finally, in a speech made to American and British newspaper representatives, Lloyd George himself openly spoke of wars and chaos as the alternative to a successful Genoa Conference. Once more the press of the world was filled with alarums, French journals heard the march of Russo-German hosts, German newspapers reported the preliminary mobilization of French and even Belgian divisions. In fact, we had a week as tense and full of the rumors of war as that which immediately preceded the outbreak of the World War.

In all this time the French position, which I have so often described to my readers, was once more made clear. France had refused to permit the subject of reparations to be discussed at Genoa. Only on that condition had she consented to come to the conference at all. Now, she had, through the Poincaré speech, indicated that no matter what was done at Genoa, if Germany refused to meet Allied terms by May 31 France would act. Thus Genoa became in a sense a side issue, for if it were to be



followed by military action, then one might say good-by to all these hopes of restoring European economic life, which had been held out before Genoa.

Yet the French position was buttressed on every legal and moral right. The actual text of the German reparations program had been fixed by all the Allies at London, in conformity with the Treaty of Versailles. It had been repeated, with modifications favorable to Germany, in the last orders of the Reparations Commission served upon the Germans. These orders Germany had openly defied. If her defiance stood, then all hope of France to obtain reparations was at an end; France was financially ruined; she would have lost the war in bitter earnest.

At Genoa, France felt herself isolated in interest and in fact. For her restoration no nation was concerned, because the restoration of the devastated French provinces would benefit France alone. French insistence upon German payment, French application of force, if the payment were refused, would, on the other hand, block all the reconstruction plans of the other European nations. French claims, which had been recognized by the world, accepted once by Germany, stood squarely in the pathway of the self-interest of each of the other larger nations.

And all of British policy, at Genoa as at Washington, was concentrated in the effort to force France to bow to the logic of events, to surrender to the threats of isolation. More and more the bitterness between French and British representatives was disclosed, and even more openly the press of London and Paris carried on a bitter and unrestrained warfare. Genoa was shaken by these conflicts and more and more the atmosphere of hope was dissipated.

Meantime the Russian representatives followed up their advantage. They had made terms with Germany. They had divided their western opponents. More and more clearly each day the fact was developed that neither the British nor the Italian representatives were willing to return to their respective capitals without some Russian agreement. Accordingly the Russians added daily to the price which they purposed to charge the nations for such an agreement.

This price was double—open recognition of the Soviet Government, accompanied with vast loans and consent to surrender claims for old debts. Russian property in western nations was to remain sacred, because the western nations respected property rights,

but the holdings of western nations in Russia were abolished without compensation, because Russia had adopted the Communistic theory of property. Such was the Russian thesis, actually defended in Genoa.

Out of all the discussions and debates, from which the Germans were now excluded, there presently emerged a long and dreary document, which was somewhat optimistically described as the Russian Magna Charta. Actually it undertook to establish a minimum of property rights in Russia, while giving Russia a maximum of advantage in all other directions. If it did not carry with it the promise of huge loans, it still left the road open for later largesses.

Unhappily the completion of this document was accompanied by another sensation, the announcement that British interests had by secret bargain obtained control of the Russian oil deposits. Some of these deposits, too, before the war, had belonged to Belgian and French capitalists. The new Magna Charta, moreover, provided that property should be returned to its old owners, but an amendment by Lloyd George allowed the Russians to substitute payment if restoration interfered with exploitation.

At this point Belgium "went off the reservation." She would not sign the Magna Charta. Brussels, moreover, put pressure on Paris suggesting that if France could not support Belgium in this crisis, the alliance for mutual defense between the two nations was of little value. Accordingly, although Barthou had left Genoa for Paris, promising to sign the Magna Charta, Barrère, who remained, suddenly withdrew French approval and the document went to Russian hands without either French or Belgian signatures and became therefore of little real significance. Once more Russia could play the division between her opponents.

Once more, too, the unity of Western Europe broke down in the critical moment and still another crisis intervened.

#### IV. THE FIRST MONTH

At this point we may, perhaps, usefully pause and look back over the first month of the Genoa Conference. What had it accomplished in the direction of the pacification of Europe, of the restoration of normal conditions?

It is true that Russia and Germany had for the first time since the World War sat with the rest of Europe. For a moment the

circle had been restored, but before the first week was over the Russo-German agreement had precipitated a crisis the upshot of which had been the exclusion of Germany from the debates, but not the destruction of the agreement which stood as the promise of a new combination of powers—of a military, not a mere economic, combination.

From the very outset of the Conference, too, the divergence between France and Britain had been disclosed in every separate action. Day by day British and French newspapers echoed and reechoed the assertion that the Entente was a thing of the past. Indeed, one has to go back to the remote days of Fashoda to find a parallel for the Anglo-French recriminations of that hour.

In the Conference Italy steadfastly supported Britain. But that there could be no misunderstanding of the truth of Italian policy, while Genoa was in full progress and Italian Ministers joining hands with British in opposing French claims, Italy followed the example of France and behind the British backs signed a treaty with the Turks which closely followed the lines of the French Treaty of Angora and lent Italian approval to Kemal in return for Turkish promises of concessions to Italians in Asia Minor.

I shall not at this time dwell upon Near Eastern affairs, but one must recall that British policy had backed the Greeks against the Turks while French and Italian had supported Kemal to perceive the meaning of this particular move. Only a few weeks ago, Britain, France and Italy had at Paris joined in recommending terms for a settlement between Turkey and Greece, but all force to this agreement, all semblance of unity among the Mediterranean powers, was abolished by this new Italian move. And it was significant that the publication of the fact was followed by the rumors of a new campaign between Turk and Greek armies.

Meantime the Russo-German agreement had produced a marked change in the Continental situation. Poland and the Little Entente came to Genoa prepared to act as mediating influences between Britain and France, advocating liberal treatment of Russia, but still insisting that Russia should not have formal recognition until she gave proof of a return to reasonable policies and civilized notions.

But the publication of the fact of a Russo-German agreement created a new situation. Accompanied as it was by Russian attacks upon Polish policy at Genoa and by the

concentration of Russian divisions upon the Polish frontier, it aroused instant apprehension in all Polish minds. Nor was it less menacing to the Rumanians, still at odds with the Russians over Bessarabia, or for the Czechoslovaks, always menaced by German dangers. The fact that a Russo-German-Hungarian pact was also rumored served to arouse Yugoslavia, threatened like Rumania and Czechoslovakia by the Magyar dream of restoring the old frontiers of Hungary.

Insensibly, then, but not less logically, you had the beginning of a new coalition. If Russia, Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria seemed on the point of reaching a common understanding, France, Poland, the Little Entente, Belgium, threatened instantly and terribly by such a coalition, began to find common ground for association. Nor was this common ground reduced by the vague suggestions emerging from Georgian quarters that the Conference should take up the question of the eastern frontiers, which meant raising the issue of Eastern Galicia, of Bessarabia, of Vilna.

In all this it must be plain how little of economic importance and how much of political there was. It was simple for the British to urge the adoption of a generous policy, so-called, both toward Russia and toward Germany, because no British security was menaced and every British interest was advanced. The same was true for Italy. But Belgium, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, all were bound to view the problem in the light of their own interests, while for France the questions of financial integrity and political existence were raised.

In fact, by the end of the first four weeks, the divergence of interests and the clashes of policy had come to assume the important place in all despatches from Genoa. Yet one fact was made quite clear. As the disintegration in Western Europe became more and more apparent, the position of the Russians became more and more secure. Instead of having to fear a collective gesture, a definite order from a united West, they were in a position to make separate bargains with certain nations, whose necessities, real or imaginary, dictated some Russian bargain.

So far, then, the underlying mistake of Genoa was plain. Instead of attempting to formulate a common policy before the Conference, instead of finding a common ground for action in advance and realizing this necessarily modest program in conference,

Lloyd George had led a Europe, divided as never before, to the green table in the hope of getting a decision and discovering a program there.

But around the green table all the discussions served to emphasize, not to eliminate, the divisions, while the inevitable publicity helped to inflame the publics of all the nations represented. In the first month the only victors had been Russia and Germany; and the German advantage was problematical, since there was always in the background the Bar-le-Duc threat which promised the military occupation of the Ruhr. Genoa was to have been another peace conference, but no one more frankly than its author, Lloyd George, discussed the possibility that wars and not peace might follow.

As for American opinion, as it followed the daily crisis of Genoa, there was a steady increase in satisfaction that the United States had escaped mingling in a situation which seemed more complex and dangerous than that of the Paris Conference itself. Thus, as a means of persuading America to return to Europe, the Genoa Conference in its first phase was an obvious failure.

## V. THE NON-AGGRESSION PACT

So far I have discussed the Russian phase of the Conference, which at all times in the first month occupied the more important place in negotiations and in discussions. Yet always in the background there was the Georgian conception of a compact of non-aggression, an agreement modeled upon the Four Party Treaty of Washington, which was to bind thirty-two European countries to refrain from aggression for ten years.

In the press reports this was described as the British conception of restoring European peace, of erecting a sort of Pan-European cosmos, out of the anarchy created by the war and the post-war events. On this basis peace was to be established, and following peace, commerce and trade, finance and business were to be brought back to their old channels.

Yet always this proposal encountered the rock upon which the League of Nations was wrecked. The first step in the sequence to be taken was necessarily that which covered the ground between France and Germany. The one disturbance which threatened at all times, and particularly after the Poincaré speech of Bar-le-Duc, was the menace of French occupation of German territory fol-

lowing German refusal to comply with the reparations terms.

On the one hand, France would certainly not agree to resign her right to use force to collect her debt, acknowledged by the world, if Germany refused not alone payment but compliance with the terms under which payment was to be postponed, terms fixed not by France but by the Reparations Commission. To do this meant, from the French point of view, to surrender all chance of collecting the reparations debt. But on the other hand, Germany could hardly be expected to sign a pact which established French right to occupy German territory under any circumstances.

Obviously, however, the non-aggression pact had little value if it bound France not to attack, say Switzerland, or restrained Spain from invading Rumania, but left France free to act against Germany. Moreover, the main purpose of the non-aggression pact was to promote demobilization, and neither Rumania nor Poland was likely to agree to reduce armies if no guarantee were provided that if either were attacked by Russia, then the other signatories would send troops to defend Polish or Rumanian soil. There remained, too, the vital question of what constituted national soil, since Poland and Russia disputed Eastern Galicia; Rumania and Russia, Bessarabia; Poland and Lithuania, Vilna.

The British view, like the American, supported the idea of an agreement without sanctions, that is, a mutual acceptance of pledges, without any guarantee that if the pledges were violated, the victims would be supported by the other signatories. In other words, Rumania was to sign the pact and thereafter reduce her army, but if Russia attacked Rumania, then only the moral condemnation of the world would be mobilized against the Russian divisions.

Again, the British view was that France and Germany should sign the pact, but if, thereafter, Germany refused to pay the reparations account, not only was France prevented from using force, but none of the other signatories was in duty bound to join with France in bringing pressure upon the defaulting Germany. Moreover, if France reduced her army, then a German attack would be made possible, but France would have no automatic guarantee of any support.

Such a non-aggression pact was possible for Britain, because she was neither threatened by invasion by any neighbor, thanks to

her sea frontier, nor owed vast sums, the payment of which was essential to her own financial solvency. It was profitable, because it would tend to encourage trade and hasten German recovery by removing the danger of French action. It was desirable because each reduction of a continental army increased British influence, as it removed the handicap Britain labored under as a consequence of having reduced her army, while leaving the advantage of a fleet still intact.

For France, for Belgium, for Poland, for Rumania, for Yugoslavia on the contrary, all menaced by aggressive neighbors, the situation was quite different. All naturally approved of any pact which would restrain predatory neighbors, who had on previous occasions attacked them, but they were all unprepared to risk their own security by reducing their armies without some real, solid guarantee of assistance in time of trouble. As for France, she was naturally unwilling to surrender the one means she had of compelling German compliance with treaty terms, unless she received some substitute.

Thus the debate went right back to the old situation which existed when Mr. Wilson was urging the League of Nations. Then France had desired that the League of Nations should be provided with force to carry out its decisions and to restrain nations attacking their neighbors in defiance of the decisions of the League of Nations. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George had rejected this proposal. They had, to be sure, given France a treaty of guarantee, but that had lapsed, because of American policy.

The collapse of the League as a force had been followed by the construction of new alliances. France and Belgium were bound by treaty against German aggression, France and Poland by still a second treaty. Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia had united against a possible Hungarian attack. Poland and Rumania had made an agreement for mutual action in case of a Russian attack. Thus Europe had reverted to its natural reliance upon alliances.

Now what Lloyd George advocated was that these combinations should be dissolved, that instead of groups, there should be something one might call the Concert of Europe, perhaps. But what these nations demanded was that in some fashion they should have insurance if the Georgian scheme did not work, if Russia or Germany or Hungary seized upon the opportunity reduction of armies gave to strike.

Lloyd George, on his side, argued that if the scheme of alliances were not abandoned, then a Russo-German combination would presently take definite form—and it was clear that to this alliance Bulgaria and Hungary would instantly adhere. Yet, granting this possibility, there was nothing tangible which he could offer in the way of insurance against the possible German or Russian attack, if his own scheme were adopted.

In a word, Lloyd George, like Wilson before him, asked the Continent of Europe to have faith, to have confidence, neither of which was in the smallest degree warranted by European history. Moreover, like the United States, Britain would run no risk, whereas all the Continental nations would be exposed to deadly peril if the faith proved unwarranted, as it always has in the past.

All the debate was summed up when the French agreed to accept the peace pact, provided it in no way hampered their action under the Treaty of Versailles, provided all frontiers were accepted as they now stand, and finally, provided all nations signed it. But this left France free to occupy the Ruhr, insisted that Russia recognize Rumanian and Polish frontiers and by signing, establish facts which both challenged. In this way the French tied their reparations position to the position of the states bordering Russia, Germany, Hungary, that is, to Poland and the Little Entente, but quite as obviously defeated the whole purpose of the compact, as conceived by Lloyd George, since all the old disturbing uncertainty remained.

Here then was a perfect example of the gulf separating Anglo-American from Continental opinion; being safe, we and the British insist upon faith in the pledges of the recent aggressors; being in danger, the Continental nations refuse to follow our advice. But one must see that geography plays at least as large a part as morals in the divergence.

## VI. THE EXPLANATION

I wish it lay in my power to make clear to my readers how completely illustrative of the real European difficulty is this division of opinion over the peace pact. We have been so overwhelmed by propaganda coming from British sources, we are so naturally inclined to share much of the British view of European affairs, that the whole European muddle becomes something incomprehensible

to us, seems nothing more than stupid folly on the part of all nations, and particularly of France.

The truth is, of course, that national policy represents the combination of self-interest and experience. Self-interest drives the British, and ourselves in a lesser degree, to desire the pacification of Europe and the restoration of the European markets. It is plain, too, that such restoration would, other things being equal, be of utmost advantage to all concerned, whereas a perpetuation of present conditions or a return to war would mean the ruin of the Continent, if not the bankruptcy of European civilization.

But while self-interest would lead all nations to desire peace rather than war, the experience of all European nations is that no such simple formula as mutual pledges has much value. Germany, for example, wants peace, at the moment, because she is relatively weak, but she is not prepared to pay for peace by meeting any part of the reparations claim, except under protest and menace of actual invasion. France, strong, but fiscally in a fatal way, is also anxious for peace, but not peace at the price of surrendering her German claims or of risking eventual German attack.

The same is true of Poland. For example, she desires peace beyond all else, but not peace which carries with it the resignation of her possession of eastern Galicia, which was never Russian and was taken from Poland by Austria in the Eighteenth Century. Nor is she prepared to disband her army at the moment when Red divisions are concentrated upon her frontiers, merely because Russians sign a compact which carries with it no power of enforcement. Rumania is in precisely the same posture with respect of Russia, so far as Bessarabia is concerned.

We could sign a non-aggression pact with Britain, France and Japan in the Pacific because there existed between all four nations perfect peace. The status quo satisfied all concerned and no memories of recent war and still unliquidated debts separated us. The foundation of the Pacific Pact was mutual confidence and equal desire on all sides to arrive at a settlement on the basis of things as they existed.

Europe cannot do the same, because at least half of Europe openly plans to upset the status quo which now exists and the other half knows it. Moreover, this is equally true of any status quo that the mind of man could devise. In addition there remain the

debts due by Germany, debts founded upon aggression and indefensible devastation, the payment of which is a matter of life and death for France.

Living remote from Europe, we can advocate the so-called American ideal of peace accompanied by reconciliation. We shall not be endangered if France, having disarmed, is attacked—and we do not in the least intend to consent to the cancellation of the French debt to us, if under our advice France agrees to refrain from the use of force to collect her debt. The same is quite true of Britain, save as Britain is prepared to cancel the French debt and is to that extent more reasonable.

Yet looking backward for a moment one must perceive that we have paid little attention to the idea of reconciliation in making peace. When we had defeated Mexico we annexed territory infinitely more extensive than all the contested areas in Europe today and we have escaped from evil consequences such as threaten in Europe solely because Mexico remained, after the war, incapable of attacking us and each year is weaker by comparison with us. Conquering Spain, we also deprived her of vast and valuable territory which we still hold. Again the permanent inferiority in strength of Spain gave us immunity from subsequent attacks, not any generosity of policy.

The Polish claim to the territory taken from Russia after the recent war and after the Russian defeat in the Polish struggle is infinitely sounder than any real or imaginary claim we had to California. Yet, since Russia is destined one day to be stronger than Poland, whereas Mexico remains weaker, Poland must expect the attack we have escaped. Had Mexico, and not the United States, expanded in the last half-century at an enormous rate, then we should have had to consider protecting our southern frontier, as Poland must her eastern.

Even in the case of the Civil War, the Northerner, at least, is prone to think that the defeated were treated consistently in the spirit so nobly revealed by General Grant at Appomattox. Yet the truth is far different; and much if not all of Northern policy toward the South for at least a decade after the close of the war was dictated by apprehensions which should in part be familiar when they are revealed in contemporary European incidents.

If only one could by any means create confidence and good faith, be able to guarantee

that Germany would do the possible and accept the decision of the war as permanent, so far as Alsace-Lorraine and Posen were concerned, if one could guarantee that Russia, Hungary, Bulgaria, as well as Germany, would agree to a non-aggression pact, then it would be possible to accomplish something in actual restoration. But no one can guarantee this; few can believe it. How then shall we persuade France, Poland, Rumania to run all the risks incident to the acceptance of such a belief?

Genoa, like all European history since the morning of the armistice, has been, beyond all else, a battle between French and British necessities. Britain must restore the markets of the world or perish. Her millions are menaced by the ever-growing possibility that opportunity to labor will be denied them. But to restore the markets of the world means beyond all else to get Russia and Germany started. The vast hordes of unemployed in Britain explains the British policy at Genoa and in all preceding conferences.

France, on the other hand, has no unemployed. Her death-list in war of nearly a million and a half deprived her of men to till her fields. She lacks men, not markets. Her need is that Germany shall pay the billions which France has already expended in rebuilding her roads, railways, factories and clearing her land in the wake of German invasion. Her second need is security against another German attack.

But Germany means not to pay, and in her heart plans a new war in which she shall regain what was lost in the last—or, if you please, France believes this with utmost conviction. Hence France will not relax her hold or resign her power over Germany for a single moment and, such being the case, Germany cannot rise, German markets will not be reopened, British recovery will not take place.

So far, France has not her security, much less her reparations, but Britain has not effectively reduced her unemployment. All Europe is, in reality, paralyzed while this Anglo-French war has been going forward. Nations in Europe have taken sides as their interests dictated. Some have shifted from side to side, as Italy, which supports Britain in Europe, but, with France, backs Turkey in Asia.

On the whole, more nations share the British than the French view, and none more completely than the United States, but what

is excessively difficult to make clear is that Britain and France are, not either of them, deliberately adopting policies because of idealism, enlightenment or unselfishness, that each is fighting desperately to save itself from ruin and the success of one nation's policy threatens the ruin of the other country. In reality, actual fighting aside, we are witnessing another war of which Genoa is but one more engagement.

## VII. THE RUSSIAN ANSWER

As I close this article the Russian response to what amounted to an Allied ultimatum, although France and Belgium refrained from signing it, has just been received. For several days Genoa had been waiting with feverish anxiety for the response. Yet to judge from the first reports which are available, there is small basis for regarding this answer as in any sense satisfactory. The fact that it contains a direct attack upon American policy, evidently inspired by the recent utterance of Mr. Hughes, in point of fact, will give aid and comfort to the nations which have opposed the whole Georgian maneuver.

What the effect of the present incident will be, I shall not undertake to forecast. Yet I would like my readers to recall what I said in recent months both from London and from Paris, in estimating the meaning of Genoa. Before all else this world conference was a circumstance in the domestic political fortunes of Lloyd George. It was for the purposes of winning a general election at home that he embarked upon this grandiose experiment.

Feeling himself menaced at home he risked all without the smallest inquiry as to American attitude and while the fact that the Washington Conference was still in session and the treaties still to be signed and passed through the Senate made American participation at least unlikely. But without American aid success was wholly dubious. Again, the fall of Briand and the arrival of Poincaré insured French hostility, for France felt that she had all to lose and nothing to gain by the sort of maneuver Lloyd George was undertaking.

Naturally a conference thus conceived and thus prepared had nine chances of failure to one of success. From the outset the clash between British and French interests and between continental and insular points of view was inevitable. Yet Lloyd George had

to go on, because his political fortunes were at stake. It was natural and inevitable that his newspaper following, which is very strong, should center its attacks upon France.

With the publication of the Treaty of Rapallo, the Russo-German pact, real hope of success at Genoa disappeared. Lloyd George was inevitably thrown back upon his second line, the saddling of the responsibility of failure upon France and upon the newspapers supporting France in Britain. That explains much of the recent maneuvering.

It was the hope of Lloyd George's supporters that France would be isolated, but this hope has not been realized. Indeed, as the conference has dragged on, France has found by her Belgium, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia. Europe has been divided, not united, by the Genoa experiment. Paris has thundered at London and London at Paris. But those correspondents who have kept their vision clear have steadily reported the hopelessness of the situation and the ever-widening gap between the nations which were recently allied.

Before this article is in the reader's hands we shall doubtless have definite information from Genoa and also a clear light as to the dangers which threaten from the German Reparations crisis of May 31. But for us Americans it is essential to keep in mind that while there is a European crisis of first magnitude, there are political crises in several countries, which to the responsible statesmen must seem even more important, since personal fortunes are involved.

Defeat at the hands of Poincaré means political ruin for Lloyd George unless he can rally British national and material support. Victory for Lloyd George means the downfall of Poincaré and the coming of Tardieu, which insures drastic action against Germany. Submission to the French demands spells collapse for the Wirth Government in Germany. Even the Russian leadership, hampered by no legislature or public sentiment, must still preserve a loyalty to Communistic principles or a semblance of loyalty which holds back Genoa progress.

As for the Facta-Schanzer Ministry in Italy, it is frankly no more than a Conference ministry, it has no real political foundation and may be swept away in a moment. And something of the same situation is true in other countries. Lloyd George wants to discuss the questions of Vilna and of Eastern Galicia, but no Polish ministry or government could survive surrender to Lloyd

George's wishes here. The same is true of the Bratiano Ministry in Rumania, so far as Bessarabia is concerned.

At our distance we see Genoa as a bona fide economic conference. We seriously weigh the debates of each day in terms of economic rehabilitation, but the European fact is far different from the American interpretation. Had the Genoa Conference been the fruit of a common desire of all European nations for reconstruction, had it resulted from careful advance discussion, a united Europe in the presence of Russia might have achieved much, particularly with American presence. But Genoa had its inception in Lloyd George's personal politics. His necessities made it impossible to wait for American coöperation. His French policy in recent years insured French hostility. His Non-Aggression Pact, however soothing an eyewash in Britain and even in the United States, became a fatal irritant in the eyes of most of the countries of Europe.

Now, as I close, Russia, still suffering from famine, still destitute of all machinery and resources for reconstruction, is boldly dominating the situation, demanding not millions but billions, not goods but gold, and refusing to acknowledge the property rights of those who have in the past ventured to assist in precisely the economic development which now alone can restore Russia. She is playing on the cupidity of some financial interests, on the rivalry of various national groups. She is trading on the political necessities of Lloyd George and his Italian associates. She has already exploited German hostility to her conquerors.

All this is possible because Lloyd George feels that a foreign success is necessary for his domestic political fortunes. Since Napoleon no man has more completely identified his own ambitions with the fortunes of Europe, and neither Bismarck at the Congress of Berlin nor Metternich at that of Vienna played so commanding a rôle. As for Tchitcherin, he has cleverly made his own the part of Talleyrand at Vienna, a maneuver made possible by Allied dissension. At Paris Clemenceau and Wilson divided with Lloyd George the commanding position. At Genoa he stands alone; it is his party; his conference; and his fortunes are at stake.

So far, one might add, the only winner, if there has been a winner, seems Soviet Russia. Holding to her own Red gospel, she has divided the Western world.



# THREE YEARS OF PROHIBITION: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

IT is just under three years since national prohibition became effective. Justifiably or otherwise, experience has left widespread impression that the experiment is still a doubtful one. Extreme opponents vociferously proclaim it is already a demonstrated failure, while many moderates among its advocates admit that results have been disappointing. That there is a considerable reaction against it is admitted by many ardent proponents.

Prohibition is charged with a widespread breakdown of national morale; with a general disregard of law; with making a by-word of the Constitution and a joke of a drastic criminal statute; with a positive increase in drunkenness and an alarming extension of the drug-using habit; with making drinking a fad of the elect, and drunkenness a privilege of the fortunate few who can meet the bootlegger's terms; with establishing a community of interest between traditional criminal classes and the new recruits whom thirst has made coadjutors and inciters of crime; with imposing a great burden of enforcement costs on the public, and with depriving national and municipal governments of immense revenues. It is charged that prohibition was "put over" on the country when, engrossed with the war, it wasn't looking, and millions of men were away fighting or training. We are told that there never was a fair determination of public opinion toward the constitutional amendment. It is alleged that the national moral stamina has been gravely affected by the levity with which the new régime is regarded; that drinking has been made a smart performance among very young people who formerly would not have been tempted by it; and that prodigious quantities of ruinous concoctions, substitutes for honest booze, have been destroying the physique of consumers. It is proclaimed that we have been made a nation of hypocrites, and that foreigners regard us as a community of weaklings, sentimentalists, and effeminates.

Defenders of the new order hotly deny

these charges, insist that its results have been systematically misrepresented, and say that, at worst, prohibition has been passing through its most difficult phase. They declare that results already are good; that much poverty, degradation, and crime have been eliminated; that common drunkenness is fast disappearing; that social and economic conditions show improvement directly and demonstrably attributable to the new state of affairs; that the saloon as an influence for unmitigated evil is gone forever; that the suffering among working-people during the recent industrial depression has been greatly mitigated by reason of the saloon's disappearance;—and that, considering the demoralized conditions unavoidable after a great war, and the revolutionary character of the change wrought by prohibition, results justify complete satisfaction among fair-minded people.

## *Opinions More Abundant than Facts*

The truth about prohibition to date lies somewhere between these extremes of view. Opponents have exaggerated evil consequences which certainly exist; they have charged against prohibition many bad conditions for which it cannot be blamed. On the other side, the broad claims of beneficent results already achieved are often inspired as much by hope as by tangible evidence.

I have said that the truth lies between the extreme claims of the opposing sides. It may be added that truth lies at the bottom of a well—a deep and difficult one, too. For whoever will undertake a fair survey of the facts without prejudice or bias will be impressed, as I have been, with the great difficulty of getting at dependable data. Of opinion, propaganda, proclamation, there is no end. But, whether talking with Anti-Saloon League officials who painted a dawning millennium, or with the Association Opposed to Prohibition, which sees disaster and Bolshevism as the least gruesome prospects, I was constantly tempted to interrupt with the injunction that my first city editor used to impress on me: "Cut out the editorial;

what we want from you is the news; facts, not opinions."

Of facts, clear-cut, outstanding, responsive and pertinent, there is a lamentable dearth. "We don't know," was the commonest response of either pros or antis to searching questions. "—and we haven't the money to make the sort of inquiry necessary to find out," added the Association Opposed to Prohibition spokesman, with a plaintive note. His sincerity was so manifest, and was so strongly attested by the bare, cramped, uncomfortable quarters of the organization, that a new line of inquiry was suggested.

### *Exit the Saloon!*

"Then the big booze boodle—" I started. with a rising inflection, "is—"

"—buncombe and bosh. There's no liquor industry to finance us, any more. It's been wiped out. As well try to collect income taxes from the people who built Babylon. You must understand that ours is a moral crusade. It represents the protest of people who believe prohibition is wicked, immoral, improper. Yes, unconstitutional, if you like, despite that it's written into the Constitution. Ours is a voice crying in the wilderness. We are very certain that we speak for a big majority of the American nation; but we have no organization, no money, no political power at present. The liquor interest is solidly arrayed against us, because the only liquor interest left is moonshine and bootleg, and its chance to sell bad stuff at big prices would be killed the instant we should secure the return of beer and wines. That's our first effort: to get the Volstead Act amended to permit these. After that, we will seek repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. We are absolutely opposed to the saloon; as good an anti-saloon league as the Anti-Saloon League itself."

And that's that. No doubt about it: the saloon is gone forever. It hasn't a friend left, nor a dollar of selfish concern for its restoration. The barkeeps of yesteryear are doing all sorts of things except barkeeping. Curious thing, too: most of them are "doing better" than of yore. So I was widely assured.

### *Converted Liquor Property Gains Value*

Also, there is impressive testimony that town properties formerly occupied by saloons are generally earning higher rentals for other uses. Studies in all parts of the country seem to leave no room to doubt the conclu-

sion. Likewise the blue ruin that was predicted for investments in breweries, distilleries and liquor warehouses hasn't eventuated. On the contrary, a great proportion of former breweries and distilleries have been converted into profitable ice-factories, storage warehouses, meat-packing houses, ice-cream factories, soft-drink factories, manufacturing concerns. In the aggregate, I firmly believe, after examining testimony from all parts of the country, that the entire mass of real property formerly devoted to making and merchandising liquors—breweries, distilleries, warehouses, saloons—is today worth more money than when it was used in the liquor business. This is one of the most striking phenomena one encounters in connection with prohibition. It is one, too, on which a nation-wide compilation of detailed evidence would be of great value. From the rather scattering testimonials at hand a few may be given briefly.

Willis Evans, Executive Secretary of the Peoria Association of Commerce, May 18, 1921, wrote concerning the effects of prohibition in Peoria, the greatest distilling city in the country, that the thirteen distilleries had all been converted to other uses. One had become a yeast factory; the others, food-product factories. Of the three breweries, one had become a malt-extract plant and ice-factory; another was making yeast, fountain syrups, and foods; the third, small ice-plants. Mr. Evans concluded:

The concerns occupying the old distilling and brewing plants employ more men, and more money is involved, than in the old days. Bank clearances have increased at the rate of \$15,000,000 each year. All the saloon property is used for soft-drink parlors, residences, offices, etc. Oftentimes we receive letters from those who think Peoria received an awful jolt and that business is stagnant. The opposite is true. I don't think there is an empty building in Peoria, and we need 500 to 1000 residences.

### *Decrease in Crime*

Peoria was always a liberal patron of home industries. Its Superintendent of Police reports for the year ended on the day national prohibition became effective, 1780 arrests for drunkenness; for the first prohibition year, 295. Total arrests in the earlier year were 5966; later year, 2937.

Louisville was headquarters of the old whisky aristocracy, as Peoria was of the whisky democracy. On April 21, 1921, Mayor George Weissinger Smith wrote that in the last pre-prohibition year arrests of

drunks and "drunk and disorderlies" were 6908; first prohibition year, 1061. He concludes: "As an economic measure, there can be no question of the beneficial results. I am not a prohibitionist."

Louisville's Chief of Police, Ludlow F. Petty, adds that between these same years the arrests for other causes fell off thus:

For assault and battery, from 55 to 38; concealed weapons, 228 to 88; murder, 32 to 21; malicious assault, 350 to 222; rape, 11 to 9; robbery, 256 to 72; grand larceny, 496 to 328; petit larceny, 355 to 192; cruelty and neglect of children, 43 to 21.

An investigator in Louisville, seeking testimony of an anti-prohibition business man, was sent to James L. Brown, real-estate broker, who said:

Property formerly occupied by saloons is now occupied by groceries, dry-goods stores, shoe-shops, etc. There is not a vacant corner in Louisville. We have soft-drink places which were formerly respectable saloons, that are bootlegging whisky at 50 cents to \$1 a drink; they seem to have plenty of moonshine; but the men are afraid of that white looking whisky because it will make them either crazy or blind. . . . The working man, the mechanic, instead of spending money for whisky, is living as never before. His children have shoes, clothes, food. Before prohibition, charity organizations were taxed to their limit; clothing children as well as feeding them. The working man is saving his money; they tell me they do not want whisky back. Building and loan associations have all they can do to take care of the working man buying his own home. I have sold quite a number of homes to men who have saved from \$800 to \$1000 since prohibition. . . . These men tell me they are buying their homes with whisky money they have saved instead of throwing away. There are practically no empty houses; there is work for everybody. I used to spend half my time garnisheeing these men for rent. I have not garnisheeed a man in fourteenth months.

Statistics from cities all over the country give about the same results, concerning arrests and crime, as those from Peoria and Louisville. Arrests for drunkenness have fallen off from 50 to 90 per cent. For other offenses the reduction is just as general, but not in so great a proportion. Thus for Buffalo, St. Louis, Springfield, Mass., Fresno, Camden, Lowell, Peoria, Lexington, Ky., Baltimore, Galveston, Gary, and St. Paul a consolidated statement shows 30,061 arrests for drunkenness in the pre-prohibition year, and 11,232 in the first prohibition year. For the same group, arrests in the same years for all other causes aside from drunkenness were 44,143 and 26,579. That is, there was a drop of 62.6 per cent.

in arrests for drunkenness, and of 39.7 for all other causes.

It has been widely claimed that the country is being overwhelmed by a crime wave due to the consumption of bad liquor and to widespread disregard for law by reason of the disaffection over prohibition. But the consolidated figures on arrests for drunkenness in fifty-eight cities, including nearly all the largest in the country, show 316,842 arrests in 1917; 260,169 in 1918; 172,659 in 1919, and 109,768 in 1920. For the same group, arrests for all causes were, in 1917, 986,301; in 1918, 949,592; in 1919, 869,174; in 1920, 856,693.

Friends of prohibition have been disappointed at these latter figures. That there should have been so great a reduction in arrests for drunkenness, and so small a reduction in arrests for other causes, has surprised them. Their explanation is the general laxity in conduct, following the war. Their claim seems to be borne out by a comparison of crime in this country and Europe since the armistice. A British Royal Commission on criminal conditions in the Kingdom reported that there had been an enormous increase in crime, drunkenness, and use of drugs. For the entire Kingdom, the commission found that convictions for drunkenness in 1920 were 65.26 per cent. greater than in 1919. Crime also showed a startling increase in the same period. In short, it appears that in 1920, as compared to 1919, there was an increase of about two-thirds in the number of arrests for drunkenness in Great Britain, and a reduction of about two-thirds in the United States.

Crime conditions in the European countries are universally reported as giving the authorities grave concern. Although satisfactory statistics, except in the case of Great Britain, are not available, the general information on this subject leads to the conclusion that, of the countries in the war, every one except the United States has seen a large increase in crime since the armistice. The foreign authorities attribute this to precisely the same cause that our prohibition advocates give for the failure to record a greater decrease of crime in this country: the moral laxity that always follows a great war.

Prohibition's defenders point with satisfaction to the limited disorderly manifestations incident to strikes and unemployment. At this point, again, there is dearth of statistics, but there is ample general information to justify the claim that prohibition has

prevented many of the worst consequences of industrial depression; and that if the 177,000 saloons formerly in operation had been doing business in the last two years, conditions would have been vastly worse.

The charity and welfare organizations of seventeen cities, including Boston, New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, have presented a consolidated statement for 1921 dealing with cases of charity extended to persons or families that had come to want by reason of drink. It showed a reduction of 84 per cent.

#### *Are Drug Addicts More Numerous?*

One of the most persistent charges against prohibition is that drinkers deprived of liquor have turned to drugs. On no phase of the controversy is worth-while information more difficult to secure. Some of the States' statistics seem to indicate an increase in the number of drug addicts, but this is merely because recent regulations have required the registration of persons buying or using drugs. A commission to investigate traffic in narcotic drugs, reporting in June, 1919, quoted various authorities as estimating the number of drug addicts in the country all the way from 80,000 to 4,000,000! The commission concluded that there were probably more than 1,000,000. A New York State legislative investigation developed "expert" opinion that there were from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 drug addicts in New York State alone. But in June, 1920, the State drug control authority reported that under the law requiring drug users to register, only 13,000 had registered, and it was estimated that twice as many more failed to register. New York health officials are convinced that earlier statistics were greatly exaggerated.

There is quite as much statistical justification for claiming that the number of drug users has been decreased since prohibition as for the contrary claim; but there is no sufficient authority for any claim. Dr. William W. McDonell, health officer of Jacksonville, Florida, reported 1073 registered addicts in 1914, and only 111 in 1919. Minnesota had twenty-six addicts committed to State institutions in 1918, seventeen in 1919, and four in the first half of 1920. The Kansas City, Mo., health director found some evidence after July 1, 1919, of increasing drug use; but since January 1, 1920, it has seemed to be decreasing. A convention of health officers of Kansas discussed the drug problem and found that many who had been in office as long as five years had never seen a drug

victim. A census of drug addicts was undertaken, and in 177 towns of from 200 to 20,000 inhabitants only sixty-three drug users were found.

The Rhode Island Board of Health reports a steady though slow decrease in the use of drugs since prohibition, and comments: "This is surprising, because we had expected something of an increase when the prohibitory laws went into effect."

The Buffalo City Hospital and Drug Clinic, in 1919, treated 420 addicts, and only 100 in the first six months of 1920. Rochester reports "arrests falling off." The Philadelphia General Hospital finds "no indication of increased use due to prohibition." The same report comes from Richmond, Jacksonville, and from the health officers of Montana and Alabama. A "decided decrease" is reported by the health authorities of Nashville, Washington, D. C., and New Hampshire. The Chicago House of Correction cares for all drug addicts, and reports a decrease from 12.5 cases per month in 1919 to 11.25 in 1920.

Hospitals and health authorities agree that there is no tendency of persons deprived of liquor to take drugs as a substitute. The New York City Health Department asked 1403 drug patients how they acquired the habit. Only twelve said it originated from alcoholic indulgences. The Los Angeles Narcotic Clinic found in 500 cases only three or four who took to drugs after being denied alcohol. Kentucky authorities believe that many drinkers turn to drugs. Probably the most complete survey of this situation is that by Cora Frances Stoddard, Executive Secretary of the Scientific Temperance Federation, who sought data from all the States and all cities of over 80,000. The reports justify the conclusion that deprivation of alcohol has not caused increased use of narcotics; that the great proportion of drug users are young and could not previously have been victims of alcoholism; and that association with other drug users is the chief cause of persons acquiring the habit.

#### *Consumption of Whisky*

Probably if, three years ago, its advocates had been able to guarantee that in three years prohibition would outlaw the saloon, almost end the consumption of beer and wines, and reduce the consumption of spirituous liquors by three-fourths, there would have been almost universal agreement that it was destined to success. Well, it has out-

lawed the saloon, and almost done away with beer and wines; and while there is difficulty in determining to what extent it has reduced the consumption of whisky, the reduction is very heavy. Let us see the evidence as to the extent of this reduction.

In 1913 the nation used 147,745,000 gallons of distilled spirits; 55,327,000 gallons of wine; 2,030,347,000 gallons of malt liquors; total, 2,233,420,000 gallons; or 22.79 gallons per capita. By 1915, owing to the spread of State prohibition, the total fell to 2,015,595,000, and 1918 brought it down to 1,701,827,000. Then came war-time prohibition, and the 1919 figure falls to 85,106,000 gallons of distilled spirits, 54,272,000 wine, and 856,056,000 malt liquors; total, 995,435,000 gallons.

The next year, 1920, showed nation-wide prohibition at work for its first full year. The figures drop sharply—58,568,000 gallons distilled spirits, 12,718,000 gallons wine, and 284,286,000 gallons malt liquor; total, 325,573,000 gallons. The 1921 figures, as furnished in tentative form by the Department of Commerce statisticians, are 35,518,000 gallons distilled spirits; 20,322,000 gallons wine, and 285,798,000 gallons malt liquors; total, 341,640,000.

In short, the per capita consumption of spirits and wines fell from 22.79 gallons in 1913 to 3.12 in 1921. But this does not give the full impression, because in 1920 and 1921 "malt liquors" meant something very different from what it had meant in earlier years. Prohibition has outlawed malt liquors containing over one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol. So the "fermented liquors" of 1920-21, besides being less than one-seventh the volume of pre-prohibition times, were not really beer at all, but "near beer," whose lack of proximity has been the inspiration for a marvelous miscellany of humor. If on the ground that it is not an intoxicant at all, this degraded supply of "malt liquors" be eliminated, it is found that the nation's per capita consumption of what a good, consistent rum-hound would regard fit to drink has fallen from 22.79 gallons in 1913 to half a gallon in 1921. Of course these figures concern liquors officially identified and dealt with by the Government; not smuggled, moonshine, and synthetic liquors purveyed without legal authority.

As to the quantity of these latter, there is no basis of computation. The Association Opposed to Prohibition darkly suspects that the quantity is stupendous; the Anti-Saloon

League is brightly optimistic in belief that the quantity is negligible; the Commissioner of Prohibition says the amount of commercial moonshine is very small by comparison with old-time figures, while home-brew and home-distillation have been decidedly on the decrease for more than a year.

### *Moonshining, Home Brewing, Smuggling*

The figures on consumption of liquor before prohibition, which have been given, would be testimony that prohibition has succeeded, if it were not for moonshining, home brewing and distillation, and smuggling. The next inquiry, therefore, is regarding the amount of liquor that comes from these sources. When the Volstead enforcement act was under consideration there was considerable pressure to have the Government buy up liquors in bond. The determination was against the purchase, so an immense quantity was left in bonded warehouses, subject to withdrawal for proper purposes, but not for beverage. Inevitably there was much pressure and scheming to get liquors out of bond, and the pressure became stronger, the scheming more desperate, as the increasing prices of liquor promised greater profits.

A system of permit withdrawals was devised by the enforcement officials. There was required first a "basic permit," in effect a certificate of character for the dealer in liquor; a testimony that he was doing a legitimate business. These permits were taken out chiefly by wholesale druggists. In addition, a special permit was required for each specific withdrawal of liquor. It very soon became apparent that a vast amount of fraud was being perpetrated. Unscrupulous dealers withdrew liquors to be sold for beverages. Although the great majority of physicians conducted themselves in a manner above reproach, many issued prescriptions to help "patients" get liquor for beverage. At every stage in this proceeding there was always present the temptation of big, quick, and easy profits.

The bonded liquors were stored in warehouses scattered all over the country under Government supervision. Many employees of the Revenue Bureau yielded to the temptation of bribes, and permitted liquors to be withdrawn on bogus permits; sometimes forged, sometimes altered by increasing the amounts. By these devices many million gallons of whisky were withdrawn. The legitimate consumption, within the law's in-

tent, is now calculated to be something like 1,750,000 gallons per annum, and for the current fiscal year, under the rigorous restrictions now enforced, this figure will be very little, if at all, exceeded.

### *Terrors of Synthetic Whisky*

One of the most difficult problems that the enforcement officials doubtless will always face is the requirement of alcohol in the arts and industries. As soon as the bootleggers discovered that they were not going to be allowed to withdraw enough liquor to take care of their trade, there began to be an enormous demand for grain alcohol. This, with fusel oil and coloring matter, was made into imitation whisky. Immense quantities were put out under established brands, these labels as well as the revenue stamps being forged.

This synthetic whisky was villainous stuff, much of it in large part wood alcohol; and distressing results were experienced as the sequels to its consumption. Commissioner Haynes told me an incident which he had fully authenticated. A man was undressing for bed in the dressing-room of a Pullman, when a fellow passenger asked if he would like a drink before retiring, saying that he had something whose origin was absolutely reliable. They took the drink, and both retired. Some hours later the man who had accepted the hospitality awoke, feeling peculiarly wretched. He tried to switch on the light in his berth, but was unable to do so, and, calling the porter, directed him to do it.

"Why, Boss," replied the porter in amazement, "de light's on now!"

"My God! I'm blind," exclaimed the passenger. And it was a fact.

"Whah did you git dat lick, Boss?" asked the porter.

"From the gentleman in No. 9," was the reply.

The porter went to lower 9, turned on the light, and found the passenger dead.

"You can take it from me," declared Commissioner Haynes, after he had narrated this tragic story, "that just about 98 per cent. of the liquor now being sold by bootleggers is of that sort. Not all of it so deadly; some of it might be consumed in moderation for weeks or even months before bringing disaster. But all of it, up to the 98 per cent., will within a comparatively short time destroy the inside works of whoever consumes it; the liver, the kidneys, and the eyes are particularly susceptible."

I wanted to know how the Commissioner arrived at the figure of 98 per cent.

"I put it at 98 per cent. advisedly," he replied. "I know what I am talking about. We are familiar with all the stuff that is being put out. We get samples and analyze them; and when I tell you that 98 per cent. is absolutely dangerous to the life of the drinker I am telling you what I know. What is more, the drinkers are making the same discovery, and are quitting. Just the other day a gentleman of my acquaintance bought a supply of liquor from a bootlegger, to serve at a dinner party in his home. A round of cocktails was served before the dinner, and some of the guests took another drink later; most of them declined. The dinner was not a very cheerful or animated function, and the company dispersed early. Very soon after, both the host and his wife were taken violently ill and a doctor was summoned. He demanded to see the liquor they had served at dinner, and after caring for them carried away a bottle of it. Next morning the host learned that everybody who had taken a drink had been ill during the night, though none of them had died. The physician had the liquor analyzed and reported to the host that it was a deadly wood alcohol concoction that would certainly have produced some tragedies if the company had taken another round of drinks."

Commissioner Haynes has completely reformed the withdrawal permit system and is now confident that the reorganized system has established a condition assuring that for 1922 withdrawals of liquor will be just about on the basis of lawful requirements. These are for medicinal purposes, the manufacture of patent medicines, a considerable variety of toilet and other preparations, and, of course, for the sacrament. The total of these legitimate requirements, in the light of experience thus far, is likely to be about two million gallons per annum.

### *How Much Smuggling Is Done?*

When Commissioner Haynes had got the reformed permit system into operation he turned next to smuggling. This had been conducted on a great scale from the West India Islands into Florida; also across the Mexican and Canadian borders. It did not require long to identify most of the important figures in this traffic. In the Florida business, men who had begun bringing liquor from nearby islands in motor boats made money so fast that in the second year they

were operating their own steel steamships. A prohibition navy of subchasers was organized to hunt down the smugglers, while along the boundary lakes and rivers to the north a motor-boat police was established. Coöperation of the Canadian and American authorities was brought about, with the result that according to Mr. Haynes this traffic is now well in hand, the amount of liquor it handles has been greatly reduced, and it has been demonstrated that energy and system will substantially stop liquor smuggling. An officer of the Prohibition Executive said:

It is evident that the amount of liquor smuggled into the country cannot be very large, because it would have to come almost entirely from Canada, Mexico and Great Britain; and the most casual examination of statistics on production and consumption in those countries makes apparent that they are sending no considerable quantity to the United States. As to moonshine whisky, the possibilities of its production are sharply limited. A good deal is produced in various parts of the country; but it is consumed locally, just as it always was. There is no great change in the moonshine region of the Tennessee, North Carolina and Kentucky mountains. There always has been illicit distilling there for local consumption, and there still is.

As a matter merely of transportation, illicit liquors made, transported and sold in secret could not possibly have constituted any considerable percentage of pre-prohibition amounts. A committee of Harvard and Yale professors of economics calculated that 6,608,000,000 pounds of foodstuffs were used in 1916 to make liquors. At 40,000 pounds per carload, these would load 165,000 freight cars. The liquor product would represent a vastly greater tonnage because its weight is largely water. It is estimated that at least 300,000 carloads of liquors were distributed annually; liquor interests have placed it much higher.

The suggestion that even a small fraction of that transportation could be carried on—gathering in the materials and sending away the products from secret stills and brewing plants, in remote mountain areas or the lower quarters of cities—without universal knowledge, is a *reductio ad absurdum* that need only be suggested to be obvious.

The real moonshine problem to-day lies in the fact that commercial moonshining has developed in the cities to supply the bootleg trade. But this is more easily detected and stopped than is generally understood, because the odors from a still of even very limited capacity soon attract attention and exposure.

For legitimate uses, great quantities of alcohol are required, and to develop administrative measures under which legitimate purposes may be served while illegitimate ones may be denied is a hard proposition. The decrease in the production of beverage spirits has been accompanied by a great increase in the manufacture of alcohol, and it is notorious that much of this has gone into alcoholic concoctions, pretending to be genuine whisky. Both the prohibition advocates and the enforcement authorities admit that much is still to be accomplished in this field. The question is whether public opinion will remain firm in support of prohibition, in the face of demoralizing conditions, until methods can be perfected to establish control and demonstrate the benefits of prohibition.

Nobody expects, or ever expected, that prohibition can be made complete. That it is already a success is the claim of its advocates; that there is room for much improvement is admitted; and that this improvement will be accomplished is confidently insisted.

#### *What Makes a Beverage Intoxicating?*

A considerable revulsion of opinion is, however, admitted by the best-informed and frankest friends of prohibition. Many frankly admit that the present is a critical period. They are keeping their finger on the pulse of public sentiment regarding the "beer and light wines" compromise. I think most of them believe that there will ultimately have to be a showdown on this question of moderating the rigors of the Volstead Act. One Congress has determined that an alcoholic content exceeding one-half of 1 per cent. makes a beverage intoxicating; but another might decide that anything containing under 5 per cent. or 15 per cent. or 25 per cent. of alcohol was non-intoxicating. Just as a specific ratio of gold to silver in the national coinage was once made the issue of a national election, so it is quite within the possibilities that within the next five or ten or fifteen years a national campaign will turn on the issue of "5 per cent. or bust."

#### *Reduction in Commercialized Vice*

Among the social benefits for which its friends claim credit to prohibition is the decrease in commercialized prostitution. Liquor has always been a necessary adjunct to this form of vice. Houses of prostitution do not flourish unless they can sell liquor to their customers. The liquor being with-



drawn, the other inducements do not prove sufficient to keep customers coming. This is a phase of the problem to which comparatively little public attention has been directed, and one which is likely to have more consideration in the future. For the prohibitionists are coming to recognize that at this point they possess an argument, and much supporting testimony. Within the last two decades almost every considerable town or city had a "red light district" in which the partnership of liquor and prostitution was carried on. These districts have almost disappeared. There may be difference of opinion as to the extent to which prohibition contributed to this end; but the fact remains that the spread of prohibition and the decline of commercial prostitution were coincident, generally speaking, in time and geography. At the Lausanne International Congress Against Alcohol, in August last, Dr. Deets Pickett, Research Secretary of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Church, presented a paper on this subject. He quoted the Wisconsin Legislative Committee on Vice thus:

The Committee finds that the chief cause of the downfall of women and girls is the close connection between alcoholic drink and commercialized vice.

The Chicago Vice Commission, after long study, declared: "The Commission's investigation of the social evil found the most conspicuous and important element next to the house of prostitution itself was the saloon; and the most important financial interest, the liquor interest. As a contributory influence to immorality there is no other interest so dangerous. Many of the disorderly saloons are under the control of the brewery interests which have gone on record as opposed to the sale of liquor in connection with prostitution." Dr. Pickett, commenting on the foregoing, said: "The brewers controlled from 75 per cent. to 85 per cent. of the saloons in all the larger cities; and yet the relations between the saloons and the business of prostitution became closer and closer until prohibition came." Testimony of the same character was adduced by Dr. Pickett from all parts of the country, leading him to the conclusion:

Viewed as a whole, the new aspects of the problem of sexual immorality in the United States clearly reveal enormous benefits as the result of prohibition."

### *Is There More Drinking among Young Persons?*

Sharply contradictory to the foregoing statement is the claim that drinking has been made a smart stunt, a fad, a real accomplishment, among great numbers of very young people of both sexes. Among these, it is claimed, the very same consequences, as to sex morals, are widely observable, that Dr. Pickett has described as characteristic of the business of commercialized prostitution.

At this point again, there is need for much more specific information. On both sides there is a good deal more of declamation and unsupported assertion than there is of demonstration and testimony. Indeed, representatives of both the Anti-Saloon League and the Association Opposed to Prohibition volunteered to me that they would be delighted if some thoroughly competent authority—say a properly constituted national commission—could be set up to study and report on this question, on the relation of liquor to narcotics, and many other phases. The interest now widely manifested in behalf of such an inquiry warrants anticipation that it may be undertaken before long, and that it will clear up many mooted questions.

### *Decreased Government Revenues*

One of the most effective arguments against prohibition is that it has cut off the federal revenue from liquors, and the license fees collected from saloons. In a time when taxation is heavy this is impressive. In 1918 the Government collected \$443,000,000, and in 1919 \$483,000,000 in internal revenue taxes on liquors. In 1920 it collected only \$41,965,000.

As to the amount represented by saloon licenses, all of which has been lost, there is again a dearth of data. For the entire country, this figure is placed at all the way from \$400,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000. The best estimate seems to be that the saloon licenses aggregated rather more than the internal revenue collections, and that the two items together amounted to about \$1,000,000,000.

Many people imagine that the cost of enforcing prohibition is responsible for a large part of the present taxation, but the fact is that this item is ridiculously small. The federal enforcement appropriation for 1922 is \$7,500,000, and for 1923 \$9,250,000; and this figure includes \$750,000 to enforce the anti-narcotic law.

Even the modest sum appropriated for enforcement does not all represent ultimate

loss to the Treasury. Last year \$2,150,000 was collected in penalties for violation of the law, while about \$50,000,000 in fines, penalties and penal taxes was assessed against violators, but has not yet been collected. Very recently, in cases involving five defendants charged with selling alcohol with knowledge that it was to be used for illegal purposes, penalties aggregating \$6,000,000 have been imposed.

The law permits breweries to make beer containing over one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol, provided it be dealcoholized down to one-half per cent. before it is sold. Permits to do this have been issued to over 500 brewers, and of these about 280 have been detected violating the arrangement and allowing real beer to get out. This presents one of the difficult problems.

By a law passed a few months ago, the distilleries are forbidden further operation until present supplies of liquors, available for legitimate uses, shall approach exhaustion. As there are still about 30,000,000 gallons of such liquors in bond, and as consumption seems now pretty well stabilized on a basis of not over 2,000,000 gallons a year, there is apparently a long dry spell ahead for the distilleries.

Since the Volstead Act was passed, no bill to ameliorate any of its rigors has been reported from any committee of Congress. Many have been introduced, particularly to legalize "beer and light wines." Pre-prohibition beer commonly contained from 3 to 4 per cent. alcohol, averaging  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. These measures in favor of beer and light wines propose, as a rule, to legalize beer of 3.75 or 3 per cent. and wine of from 5 to 15 per cent. alcoholic content.

#### *Physicians' Prescriptions*

Of approximately 175,000 physicians in the country, only 35,000 have taken out permits to prescribe liquor. One annoying restriction is that the whisky a physician may prescribe for a patient is limited to a pint in ten days. Almost everybody who believes whisky has any medicinal value is convinced that a pint in ten days would be almost worthless. This restriction has caused discontent and disgust; and these are not much modified by the explanation that an unlimited amount of whisky may be secured, in addition to the one pint per ten days, provided it is mixed with medicaments, pursuant to a doctor's prescription, and not fit for beverage use. Physicians want to exercise

their own discretion in such matters, but they are left so little that the great majority will not prescribe liquor at all, while a proportion of those who do prescribe it violate their professional faith. Thus the excesses of rigor defeat the law in both directions, preventing many people from getting liquor when they ought to have it, and enabling others to get it illegitimately.

#### *Imperfect Enforcement of the Law*

The psychology of the public's attitude toward national prohibition presents some strange phases. Two-thirds of the States were already dry before national prohibition was adopted. Generally, the people of the dry States were reconciled and cheerful about it; but almost from the hour when national prohibition came in force a disposition to violate it sprang up, not only in the previously wet territory, but also very extensively in areas that had previously been dry and contented. I asked people on all sides of the question to explain this, and though they all admitted the fact, none gave a satisfactory explanation. It seems that two chief elements were responsible. One, that when prohibition became a national affair, with national authority responsible for its enforcement, local officials relaxed their efforts: "Let Uncle Sam do it." The other explanation seems to be propaganda against the system. This has been carried on continuously, and much of it with small regard for facts. From the day when prohibition became the law of the land, "booze news" has been first-page news. Uninformed friends of prohibition became worried about it, and unrelenting enemies redoubled their outcry against it.

The simple truth is that the condition painted by propaganda doesn't exist. Most people can't afford liquor at present prices; most of those who could afford it are afraid of it. In recent months "booze-news" has been more and more getting the inside pages or the waste-basket. Under Commissioner Haynes, the law has ceased to be a by-word and the fear of God has been put into the bootleggers, the lawless distillers, and the moonshiners. Complete enforcement will never be attained. The completest possible enforcement has not yet been attained. But no fair consideration of conditions as they stand can justify any other conclusion than that prohibition has already accomplished much of what its advocates expected and that it is on its way to accomplish much more.

# TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

BY MARCUS M. MARKS

(Former President of the Borough of Manhattan, New York City)

**E**VERY family should consider the consecration of a son or daughter to public service.

Just as at present the professions of law, medicine, the ministry, engineering, chemistry, and business careers are discussed, pro and con, by parents in planning the education of their children, so the science of government should also be seriously considered. The present evil repute of politics is one reason why public service is not favored in this country. In England it is different; let me quote from a letter of Joseph H. Choate, written while he was our representative in Great Britain:

Young men start fresh from the university into preparation for public life, and enter at once upon a lifelong career of that sort. There being an immense leisure class here, who have never to think of earning their living, but have a great and well-sustained ambition to serve the country in one way or another, the system works wonderfully well, and not only the military, but the civil service is of a very high order indeed. Nobody is admitted into the lowest branch of this service until he has proved himself qualified upon strict examination; and, once in, there is rarely any advancement except for merit and fitness. Competition is practically unknown and patronage plays but a very small part, so that the inducement to young men of merit to enter the public service is very constant and great.

Remember, an American is speaking. How frank his admiration of the attitude of the English to public service!

If this is so important under a liberal monarchy, is it not much more so in a republic, a government "by the people"? Why shouldn't the "people" be trained to govern, instead of having haphazard, untrained men thrust upon them?

If the former were done generally, the evil repute of politics would soon disappear and the name politician (coming from the root *polis*, the city) would be invested with its proper and nobler meaning: one who serves the city.

It is rather paradoxical that we are willing to sacrifice our sons to "save democracy," but when, after great sacrifice, we succeed in preserving our independent government

we at once lapse into lethargy as if we valued democracy no longer, or as if it could take care of itself without effort. It is time for a change of attitude toward this subject. The evils of politics should not deter us; the worse the condition of politics, the greater the need of effort to bring about a change!

Will it "soil our children's skirts" to go into public service? Not if they have *character*. If thousands of young folks, men and women, were trained for political life, there would be hope for the triumph of our representation form of government. You may say that training for public service is not necessary; that a good lawyer or good merchant can successfully fill any public position. This is not so. It takes a good part of his term to familiarize himself properly with his duties; he could do much better with advance training and experience. At present we are frequently forced to choose between evils on election day. The reason is obvious: not the best elements are in control; the business of politics is in disrepute. The cure rests with the people; if they continue to be entirely absorbed in their selfish occupations and are indifferent to public interests, they do not deserve better government than they have. Our greatest hope lies in dedicating a goodly number of the new generation to the public service. The issue is clear, the stake is vital.

While in office, I tried to bring home this duty of public service to the people of the Borough of Manhattan. This was the underlying idea of the Borough Advisory Commissions which I established and developed. To interest several hundred men and women actively in public problems, I appointed sixteen Advisory Commissions with twelve to twenty members each. They were drawn from every walk of life and were absolutely non-partisan politically. Their duty was to study local conditions in their various districts and advise me as to their conclusions; we had frequent conferences; they became deeply interested.

When there was any division or doubt as to policy regarding a public improvement, the commissions called "New England Town

Meetings" in hotels, schools, churches, or other large halls; thousands of neighbors thus gathered, and the questions at issue were freely discussed and an intelligent conclusion reached. This not only educated the citizens but helped me in my effort to represent, truly, the best sentiment of my constituents.

Of course two or three hundred devotees to public improvement in a large community like Manhattan are insufficient; it is only a

beginning. The whole population, in every community, should be aroused to the danger of our system of self-government going on the rocks, unless the sound citizens make public business *their* business.

Parents' associations, schools, and colleges should take up the question of arranging general courses of training for public service, which should become the noblest occupation for the rising generation.

## CANADA'S NEW SPEAKER

A CHARACTER SKETCH OF HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX

BY OWEN E. MCGILLICUDDY

**I**N electing Rodolphe Lemieux to be the first Speaker of Canada's new Parliament, the members of the House of Commons have chosen a legislator who, by temperament, intellect, and experience, is unusually fitted for his new duties.

For twenty-five years Mr. Lemieux has sat in the House of Commons; and during that period he has filled the important offices of Solicitor-General, Postmaster-General, Minister of Labor, and Minister of Marine and Fisheries. Since 1896 he has initiated or taken a leading part in promoting many important measures, while at the same time he has been one of the most painstaking students of parliamentary practice and British constitutional history.

His election to the speakership not only rounds off a versatile career, but demonstrates the confidence which members of all shades of opinion have in his fairness as the presiding parliamentary executive. The new Speaker is blessed with a variety of talents; and he has managed to achieve success and distinction in such diversified roles as politi-

cian, lawyer, envoy extraordinary, university lecturer, journalist, historian, and litterateur. The field of politics, however, has always seemed to hold his deepest interest.



HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX

(Three times a cabinet minister in Canada, and now Speaker of the House of Commons)

While still a student at the college of Nicolet (Quebec Province), he attached himself to the Liberal Party in a struggle against ultra-montanism, which at that time was closely allied with Sir John Macdonald and his followers in Quebec. Before he had reached his majority, young Lemieux, by his ardent advocacy of radical policies, incurred the displeasure of the college authorities. Shortly afterward, the family removed from Three Rivers to Ottawa, where young Rodolphe resumed his studies at Ottawa University. Here he

received his real education, always preferring history and literature to the classics and theology.

Graduating from Ottawa University in 1886, Mr. Lemieux attended the Law School at Laval for a short period; and it was at this time that he made his debut as a political orator, helping Senator L. O. David to

defeat the Hon. L. O. Taillon in the constituency of Montreal East. His reputation as a speaker spread rapidly, and during the provincial elections of 1887 he accompanied Honoré Mercier, the Liberal leader, throughout Quebec during the greater part of the campaign. His passion for politics caused him to develop his literary gifts and he became a regular contributor to *La Patrie*, *La Presse*, and other Liberal newspapers.

#### *Twenty-five Years in Parliament*

In 1891 he was graduated from the Laval Law School and shortly afterward was admitted to partnership with Honoré Mercier and Sir Lomer Gouin, the present Minister of Justice. In a short time he built up a large legal practice and married a daughter of Sir Louis Jetté, who had been one of his legal tutors at Laval and became afterward a Supreme Court Judge and Lieutenant Governor of Quebec. Politics, however, still made an insistent appeal to him, and in 1896 he contested and won Gaspé constituency for the Liberals, and became the youngest member in the eighth Parliament of Canada.

In the first session of the new Parliament he was assigned the duty of seconding the reply to the speech from the throne. His address on that occasion marked him as a man with a future. In 1904 he was given the post of Solicitor-General. Two years later Sir Wilfrid Laurier appointed him Postmaster-General and Minister of Labor, and just prior to the defeat of his old chief in 1911 he was transferred to the Department of Marine and Fisheries. It was in 1911 that he suffered the only reverse during his political career, being defeated in Gaspé by a small majority. As he had also stood for the constituency of Rouville, where he was elected, he still remained a member of the new House.

#### *On Diplomatic Missions*

The new Speaker has represented the Dominion on many important missions to foreign lands. In 1907 he was sent as a special commissioner to Japan to look into the question of Asiatic immigration to Canada. In 1909 he was the chief Canadian delegate at the tercentenary celebration of

the discovery of Lake Champlain at Plattsburg, New York. In 1910 he attended the inauguration of the Union Parliament at Cape Town, South Africa, and during his administration of cabinet portfolios he made frequent visits to France for the purpose of promoting closer relations between the Republic and the Dominion. His services in this connection won him the Knighthood of the Legion of Honor in 1906, and he was made an officer of the same order in 1910.

#### *An Accomplished Writer*

As an authority on French-Canadian law and literature he is well known outside his own country. He is the author of a five-hundred-page volume on "The Origins of French-Canadian Law," and he has made many contributions to magazines and periodicals on both sides of the Atlantic concerning historical, political, and literary subjects. His reputation as a scholar and litterateur brought him a fellowship in the Royal Society of Canada, and a few years later he was elected president. It is not generally known that Mr. Frank Munsey once offered Mr. Lemieux the editorship of the Paris edition of *The New York Herald*, but though the salary named was munificent, the new Speaker saw fit to stay in Canada.

At present it is an open secret in Ottawa that Mr. Lemieux is at work on a life of Laurier. He has frankly stated to personal friends that he is far from satisfied with the authorized biography, and he feels that possibly more justice might be done his beloved leader by one who had enjoyed his intimate friendship for so many years. Politics seems different to Mr. Lemieux since the passing of Sir Wilfrid, for he loved his chieftain with almost a filial affection. Probably the most notable speech of his career was his tribute to the dead Liberal leader, delivered in the House of Commons on February 25, 1919.

His appointment to the speakership is a popular one, and has been received in the House and out of it by a unanimous endorsement. The fourteenth Parliament is fortunate in having such a distinguished man preside over its debates. He will worthily preserve its traditions and perform his duties with skill and impartiality.



# A TREATY AMONG STATES

HOW THE SOUTHWEST WILL REGULATE AND UTILIZE  
THE FLOOD WATERS OF THE COLORADO RIVER

BY WAYNE C. WILLIAMS

A TREATY between States is something novel to the average American. He usually thinks of treaties as between sovereign nations, like the Treaty of Versailles or of Washington or the Four Power Treaty. Yet such a treaty is about to be concluded by seven States in the West, to regulate the waters of the Colorado River, build a great dam for power and irrigation and—in the words of Mr. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce—add one billion dollars to the wealth of America.

It is decidedly a new thing to Americans, for we have largely lost sight of the sovereign powers of our States, forgetting that they are partly sovereign and that the right to make treaties among themselves is guaranteed by the Constitution, when Congress gives its consent.

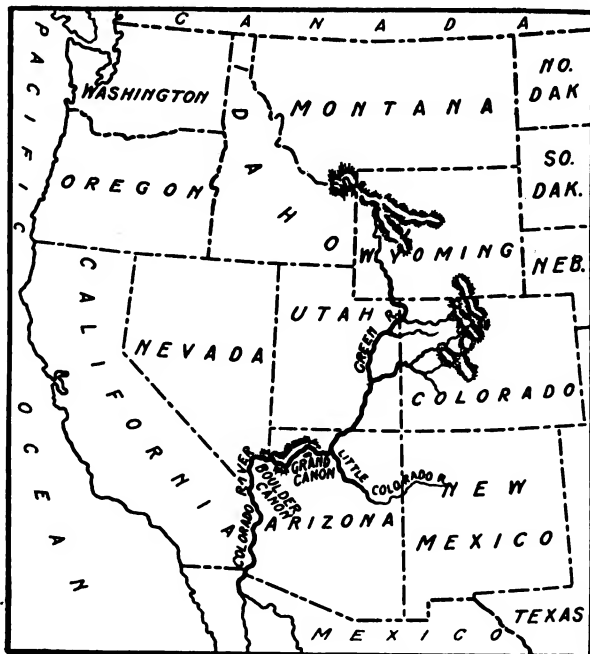
It is a most interesting combination of physical fact, interstate need, and constitutional power that brings the Colorado River and Herbert Hoover into juxtaposition, as it were, and creates a national problem. But it is being solved, in true Hooveresque fashion; and its solution has a lesson for every other State, especially for New York and New Jersey in their common sewage, harbor, dock, and shipping problems.

Let us set up the situation so that its elements will be clear. And we will begin with the physical problem.

Take a map of the western half of the nation, and place a pencil on a point in northwestern Colorado well up to the northern part of the State and along the highest ridge of the Rockies. You are tracing the backbone of the continent, the great Continental Divide. You are at the source of the Colorado River, fifteen thousand feet above New York City, at the topmost point of the American continent, where the waters flow to

the Atlantic and Pacific; up where myriad millions of snowflakes fall most of the year to form huge banks of snow and white glaciers which melt and form creeks and streams that unite to make the Colorado River. Now trace down these tiny streams until you reach the Colorado River moving southwesterly out of Colorado past the city of Grand Junction, on through Utah, forming a boundary line with Arizona on the south and then bounding California and Arizona, still moving southwest until it empties into the Gulf of California.

You have traced the Colorado, the third largest of America's rivers, nearly 2000 miles in length; watering the great basins of the Southwest and forming just before it enters California the most wonderful single



SHOWING THE SEVEN STATES INTERESTED IN THE  
COLORADO RIVER—THE WATERS OF WHICH ARE TO  
BE REGULATED BY A DAM AT BOULDER CANYON;  
FOR POWER AND IRRIGATION PURPOSES



THE CONTINENTAL DIVIDE—IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK  
(Long's Peak is at the extreme left, the highest peak in the Rockies [14,250 feet]. The picture shows the entrance to Estes

piece of scenery in the world—the Grand Cañon of the Colorado.

It is a combination of natural circumstances that brings the Colorado River before the nation just at this time. The river is on a rampage—its flood waters are within a foot of the top of the dikes that guard the Imperial Valley with its 50,000 people, its homes and farm lands. At any moment the waters may go over; and, if they do, Secretary Hoover says that they will destroy the homes of the fifty thousand and lay waste millions of acres of land.

Water is becoming scarcer and dearer and the parched plains of the Southwest need it more and more, for they blossom under its touch as if by magic.

#### *Interests of Seven States Plus Uncle Sam*

Seven States are drained or touched by the Colorado River, each forming some part of its basin; and they are all clamoring for a larger share of its waters. These States are Colorado (its chief source), Wyoming, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, California, and Nevada. Your Uncle Sam has an interest in the river, as overlord and proprietor of all interstate streams and for reclamation projects. Even Mexico is interested, for the river is an international stream and touches the soil of that country at its mouth. Here is a matter of conflicting interests that must be unraveled.

Then comes the human element: Given a tangle like this, there must be a man to do the untangling. America has him in

Herbert C. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, special commissioner from the federal government to the States—almost an ambassador, if you please, to sit with the commissioners of the States in making a treaty that will solve this whole problem and satisfy every State in the use of the waters of the great river.

Now for the legal aspects: Some large private concerns from certain States farther down the river were about to build an impounding dam and catch the surplus waters. The upper States objected, and that brought on the controversy. The Governors of the seven States interested then did a sensible thing—they got together for conference. Five hundred years ago there would have been no federal tie to bind them, and the people would have fought. One hundred years ago they might have threatened to secede. Ten years ago they would probably have brought a lawsuit. To-day they are holding a conference to form a compact. They have acted like those sensible nations which gathered around a common conference table at Washington. The conference habit is growing.

#### *Congress Consents; Secretary Hoover Represents Nation*

From this conference of Governors came the idea of a treaty between the States. Each State named its commissioner to represent it in the making of the compact. The States cannot make a treaty without the consent of Congress; but that consent was





(COLORADO), WHERE THE COLORADO RIVER HAS ITS PRINCIPAL SOURCE

Park, which itself forms the eastern gateway to the Rocky Mountain National Park, only a half day's journey from Denver)

quickly obtained in a special act of Congress, and the President named Secretary Hoover as the commissioner to represent the nation.

Mr. Hoover and the seven commissioners held a series of conferences at Los Angeles, Phoenix, Salt Lake City, Grand Junction, Denver, and Cheyenne. Testimony was taken, there was much conferring and interchange of views, and the commissioners will now meet in Washington to digest the evidence and frame the treaty. Mr. Hoover presided at all meetings and is the directing and guiding genius of the conferences.

The treaty when completed must be ratified by Congress and by the several States concerned, and then it becomes a law of the land, binding both the States and the nation.

#### *Treaty-Making Power of States*

The advocate of States' rights will feel happier and more secure as he observes this unusual phenomenon of States making treaties. It takes him back to the old States' rights days. The power has been exercised before, especially in boundary disputes—notably between Virginia and Pennsylvania in 1780, Kentucky and Tennessee in 1820, New York and New Jersey in 1834; while Washington and Oregon settled a fishery dispute in the same manner, and recently New Jersey and New York settled a dispute respecting sewage pollution of the waters of New York harbor. The Supreme Court of the United States suggested the treaty method of settling that dispute.

The treaty method will doubtless be used again by States with conflicting interests. It is superior to lawsuits, where usually only one thing is decided and where precedent counts for more than diplomacy or reasonable adjustments.

#### *An Engineering Problem First of All*

When we come to the engineering problems we meet the heart of the river dispute and the origin of the great developments that are being planned. An engineering problem has a peculiar appeal to the Hoover type of mind—a type that is active, acute, logical, and constructive. And the Colorado River problem is primarily an engineering and economic problem. The treaty is to make provision for the erection of the greatest dam in the world, in Boulder Cañon near the Grand Cañon; a dam to cost fifty millions of dollars and a canal to cost thirty millions more. The dam is to be 820 feet high—taller than the Woolworth Building—and will develop 600,000 primary electric horsepower (or more than Muscle Shoals) and ultimately nearly four million horsepower.

Probably the United States Reclamation Service will be called upon to build this dam. It will impound the flood waters, since all the regular flow is appropriated and used; and it will water over four millions of acres in the Imperial Valley, known to fame and fiction, and "make the desert blossom as the rose."

The State of Colorado, too, has special

rights in the river that finds its source in Colorado mountains; and it is claiming and preparing to appropriate more water, bringing it by tunnel across the Continental Divide to Denver for future uses. Of course each State wants more water than it will get. The rule laid down—the law of the land, if you please—is that in interstate streams each State is entitled to “an equitable apportionment” of the waters. Mr. Hoover says there is enough water to irrigate the whole basin for two centuries.

If you are interested in figures the drainage area is distributed between the seven States as follows: Arizona has 43 per cent. of the total area drained by the river; Utah 16, Wyoming 7, New Mexico 9, Nevada 6, Colorado 16, and Mexico 15. Colorado

gives the river 34 per cent. of its whole water supply, and no other State gives as much.

Not the least important result will be the conservation of all the flood waters of the Colorado River which are now going to waste, and the creation of a new source of power in the West. The development of power resources will be perhaps the greatest economic feature of the physical development of America in the next decade.

When we add to that the value to be gained by the example of seven conflicting States sitting down to frame a treaty and settle their difficulties without even a lawsuit, we see that the Colorado River and Herbert Hoover have been joined in a project that means much to the future of America.

## UNCLE SAM PAYS A DEBT TO INDIANS

AN IRRIGATION SYSTEM FOR THE PIMAS, OF ARIZONA

BY C. J. BLANCHARD

THE grim spectre of want and starvation is no stranger to the Pima Indians of Gila Valley, Arizona. Our meager chronology of the most ancient of American agriculturists, the development of whose irrigation works began in a remote era, furnishes abundant evidence that drouth and hunger largely account for a stationary population in a region which otherwise greatly favored increase. The ruins of countless villages strew the valley, imposing structures of mud and concrete, the palaces of ancient kings; and hundreds of miles of canals,

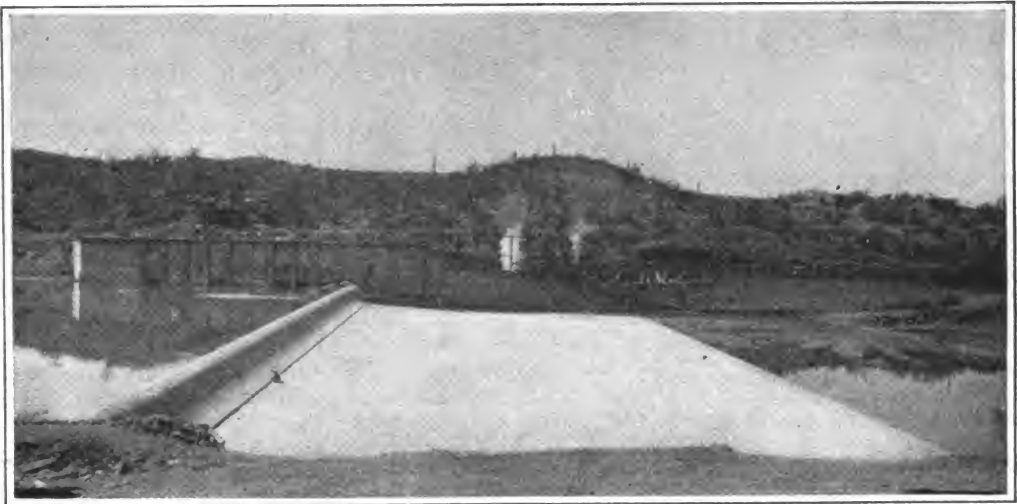
choked with the wind-swept drift of centuries, point to frequent migration and return of races in long periods of scanty or abundant water supply.

For many centuries existence with them has been hard, yet the enduring love of home has held the Pimas together, and perhaps the struggles endured by them measurably account for their advance from savagery into a civilization superior to that of other races of this region. Peaceful, industrious people they have always been, and their homes have ever offered hospitable and kindly refuge for the white man when beset by the warlike Apaches. What has been their reward?

The history of the Pimas since the advent of the white settler in his valley has been nothing short of tragic. Attracted by the salubrity of the climate, fertile soil, and long growing season, the enterprising white pioneers established communities at the head of the valley and began the irrigation of large



A PIMA INDIAN FAMILY AND THEIR HOME IN THE GILA VALLEY, ARIZONA



THE DIVERSION DAM ACROSS THE GILA RIVER AT FLORENCE, ARIZ., CONSTRUCTED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO DIVERT WATER FOR THE AGRICULTURAL LANDS OF THE PIMA INDIANS

areas as far back as 1864. Gradually the draft upon the Gila River began to be felt by the Indians. Crops failed and fields were abandoned.

Year after year the shortage of water increased, and hundreds of once independent, self-supporting Indians were forced into vagabondage. Congressional appropriations for relief for the most part were only palliative and temporary. Shortly after the completion of the Roosevelt Dam an appropriation was made by Congress to develop water from wells, and to supply power from the dam for pumping. On the advice of well-meaning but ill-informed white friends, the Pimas refused for several years to use the water from underground sources. The claim was made that use of well water would cause ruin of the land through alkali. The success of a few of the more intelligent Indians who were finally induced to irrigate their farms from the wells gradually dispelled this fear until to-day the most prosperous members of the tribe are those whose lands are served by pumps.

An extension of the pumping system would greatly alleviate the situation now prevailing, and to some extent at least prevent much suffering. The permanent restoration of prosperity and well-being to the Pimas as a whole, however, cannot be expected until the Government provides adequate storage of the floods of the Gila, which not only now are wasted but are a recurring menace to the farms in the valley. Such storage is entirely feasible, though costly,

but the productivity of the land redeemed warrants and assures the return of the necessary expenditures. All the irrigable lands in the valley which would be benefited, both in white and Indian ownership, should be made to bear the cost.

The first step in this direction has been made by the construction of a diversion dam at Florence, Ariz., which was formally dedicated on May 10. This dam is 400 feet long, 212 feet wide on the bottom, 5 feet thick and 15 feet high, and cost about \$250,000. It will divert the normal flow of the Gila River to canals on both sides of the stream, for the irrigation of about 62,000 acres—of which 35,000 belong to the Pimas.

The design of the dam is unique, and was determined by the fact that bed-rock foundations could not be found in the river at reasonable depths. The type is what is commonly known as the Indian weir, and consists of a huge slab of mass and reinforced concrete laid in the sandy channel of the stream and anchored into the granite walls on both ends. As water percolates through the sands beneath it, this type of structure is often spoken of as a floating dam. It has been successfully employed from remote times on the Nile and Euphrates. Undue velocity of water under the slab is prevented by cut-off walls made by sinking sheet piling deeply into the sands along the upstream face of the slab. The enormous weight of the concrete resists the up-thrust of the water percolating under it. On top of the slab rests a hollow weir or dam 10 feet high,



AN AUTOMOBILE ENGINE AS MOTIVE POWER FOR A NARROW-GAGE RAILWAY

(Carrying concrete out on a trestle, to be dumped in midstream during the construction of a dam)

which incloses a flume 42 inches in diameter and delivers water to a small canal on the north bank. On the south side water is diverted through large gates into the main canal 40 feet wide on the bottom and with a capacity of 1000 cubic feet per second.

The most trying and difficult feature of construction was the placing of the concrete slab, because it was necessary to complete the job between flood stages. As such stages are uncertain the engineer in charge was gambling with Nature. In order to concentrate all available forces on the immediate task of pouring the huge slab, he erected two pairs of trestles extended across the river, joined at each end in the form of an ellipse. On these tramways he placed a narrow-gage track connected at the end of each oval with a concrete-mixing plant. For motive power he stripped four light automobiles of their engines and placed these on tracks with flanged wheels. The motors were coupled

to dump cars, and the whole operation was quite similar to that of a roller coaster at a summer resort. Great efficiency was developed by this means, each motor making a complete round trip in six minutes. In sixteen days the slab was completed without interference from high water.

The Pimas have occupied their present reservation for a period antedating by centuries the first written page of our own history. They have always been of sedentary habits, devoted to the tillage of compact areas, each of which is under the gov-

ernment of a cacique or headman. Their operations bridge the ages between stone and steam. With primitive tools of wood and stone they excavated many miles of canals and ditches, erected huge edifices four and five stories in height, enclosed by massive walls of sun-dried brick, embracing many acres. During the period of massacre and murder by Apaches and Navajos, the Pimas gave protection, refuge, and food to the stricken white settlers, and furnished guides and fighters when our soldiers came to subdue the savages.

The Pima's boast for centuries has been that unmolested he could live his own life without aid from his white brother; and so undoubtedly he could but for the theft of the water upon which his existence depended. Restore to him again that which was his from the childhood of the human race! He asks no more; less would surely be the basest ingratitude.



A PIMA INDIAN WITH HIS MULE TEAM, CULTIVATING EGYPTIAN LONG-STAPLE COTTON IN ARIZONA

# THE WOMEN OF THE AMERICAS MAKE HISTORY

BY MARJORIE SHULER

A HISTORY-MAKING meeting took place in Baltimore, Maryland, from April 20 to 29, when two thousand women from every State in the United States and from twenty-two countries of the western hemisphere came together at the third annual convention of the National League of Women Voters and the Pan-American Conference called by the League.

It was in truth a coming-together; and for that fact, quite apart from any accomplishments at the meeting, quite apart from program or speeches, it will be written into the history of the continents of North and South America.

The importance with which the conference was judged in its potentialities for international friendliness was evident from the inception of the plan. The American Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, sent invitations to the conference through representatives of the United States Department of State in the various countries of this hemisphere. Our Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hoover, directed the attention of the foreign governments—through representatives of the United States Department of Commerce in those countries—to the importance of sending official delegates.

The very fact that the men of the Americas have had difficulties in the realms of economics and finance, where wars are bred and nurtured, contributed to the desire that the women of the Americas should find a common purpose, a common basis of understanding, a common compelling reason for

establishing and cementing permanent bonds of friendliness.

"It will be the most significant international gathering of women ever held in the history of the Americas," said John Barrett, former director of the Pan-American Union, in commenting on the opening of the conference. And on the closing night, Dr. L. S. Rowe, director of the Pan-American Union, summed up the conference in these words:

Important as have been the subjects to which you have addressed yourselves, the conference, viewed as a whole, possesses a significance far deeper than the content of a program. In this coming-together of the women of the Americas, there is something that stirs the imagination, there is something that makes us see more clearly than ever before the larger significance of the Pan-American movement. In fact, the conference which you have held marks a distinct and important step in the development of that movement. No matter how cordial may be the relations

existing between governments, they are never built on strong and firm foundations unless they rest upon the mutual understanding, confidence, and good-will of the masses of the people. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that through conferences such as these, through the interchange of thought and expression, the nations of America be made to see and appreciate the fact that their economic, social, and educational problems have much in common, and that through co-operation, mutual helpfulness, and interchange of experience these problems can be most effectively carried toward successful solution.

For three days the women of the Americas discussed conditions and laws in the various countries, with women who hold high gov-



MRS. MAUD WOOD  
PARK



MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN  
CATT

(Honorary vice-president and honorary president of the newly formed Pan-American Association)

ernment positions in the United States presiding over the conferences. Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant United States Attorney General, directed a conference on the legal status of women. A discussion of conditions and laws for women in industry was presided over by Miss Mary Anderson, chief of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor. Child-welfare discussion was directed by Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor; education, by Miss Julia Abbott, of the Bureau of Education; social hygiene, by Dr. Valeria H. Parker, executive secretary of the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board. The concluding conference on the political status of women was conducted by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and founder and honorary chairman of the National League of Women Voters.



MISS BERTHA LUTZ  
(Brazilian delegate to the  
Pan-American Conference of  
Women)

#### *A Permanent Body*

The direct result of the meeting at Baltimore was the formation of a permanent Pan-American Association, with these officers: honorary president, Mrs. Catt; president, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the National League of Women Voters; honorary vice-president, Dr. Paulina Luisi of Uruguay; vice-presidents, Señorita Elena Torres of Mexico, Señora Ester Niera De Calvo of Panama, and Donna Bertha Lutz of Brazil; secretary, Señora Maria Suarez De Coronado of Colombia; treasurer, Señora Olga Capurro De Varela of Uruguay. There is an advisory committee with a representative from each of the twenty-two countries sending delegates to the conference.

The aims of the Association are: "To promote general education among all women and to secure for them higher standards of education; to secure the rights of married

women to control their own property and their own wages; to secure equal guardianship; to encourage organization, discussion and public speaking among women, and freedom of opportunity for all women to cultivate and use all their talents; to educate public opinion in favor of granting the vote to women and secure their political rights; and to promote friendliness and understanding among the Pan-American countries to the end that there may be perpetual peace in the western hemisphere."

#### *Messages from Europe*

It was not only friendly relations in this hemisphere which the meeting sought to establish. The hopes of women in Europe for the conference were indicated in the cables which were sent before the meeting opened. Cables were sent from Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, France, Hungary, Italy, Holland, Spain, and England. Especially interesting was the cable from eight women members of the Finnish House of Parliament. And when the women in Baltimore discussed peace, they discussed not Pan-American but world peace; and when

they discussed a league or a conference or an association, they discussed not a Pan-American league but a world league.

The National League of Women Voters called upon the Government of the United States to take prompt action for a world federation which shall frame a law to "outlaw war itself and to abolish it as a legalized institution instead of to regulate it." The League established a com-



SEÑORA OLGA CAPURRO  
VARELA  
(Official delegate from  
Uruguay)

mittee on reduction of armament, with permanent headquarters at Washington, for the purpose of "developing an agency to establish and maintain contact with the women of other nations."

The meeting was significant for still another reason besides its peace proposals. It made clear the next step in the woman movement, the struggle between those who are

content to use their voting power for legislation which is of special concern to women, and those who believe that an intelligent understanding of current events and a grasp of the general governmental problems of economics and finance are vital to the best use of the ballot and to the attainment of world peace.

When the League of Women Voters was organized three years ago, six standing committees were established. Three of these are generally political in character—American citizenship, women in industry, and unification of laws concerning women. Three are strictly welfare in their scope—child welfare, social hygiene, and food supply and demand. To these six there have since been added a committee on peace and a department on efficiency in government, which has been made the chief work of the organization.

#### *Political Education*

Although other organizations were doing welfare work successfully when the League was established, no other such large group is concentrating on political education work; and a group of members of the League, headed by Mrs. John O. Miller, of Pittsburgh, president of the Pennsylvania State League of Women Voters, has been actively urging that the League eliminate all work except that of definite political character. The convention this year adopted long programs of legislation recommended by the various committees, and pledged the members of the organization to the support of more than one hundred federal and State laws. Many women declared that these programs were far too long and contained topics far too technical for proper consideration within the limited amount of time allotted at the convention.

There was a vigorous discussion of this question, ending with a striking statement from Mrs. Catt, who said that she had

regretted the inclusion of many of the committees in the League program. "There is confusion between what is social reform and social legislation and what I would call political education, political evolution, and political legislation," declared Mrs. Catt. "I do not agree with those who say that social hygiene and child welfare are training for citizenship. There is a phase of the ques-

tion as to making this aim predominant that no one should ever forget; that if any committee of the League is to be dropped, there is somebody else to do that work; but there is no other organization to do the political work. I regret that in this convention there has not been the opportunity for frank and free discussion as to how women can influence political conditions for good. I think you are too far down in the kindergarten for voting women."



DR. GRACE RITCHIE ENGLAND, OF MONTREAL  
(Official delegate from the Dominion of Canada)

Immediately after Mrs. Catt's statement the convention voted to have a commission bring in a reorganization plan at the next convention.

Later Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador, challenged the women on this very point. At the concluding session of the convention he said:

You are all too ignorant, and unless you get out of that ignorance you are a positive danger. If you are going to work for friendliness between nations, you have got to get down to understanding the questions which vitally affect nations.

The legal condition of women is interesting, but it is not vital. You must get clear in your minds the difference between questions which are interesting and those which are vital to nations. Our national differences which have led to international clashes have concerned these vital questions. We have had our religious wars, our territorial wars, our economic wars.

If women are really going to make themselves felt in politics, if they are really going to work for friendliness between nations they must understand trade, commerce, and finance. Men have absorbed knowledge on these matters more readily than women, and still there is colossal ignorance among men concerning them.



MME. JAIME C. DE VEYRA  
(Official delegate from the Philippines to the Pan-American Conference of Women)



Meetings such as this are helpful, but if women really are to influence international relationships they must do it through the wisdom with which they exercise their rights at the polls, and such wisdom will come only through understanding the great mass of economic problems and difficulties which are filling minds and affecting international relations to-day.

The spirit of the League itself was summed up in the "pledge for conscientious citizens," offered by Mrs. Maud Wood Park in her address as president:

*Believing in Government by the People, for the People, I Will Do My Best—*

- First,* To inform myself about public questions, the principles and policies of political parties, and the qualifications of candidates for public offices.
- Second,* To vote according to my conscience in every election, primary or final, at which I am entitled to vote.
- Third,* To obey the law even when I am not in sympathy with all its provisions.
- Fourth,* To support by all fair means the policies that I approve of.
- Fifth,* To respect the right of others to uphold convictions that may differ from my own.
- Sixth,* To regard my citizenship as a public trust.

In a message sent to the convention, President Harding declared that "the world has reason to welcome every effort looking toward larger coöperations, better understanding, and the minimizing of differences and frictions. In this direction the women, with their fine sense of human values, their generous purposes, and their unselfish aspiration for the betterment of the race, will be able to contribute much."

#### *Outstanding Personalities*

Among many interesting personalities at the convention there stood out preëminently that of Lady Astor, whose slender, vivacious figure was the center of attention. It was she who told Secretary Hughes to his face, before thousands of hearers, that she was for the League of Nations and that regardless of politicians there is a world league of peace in the hearts of women. It was she who

set thousands of women to thinking by her statement that "men have laid down their lives in the belief that they were making the world better; women must lay down many things in their lives to make the world better."

There were other interesting figures in the English group, including Mrs. Alfred Lyttleton, member of the British Trade Board, magistrate in the children's court, and intimately associated with the great figures in English political life of this generation; and Mrs. Kate E. Trounson, of London, executive secretary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, who carried to the convention the greetings of the women of the world.

Then there was that veteran of the suffrage movement, Mrs. Catt, who advised the women to go into the political parties and work there, and to coöperate with instead of opposing men.

Prominent also were Secretary Hughes, Secretary Hoover, Secretary Wallace, Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas, and Mr. Huston Thompson of the Federal Trade Commission. There were a score of women who are running for office in the fall campaigns, for Congress, for State legislatures, and for lesser offices. There were the 200 foreign women and Vice-President Coolidge, Speaker Gillett, and other members of



LADY ASTOR, M. P.  
(A British visitor at the  
Baltimore convention)

official Washington, who welcomed the women on the day that they spent at the nation's capitol, when the delegations from each State met their representatives in Congress and asked them to vote for peace and for the independent citizenship of married women—the two principal projects endorsed by the League for the coming year.

But personalities and programs were not the main points of this meeting. The real significance of the event lies in establishing permanent ties of peace between the women of all the countries represented and making evident the next issue in the woman movement—economics, politics, government in its general aspects, as against welfare, women's interests, and government in its social aspects.

# GIVING STABILITY TO THE COAL INDUSTRY

BY ELLIS SEARLES

(Editor of the *United Mine Workers' Journal*, Indianapolis, Ind.)

IT will take more than talk and good wishes to solve the present-day problem of the coal industry. The situation is one that calls for the exercise of the hardest kind of hard common sense on the part of the Government, the Congress, and the public, and anything less will accomplish nothing. It is not an ailment that can be disposed of with a palliative nostrum in the form of a wage reduction or a wage increase. Such remedies are but temporary expedients at the best. When a patient is as seriously ill as the coal industry is just now, a narcotic may be administered which will bring rest and repose for a time, but when the effects of the drug have worn off, the patient is as sick as ever and his case calls for the same vigorous treatment that was indicated in the first place.

Coal miners would be delighted with a wage increase, for it would afford them a better living for themselves and their families. With more money they could buy more and better food, clothing, and home furnishings. They could better enjoy life. More money would bring more sunshine into their lives and their homes. It would mean better things for the kiddies who will be the reigning citizenship of to-morrow. A wage increase would ease their economic aches and pains for the next two years, but at the end of that time, unless some other remedy were applied, their agonies would return to trouble them in the same old way.

It is no different with the coal companies and coal operators. They say they are having aches and pains, caused by a lack of sufficient income. They have yet to prove this statement, for they have thus far refused to submit to a thorough examination and diagnosis of their ailment. They say the only thing that will do them any good is a reduction in the wages of their miners. This, too, would afford but a temporary relief, for two years hence, unless the coal industry is cured now, they will suffer a recurrence of the old illness.

The coal industry has been ill for many years, and the same old palliatives of wage increases and wage reductions have failed to restore it to good health, although they have been administered regularly and constantly throughout the years. And since this line of treatment is a failure, we may as well conclude now as any time that something else must be done. But what? That's the problem that confronts the Doctors of Industrial Ills.

## *How the Public Can Help*

In the first place, something has got to be done to educate the public up to the necessity for steady operation of the coal mines and a continuous flow of coal from mine to coal-bin. This would eliminate the terrible waste that now afflicts the industry. It would bring about lower prices for the coal that the average citizen must buy. But this will be no small job. The public is slow to acquire any education along such lines. People do not buy straw hats in the winter-time, even though they be marked down to a nickel apiece, because they do not need straw hats in cold weather. The public extravagantly insists upon waiting until the sun beats down upon its individual and collective heads with all of its ferocity and then buying straw hats at a high price. Nor do the people buy overcoats in the summertime, no matter how cheap they may be. They do not need overcoats until the winter blasts are upon them.

It will require a severe jolt to induce the public to adopt a policy of buying coal the year round. Probably it will be necessary to create such a serious shortage of fuel at the beginning of a winter that the people cannot get coal at any price. Of course there would be suffering and hardship, plenty of it, but if nothing else will bring the answer, why not try it? Once the public becomes aware that it must buy coal early in the season or do without, there is a possibility—and a bare possibility at that—that it may accept the

doctrine of early buying as a matter of self-protection.

But who is going to teach the public this lesson? That is one of the great problems confronting the coal industry. So great will the task be that it must be undertaken by the industry itself and government, national, State and local. Some of the millions of dollars that are spent year after year by operators and miners in fighting each other over proposed wage increases and wage reductions could more profitably be spent in a joint effort to win the public to a policy of buying coal throughout the year, thus stabilizing the coal business and making it what it ought to be.

Just now, when this article is being written, the country is in the throes of the greatest strike of coal miners that the world has ever seen. Thus far, there is no suffering as a result of the strike, and there is no public excitement over the affair. There appears to be plenty of coal to meet all of the requirements of the people for several weeks to come, so the people merely yawn lazily and remark that "we should worry." Yet, all industry is threatened with stagnation; business is in danger; the country's prosperity is at stake.

It is the same old story of all previous fights over a temporary settlement of the wage question. Each idle day adds to the tremendous waste that has strangled the industry for years. True, there will come a settlement of the controversy on some sort of basis, but no one knows when that will happen. Once the settlement is accomplished the mines will reopen, the miners will return to work, and coal will once more flow into the channels of trade. The people will begin again to obtain coal for their needs and they will settle back into their old-fashioned lethargy and turn their attention to golf and soft drinks. They will forget that two years hence there will be another fight of the same kind, another shut-down of the mines, more idleness, more waste of money, more waste of human earning power, another business depression due to a coal miners' strike, and more losses of business and commerce, unless something is done in the meantime to cure the coal industry of its present ills.

#### *Licensing of Mines as a Remedy*

Even though the present controversy be adjusted by an agreement on a wage scale for the coming two years, the problem of the coal industry will still be with us.

There are too many mines and too many miners in this country. That is the reason for the awful waste in the coal business. A long step in the direction of stabilization would be taken if 30 per cent. of the mines and 30 per cent. of the miners were eliminated. But how is this to be accomplished and by whom? Who has the right to say that this or that mine shall be closed and abandoned or that this man or that man shall quit mining coal and engage in some other activity? And yet, until something along that line is done, the ills of the coal industry cannot be cured.

Perhaps Congress could enact a law that would provide for the licensing of coal mines and then license only a sufficient number of well-equipped, highly efficient low-cost mines to meet the fuel requirements of the country. In this way coal production would soon be placed upon a standardized, rather than upon the present haphazard and wasteful, basis. The mines that operate only on a high-cost basis would be unable to compete with the more efficient mines that produce coal at a lower cost per ton and they would be forced to quit, whether they wished to do so or not.

#### *Present Oversupply of Mines and Miners*

Thousands of these little mines were opened up during the World War, when the demand for coal was imperative and there was need for every pound of fuel that could be produced. They sold their output at tremendously high prices in the war period and made large profits. Then the war was ended and the demand for coal ceased. These new mines were not able to compete on a fair basis with the larger and better-equipped properties in normal times, and yet they have been hanging on to the fringe of the business, selling coal where they could and at any price. They have not made any money since the war, nor can they make any money. But they can and do upset the coal business.

They must have a force of men at hand continually so that they may produce coal whenever they have orders to fill. If these miners were to leave the camp because of irregular employment it would be impossible for the mine to run when orders were on the books. Therefore, no effort whatever has been made by the operators to reduce the number of men employed in and around the mines. Each coal operator feels that he has the same right to produce and sell coal that any other

operator has, and he aims to be prepared for business every day in the year. Such irregularity in their employment prevents the miners from making a living, but they stick to the mine anyway.

So long as there is such a tremendous oversupply of miners and an excessively large number of coal mines the industry cannot be stabilized. The present force of miners could produce, in the present number of mines, 800,000,000 tons of coal annually, and the normal demand is for only 500,000,000 tons. Every requirement could be met if 150,000 miners and one-third of the coal mines were eliminated and steady employment afforded for the men who would remain. There is ample room on the farms of this country for every man who wishes to leave the mines and try his hand at tilling the soil.

#### *Union and Non-Union Mines*

But while the overdevelopment of the mining industry is a great evil that keeps prosperity at arm's length for the miner and operator, it is by no means the only problem that must be solved by those who shall undertake a reorganization and stabilization of the coal business. No sooner would this stupendous task be started than there would bob up the ever-present conflict between the union and the non-union interests.

Approximately 70 per cent. of the total output of coal in the United States is produced by union miners and 30 per cent. by unorganized or non-union miners. The percentage of non-union coal mined has grown during the last several years by reason of the great development of coal mining in West Virginia. It is even said that if the non-union mines of the country were worked at their full capacity they could produce enough coal to take care of 50 per cent. of the normal demand. The cost of production in the non-union fields is lower than in the organized fields. The rate of wages paid to non-union miners is much below that which prevails in the union fields, and this enables the non-union operator to undersell the union operator in the markets.

There are those who say that the wages of union miners should be reduced to the non-union level in order that the union mines might compete with the non-union mines on a basis of equality. But they forget that this would be an impossible policy, because, no matter what kind of reduction might be made in the wages of union miners, non-

union operators could make further and deeper cuts in the wages of their employees, since they are unorganized and have no means of protection against anything the operator may do.

#### *West Virginia's "Gunman System"*

We also hear people say that the non-union miners ought to be organized and their wages and working conditions brought up to the level of those employed in union mines. This would be a fine plan, indeed, for it would establish a decent American standard of living among the families of those men. But this, also, is impossible so long as non-union coal operators deny the right of the union to carry their doctrine of trade unionism to their employees. And to make sure that this does not happen, non-union coal companies in many places, notably in the unorganized fields of West Virginia, employ hundreds of armed gunmen and thugs whose business it is to keep out union organizers.

This gunman system has been a burning disgrace to the great State of West Virginia for years. Countless graves on the mountainside testify to the effectiveness of the gunman system in preventing the coal miners' union from obtaining a toe-hold in the non-union fields of that State. Year after year the union has sought to organize these men. Many times the union has been asked by non-union miners to come into the strongholds of the private army of the non-union operators and organize them into local unions, and the union has attempted year after year to carry on a campaign of organization among them, but the result has been the same every time. There has been bloodshed and innumerable murders. Union organizers and sympathizers have been assaulted, beaten up, and driven out of the district more times than could be counted.

#### *Congress Can Regulate the Coal Industry*

There is not much use talking about the unionization of these West Virginia non-union fields, with conditions as they exist at present. Unless a better solution to the coal muddle is found than a resort to the black-jack and the high-power rifle there is small hope for improvement. But, surely, there is a way out of it. It is inconceivable that Congress will admit its impotence to solve the riddle. Congress created the Interstate Commerce Commission to deal with and regulate railroads and rates. It created a War Labor

Board that maintained peace in industry during the World War. It created the Railroad Labor Board, which is trying to keep peace in the transportation industry. Congress could very well profit from its experience with these agencies, ascertaining their virtues and their shortcomings, and then create some kind of regulative body that would stabilize the coal-mining industry and relieve it of its cut-throat features. Only Congress can do this, and Congress must ultimately adopt this plan.

Such a governmental agency should have full and ample power to make a genuine and thorough investigation of every angle of the coal business from end to end. There is much to this business that the public knows nothing about, but the public is entitled to complete knowledge of everything connected with it. Coal is the basic commodity of our civilization. It comes before agriculture, transportation, or anything else, for without coal it would be wholly impossible to distribute food among the people of the country. Transportation dies when it runs out of fuel for the creation of motive power. So, if it is the business of Congress to regulate transportation, it should be its business also to regulate coal in the public's behalf.

#### *A Permanent Commission with Power*

There was a great strike of coal miners in 1919 as a result of stiff-necked stubbornness on the part of coal operators in their refusal to negotiate with the miners. The President of the United States appointed a commission to determine the issues involved and that commission handed down a decision that was unsatisfactory to all parties concerned. It was a temporary commission, created to act only in the then existing emergency. It could not, in the brief span of its existence, get down to the grass-roots of the inherent troubles, nor did it have power or authority to go that far. All it could do under its grant of authority by the President was to effect a truce between the warring factions for a limited time, and, now, the same old fight has broken out afresh, involving the same questions and issues.

The trouble with such commissions is that they are as a rule subject to the baneful influence of political or other considerations that should have no place in the handling of problems affecting the very life of the people and of the nation. The circumstances under which they are created and under which they perform make it next to impos-

sible for temporary commissions or boards to accomplish permanent results.

The public certainly has a right to know what is going on in the basic fuel industry. However, coal companies appear to hold a different view of the matter. They insist upon hiding their costs and sales prices and their profits behind an injunction so that the public may be kept in the dark. What is it that they are concealing from the public? Miners contend that if the operators would disclose the truth about their profits for the past several years, the public would see that the coal companies and not the miners are making money. So, it is apparent that when Congress creates a commission to deal with coal it must grant to that commission authority to inquire into everything.

There is no secret about miners' wages and income. Any commission could gather information on that subject. But the profits of the operators continue to be an iron-bound secret.

A permanent commission of this character should be composed of not less than nine men. There should be three representatives of the operators, three representatives of the miners, and three representatives of the public. Great care should be taken in the selection of these men. It would be fatal if any attention were paid to their political, social, business or financial connections. The three representatives of the operators should be practical, experienced coal producers and distributors, with a technical knowledge of the business side of the industry, including production, manufacture and distribution of coal as fuel. Those who represent the miners should be practical and experienced miners, men who have worked at the face of the coal and who know all about the technicalities of mining. They should be intimately acquainted with life in the coal mining camp and the problems of the miner and his family. And for the public, there should be on that commission three men selected because of their high conception of justice and equity and who might be relied upon to guard zealously the interests of the coal consuming public.

The commission should not have the power to fix wages or prices for coal. Nor should it have the power to force compulsory arbitration. But the scope of its authority should be so broad that it could delve into these matters and lay the facts before the people.

# WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA

BY PAUL MONROE

[Professor Monroe, who is Director of the School of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University, has recently returned from China, and at our request gives the readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS some of the results of his observation in that country.—THE EDITOR.]

CHINESE political conditions, judged by Western standards, are difficult to understand. However, if the Westerner will study various features of the situation in the light of origins in Western government, the problem will appear much simpler. The present conflict is not a sectional strife, like the Civil War in the United States; for, though there is an existing Southern Republic, there is no division of interests or even of views between the masses of people in the two sections. It is not an economic conflict, as in Russia; it is not a partisan conflict, as in Ireland. It can hardly be termed a civil war, since each party claims to be struggling for the unification of China and that when successful it will call a convention to bring about that unification. It is more nearly a struggle between feudal barons, using antiquated methods for getting modern results.

## *The Ten-Year-Old Republic*

The Chinese Republic was formed early in 1912, on the basis of a very brief revolution during the latter part of the preceding year. The revolution itself was short and of little violence. The old Manchu government had little strength and no popular support. When the popular will found channels to express itself, it very quickly condemned and overthrew the old régime, leaving unsettled, however, many important problems in the development of a government of modern form, and leaving unrecognized or uncontrolled a number of troublesome factors long inherent in the social and political situation. The old Imperial Government had never exercised a strong centralized power. Modern forms of taxation had never been worked out; modern military and police authorities were but slightly developed. Internal revenues were largely in kind, chiefly in grain, for which large central storehouses were erected in every provincial center. Revenues from the customs, the salt tax, railway and postal service were largely controlled, both in collection and expenditure, by foreigners. Local

government went on with little disturbance because of its extreme decentralization, and because of the long existence of democratic practices in the village and town communities in which from 85 per cent. to 90 per cent. of the people dwelt. Justice was administered and the ordinary routine of government carried on largely on the basis of custom approaching what the Anglo-Saxon would call common law.

## *A Feeble Central Government*

The new republican government, set up in 1912, attempted to reorganize these old customs and administrative procedures into the Western forms both in the national and the local governments, chiefly, however, in the central government, where modern bureaucratic forms had never been extensively introduced and where less opposition from tradition was to be expected. One must bear in mind that in the brief period that has since elapsed the political leaders of China have been trying to develop modern forms of administrative government, including modern forms of taxation—modern forms of a paid soldiery and of a westernized scheme of governmental machinery and of administration of justice.

Since this must be done on the basis of a strong central power for a huge mass of 425,000,000 people, in whom local traditions are very strong, and local forms of democratic administration traditional, and the administration of justice largely personal and conventional, it is proving a difficult task. The central government at present has nominal power only. The President, Hsu Shih Chang, is an admirable gentleman, an old scholar, respected by everyone for his integrity, feared by no one for his power. He has no army; he has at present no sources of revenue, save as he may get funds by favor from some of the provincial governors or by personal influence with some of his own ministry—chiefly that of Communications. Nominally he has the power to appoint the Tunchuns, the military governors who in reality

control the provinces; practically the power of a successful political leader, especially one with local backing, is supreme. Cabinets are made and unmade through the influence of local cliques, chiefly dominated by military Tuchuns.

The cabinet in control through 1921 was dominated by the Chihli party, which overthrew the Anfu clique in 1920 for its sympathies with the Japanese. However, it had to be a compromise cabinet, held together through the patriotic devotion and the diplomatic ability of Dr. W. W. Yen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, an American returned student. In December this cabinet, which had been reconstructed from time to time, was completely overthrown and a new one under the dominance of Chang Tso Lin was appointed. The head of this cabinet was Liang Shih Yi, called the God of Wealth of Modern China, and the political favorite of Chang Tso Lin. It is supposed that through him the southern interests and the Manchurian interests were brought together.

To Wu Pei Fu and the Chihli party, as well as to the great masses of the people, this allegiance was unacceptable and brought his temporary retirement to Tientsin; this has been almost continuous since his appointment in December. In fact, the operation of the central government, including the payment of all salaries, had been practically blocked for many months, so that the present military conflict is in many respects a happy precipitation of this very muddy situation.

A factor of additional importance is that the policies of foreign government in dealing with China have not been particularly helpful. A modern government must depend upon financial and military strength as well as upon popular support. Popular support for the republican ideal is well developed; that for the administrative personnel since the time of Yuan Shih Kai has not been. Neither financial nor military support has been secured. It has been noted that the Western forms of property taxation are only in the process of development. Aside from provincial contributions, which are more or less uncertain, national income depends upon the customs, salt taxes, postal revenues, and the receipts from the railroads. Receipts for all three are practically all hypothecated as securities for foreign loans.

The Chinese Government is unable to raise the rate of customs duties, since foreign nations have allowed a maximum limit of 5 per cent. This notwithstanding the fact that

imports from China into foreign countries may have to pay several hundred per cent. The rate on their staple products into the United States is from 50 to 60 per cent. Yet when the Chinese Government was allowed an additional 2 per cent. customs duties to provide for the exigencies of famine and flood, the complaint of the foreigner was very bitter that this surtax had not been removed with the disappearance of the emergency. Furthermore, foreign governments protest, as the British Government is now protesting vigorously at Canton, at any attempt to levy local taxation even on such commodities as liquor and tobacco, either as a consumption tax or as a form of excise. The British contention is that such an attempt to control the sale of liquors and its accompanying evils is a violation of British rights in Chinese trade. Consequently the national government has had in recent years practically no revenue left from these sources.

#### *Growing Power of Provincial Governments*

Meanwhile the provincial governments have been growing more and more independent, and have either been unable, or have refused, to make the proper financial contributions for the support of the central government. Hence the latter is left with little financial support, and, consequently upon that, little political or military power.

The growth of the power of these provincial governments has been the striking phenomenon since the death of Yuan Shih Kai. Foreigners, as well as natives, have usually acclaimed Yuan Shih Kai as the strong man necessary for the establishment of modern government in China. So he was, especially during the crucial period of the first few years of the Republic. But discriminating critics also credit him with the introduction of the forces that have brought about the recent unfortunate situation. For, in order to strengthen his power he bought off the local governors who were becoming more or less hostile, particularly toward his design of restoring the monarchy in his own person. In order to do this, Yuan Shih Kai had to have funds, and these were taken from the national bank. This bank had become an element of strength to the new government and was introducing the very greatly needed financial reforms which promised shortly to lead to a unified monetary system throughout the Republic. A strong national bank has not been developed since that time, and the problem of local currency has become more



trying and acute. The national government was left without any financial institution to fall back upon.

### *A Modernized Feudal System*

Meanwhile the second unfavorable factor developed through this policy of Yuan Shih Kai. The provincial military governors became conscious of their strength and of their influence over the central government; they built up local standing armies which became personal possessions, or at least owed only personal or local allegiance. The system which has developed during the last six or seven years differs little from that of a medieval feudal system. The local military governors or Tuchuns now collect and control the local revenues, although these are nominally under the control of the civil governor. Out of these revenues have been built up small standing armies of a paid soldiery. In several instances where the Tuchun has possessed unusual powers of leadership and administration, he has come to exercise control over two or three provinces. Of these the two outstanding ones are those of the present conflict, General Chang Tso Lin, governor of the three Manchurian provinces, and Governor Wu Pei Fu, of Hunan, who has recently extended his influence throughout the Yangtse Valley. To these should probably be added General Chen Chung Ming, of Canton, who, through coöperation with Sun Yat Sen, extended his control over the two provinces of the south, Kwangtung and Kwangsi. An account of the character and influence of the two leading Tuchuns may throw some light upon the present controversy.

### *Dramatic Entry of Chang Tso Lin*

Chang Tso Lin was a common soldier in the war between China and Japan in 1895. Thereafter, as with many of the soldiers of a disbanded Oriental army, he entered the occupation most nearly allied, that of banditry. This, however, in the unsettled conditions then prevailing, came near to being recognized as a legitimate calling. When the old governor of Manchuria offered leaders of the banditry the choice between extermination or service with the government, the leader of the bandits, named Chang Tso Lin—though not our present hero—declined to accept it. The proffered favor was fraught with some danger, since it frequently happened that a recruit under such conditions soon met with an unfortunate accident which

permanently deprived the government of his services; however, one of the subordinate officers expressed to the chieftain his willingness to undertake the rôle himself if there could be an exchange of name. So the future Governor-General of Manchuria acquired a new name, that of his chieftain; also a new position, which he filled with ability, and an open road to success which he has long traveled. Incidentally, the original Chang Tso Lin now serves as a subordinate officer in the army of his former subordinate, who now bears his name. This is a personal illustration of the complications of Oriental politics.

While an uneducated man and until recently illiterate, Chang Tso Lin must be a man of real personal ability and of political astuteness. It is said that he is under the dominance of Japan. His own explanation, recently given to the writer, was that he had to live in daily contact with the Japanese; that they are his nearest neighbors; that they have control of the South Manchurian Railroad and have settled in force in his province. He has succeeded in living in peace with them and in maintaining his own power. During the Washington Conference he went on record as opposed to any concessions whatever to the Japanese in his region. Chang claims to be as much of a patriot as any of the Chinese leaders.

It is impossible for a casual visitor to pass judgment on these personal claims. One can only judge by results. But if it is true that Chang Tso Lin had the backing of a Japanese military power, the recent defeat to his army brought such a blow to the prestige of Japan that they could ill afford to have provoked it; if in fact their influence and prestige was tied up at all in Chang Tso Lin. Admitting his personal ability and power, the real limitations of Chang are his use of arbitrary power, his belief in despotic government and his conservative or reactionary political views in general. These are due in large part, no doubt, to his lack of modern education and modern contacts.

### *Rise of the Governor of Hunan*

The power of the central China leader is of more recent development. A few years ago Wu Pei Fu was a brigade commander in the military forces of the Chihli faction, under the Tuchun of Chihli, Tsao Kun, opposing the attacks of the Tuchuns of Central China. He revealed such military ability and acquired such influence over the

people in general through his moderation and his professions of patriotic purpose that he gained great repute and the appointment as commissioner or Super-Tuchun of the two central provinces of Hunan and Hupei. This led to a continuance of the war with the province of Hunan. His acceptance of a Tuchunship and the subsequent local war lost him much of his prestige, for people immediately began to question whether, after all, he was a patriot of a new type or simply one more feudal lord who would have to be eliminated. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that both with the masses of his own people and with the foreigners resident in China, Wu Pei Fu is looked upon as the abler, the more patriotic and the more reputable man. The events of the last few weeks have indicated also what people already believed: his superior military ability.

#### *Sun Yat Sen's Career*

The third party to this struggle has been the longest in the field, and is perhaps the most difficult to understand. Sun Yat Sen was one of the original republican leaders. He was the first provincial president of the Republic. He has exerted great influence as a patriot. He has many followers in all parts of China. On the other hand, he is generally looked upon and termed an idealist or even a visionary, and not a practical administrator or statesman. In defense he admits his idealism, but asks if, after all, it is the ideal or the vision that misleads; he argues that realization is comparatively easy when the ideal is formed and accepted. As he said, "It took men several thousands of years to develop the conception of a steam engine, but once it was formulated, only a comparatively few years to make its service universal."

It was typical of the uncertainties of Chinese politics that the public did not know until the very last moment that the influence of Sun and the Southern party was to be cast in with Chang Tso Lin. This seemed an unnatural alliance, since it was undoubtedly between the most conservative and the most radical of the political groups. The popular feeling in the centers and north of China was that Sun's allegiance was naturally due to Wu Pei Fu and that with his support a strong central government should be set up in Peking. Furthermore, it is a popular interpretation that what Chang Tso Lin intended to do was first to eliminate the central Chinese leader through the

assistance of Dr. Sun, and when that was accomplished to drop Sun and the Southern party quietly or with whatever noise it was necessary to make.

#### *Alleged Japanese Influence*

It has been frequently charged that Sun Yat Sen, as well as Chang Tso Lin, was under the influence of the Japanese. That has been said so frequently of every Chinese leader that it is difficult to deny or affirm with proof in any case. Certainly the ideals set up by Dr. Sun and the Southern party are patriotic and progressive. And, certainly, also, in the eighteen months' control which they had in Kwangtung, they have set up the most efficient and progressive government to be found in China. Canton has developed into a modern city. A democratic form of government is gradually being set up in the minor provincial cities. They have adopted and are working out a progressive economic and political program. There is no question that it would be a great boon to all China if the same spirit and intelligent purpose could also be spread throughout the country. The problem is whether the method which Sun Yat Sen has now adopted will lead to that end. His military control of Kwangtung, and more recently of Kwangsi, is due, by general report, to the ability of General Chen Chung Ming. General Chen recently gained the governorship of both provinces through his military skill. He has inspired the confidence of his people and of the foreigners in his administrative ability and his intelligent plans for the future.

Even last fall, at a time when General Chen was being acclaimed as the hero and savior of his country, there was general talk that his plans and ideas did not agree with those of Dr. Sun and that a break must soon come. It was then said that General Chen favored the Central party under Wu Pei Fu, and was in reality opposed to a separate Southern government. There was also some talk of Dr. Sun's allegiance with the Manchurian forces. This divergence of views has culminated in the anticipated break and the cables report that General Chen has been forced to retire to his native district, where he first built up his military power, and that of our old friend, Dr. Wu Ting Fang, former minister to the United States, is the Acting Governor in his place.

Thus we have the three great military factions of the present moment. To these must be added an independent army under

the Tuchun of Szechuwan province of the far West, one under the Tuchun of Honan, and one under the Tuchun of Hupei. Wu Pei Fu has been in conflict with the forces from Szechuwan for some months and finally won the victory early in the winter. Cables indicate that he has yet to suppress the small military force of Honan, which is now in his rear. To these Tuchuns with distinct political ambitions and military forces, real though small, must be added those of the remaining eighteen provinces which are either indifferent or are playing a safe waiting game.

#### *Patriotic Pretensions of the Tuchuns*

One obstacle to the understanding of the problem by the outsider is the fact that all of these Tuchuns claim the same patriotic purpose; each of them holds that the local Tuchun is an evil, that China should have a strong central government; that the power of the disturbing Tuchuns should be suppressed. Each claims that he is working with this high patriotic purpose in view and that only through his success can this purpose be consummated. Whether in truth this is a fact, or that each is working either to make himself a national dictator or simply to increase his local power as with the remaining Tuchuns, who are content with provincial authority, is difficult to say. Subsequent conduct alone will tell the story. By popular consent the better man has won. Whether the period of the feudal overlordship of these provincial governors will be replaced through the development of a stronger national government, based on a new constitution and a new patriotism, remains to be seen. If Wu Pei Fu can deliver this, as he promises to do, and if he will then eliminate himself or become the needed strong man operating through parliamentary channels, he will become the present-day savior of China.

#### *A "War" of Minor Importance*

The understanding of both the political and the military problem is somewhat complicated by the Oriental setting. It has taken columns of cable news to give the details of what would have amounted to a minor skirmish in the European War—not entitled even to mention in the usual morning report. The casualties of the first

battle number, according to one report, about 2000; the casualties all told probably less than 10,000; the two armies engaged total probably less than 100,000; the struggle over in ten days; the conquering general distributing funds among the soldiery of the defeated army; the conflicting armies forbidden the use of their own railways or entrance to their own cities by foreign governments; the surrender of an army practically after its first defeat; the elimination after a few days' struggle of one who for years has been looked upon as the strongest man in China; the disappearance overnight of alleged Japanese intrigue; all of these give the struggle something of the comic opera effect. Perhaps if more of the local details could be furnished, this appearance would be strengthened.

Yet all these evidences of insignificance do not minimize the importance of the struggle. Military defeat is not the largest factor in the political and military situation with the Chinese. They are at heart pacifists. The initial victory, even a tactical advantage in position are often accepted as indicating the victor. Last year Chang Tso Lin was severely criticized for his action in clearing Mongolia of the Soviet forces and in pocketing the money which had been assigned to him by the central government for this purpose (which, no doubt, he has recently used in the attempt to gain control of the same central government). Defending this action to the writer he asked, "Are not the Soviet forces out of Mongolia? Did I not take my army up into Mongolia? Did not the Soviet forces then leave Mongolia? Did I not succeed in driving them out without killing any person or destroying any property? Was I not entitled to use this money to pay them to get out and to retain what was left for myself? Isn't this the better way to make war so long as the results are gained?"

Now, within three months' time the tables are turned and the Manchurian General has the opportunity of applying some of his own pacifist philosophy and stoicism to his own case. Undoubtedly the fact that anywhere south of the great wall he would be operating in the enemy's country, that is, among the people who had no faith in his patriotism, had great effect upon the speedy relinquishment of his grandiose plans.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE CAMPUS AND BUILDINGS OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

# NEGRO PROGRESS EXEMPLIFIED

BY WALLACE BUTTRICK

(President of the General Education Board)

*On April 5, 1922, a monument was unveiled at Tuskegee (Alabama) Institute in memory of Dr. Booker T. Washington, founder and first principal of the institution. Before the ceremony of unveiling took place a great company assembled in the chapel, where telegrams were read from the President of the United States and other prominent people and addresses were made by the Honorable Josephus Daniels, formerly Secretary of the Navy; Dr. George C. Hall, a prominent Negro physician and surgeon of Chicago, Illinois, an intimate personal friend of Dr. Washington, and by Mr. Wallace Buttrick, president of the General Education Board. Following these exercises in the chapel the formal ceremony of unveiling took place. The address of presentation was made by Dr. Emmett J. Scott, formerly secretary to Dr. Washington and now secretary and business manager of Howard University, Washington, D. C. Mr. William G. Willcox, of New York, president of the Board of Directors, made the speech of acceptance. The monument was unveiled by Davidson Washington, son of Dr. Washington, who was assisted by a boy and girl, students in the Institute.*

THE significance of what took place at Tuskegee Institute on April 5 can only be appreciated when we have the background of certain noteworthy facts.

Six thousand people came together that they might honor the memory of a man born in slavery who achieved highest distinction in the world of education and of public affairs. There were special railway cars from Boston, New York, Chicago, Washington, and Atlanta. Many of the leading white educators and public men from the States of the South were there. The spirit of Booker Washington pervaded the place, and his name and fame and great public services constituted the sole theme of the occasion. All felt that they were there to honor the memory of one of the world's great men. The very occasion was impressive beyond powers of expression and description.

The monument was the gift of over one hundred thousand Negroes who voluntarily

contributed \$25,000 for the purpose. It represented the affection and devotion and pride of a great race of people. He was their first citizen. They honored his memory, and they must have felt that in so doing they honored their race. The very faces of this multitude of black people beamed with pride, and that sort of appreciation of high character and high service which revealed their own determination to achieve the same spirit of service and right living.

Many of the guests were sitting on the platform of the chapel. We noticed that the row of seats immediately in front of us was vacant. Soon there marched in a company of about one hundred Negroes, who stood for a moment before those vacant places and then took their seats. I cannot recall an incident more impressive or more inspiring. One felt new and fuller confidence in a race of people that could produce such a group of intelligent, good-looking, and altogether

noble men. A prominent Southern citizen said to me, "I am fully converted; I shall never again doubt the capacity of the Negro for attainment in knowledge and leadership." How we refrained from applause I cannot now understand. Every countenance on that platform beamed with satisfaction and hope and pride and confidence.

The noble monument by Charles Keck is not by any means the chief memorial to Booker Washington. Tuskegee Institute is his monument. Still more, that fine group of men and women who constituted the committee and who represented the thousands of Negroes who contributed to the monument are a memorial to Booker Washington. Much of what is best and most hopeful and most promising in the race can be traced to the influence of that great man. The race needs heroes, for hero-worship has always been one great element in the progress of mankind. It is significant that this race has not chosen for its hero a man great in war or in statesmanship, but a man who with humble spirit, fine determination, real culture, and unbounded enthusiasm devoted himself to the well-being of his fellowmen.

I recall the story of Booker Washington's wonderful life. A small Negro boy, a coal-passer in one of the mines of West Virginia, listening to the lunch-time conversation of some miners who were talking of Hampton Institute, a school where Negro boys and girls might work their way to an education. And this boy, with no possible knowledge of where Hampton might be, then and there resolved that he would go to that school. You know the story: a very little schooling;

a year or more of work as a domestic servant in the home of a noble woman, Mrs. Ruffner, who strictly trained him in neatness and constant toil; the help of his noble mother and older brother, who added to his small savings and enabled him to start for Hampton, five hundred miles away. I must scant the rest of the story: graduated at Hampton in 1875; a period of teaching in Melden, Va.; further schooling at Wayland Seminary, Washington, D. C.; a minor executive position at Hampton Institute; the beginnings of Tuskegee Institute; the slow, hard struggle to public recognition and favor; the great Atlanta speech which announced to the world the emergence of an orator of the first rank; the ever rising and widening influence in his country and the world; his early and untimely death.

I have said that Tuskegee Institute is his monument. This is true because Booker Washington created it. It is also true because he created it in such a way that under other leadership it still grows and becomes more efficient. Many friends of the institution wondered whether after the inspiring first principal passed away the school could continue to develop in right and wise directions. I am sure it is the conviction of everyone who was present at this gathering, and of those of us who frequently visit the institution, that Tuskegee Institute is adapting its work to changing and growing needs under the leadership of Dr. Moton, just as, after the death of General Armstrong, Hampton Institute developed and adapted itself to growing needs under the direction of Dr. Frissell and Dr. Gregg.



THE MEMORIAL ERECTED AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE IN MEMORY OF ITS FOUNDER, DR. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON (DESIGNED BY CHARLES KECK)

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## WAS THE CRISIS AT GENOA NECESSARY?

A REMARKABLE editorial in the London *Spectator* opens with this sentence: "One of the saddest and the most ironical facts about the succession of crises in which Mr. Lloyd George has become involved is that they need not have happened."

Admitting that French policy is difficult to reconcile with British policy, "or for the matter of that with American or Italian policy," and also that Mr. Lloyd George's plan of persuading the nations to forge links of partnership and common interest, which should make future wars impossible, is an excellent one, the *Spectator* still maintains that the Genoa crisis need not have happened in the particular form in which it has happened, because the approaches to it, created by Mr. Lloyd George himself, need not have existed. To illustrate its meaning the *Spectator* compares the Washington Conference with the Genoa Conference:

President Harding, Mr. Hughes and their colleagues had, as everyone admits now, great enthusiasm for their project. But that did not prevent them from studiously thinking things out in advance; they took every precaution suggested by wisdom and moderation for preventing mishaps. For example, they did not let their enthusiasm run riot in such a way that they assumed good will on the part of others without any clear evidence that the good will existed. They did not hector nations into sending representatives to Washington—they knew that people who came against their inclinations would impede rather than help the Conference. Above all, they made sure that they had from the very outset one firm friend who would back them through thick and thin. They knew for certain, that is to say, that British and American aspirations were identical. That was a splendidly firm foundation upon which to build. Then, again, they did not clutter up their agenda paper with a large number of doubtful or superfluous topics. Note the result. As France was not intimidated into sending representatives she sent them of her own accord, because she reflected that it was not desirable to be out of a world-movement. It is true that the French delegates found themselves in many respects out of sympathy with the Washington atmosphere, but in the end, acting under the original conviction that it would not be wise

to be out of the swim, France agreed to the main objects of the Conference.

Having looked at that picture, let us look at the other. Mr. Lloyd George went to Genoa without having established any firm political friendship with anybody. He therefore had no sound foundation. Quite the reverse—France was suspicious, Russia was suspicious, Germany was suspicious (if not of us at least of France), and Italy was, to say the least of it, confused. The initial suspicion and confusion have so far become aggravated rather than reduced. If the Conference should break up with nothing settled—though we sincerely hope that this may be avoided—it would have been better that the Conference should never have been held. To attempt the big thing and to fail is nearly always to leave matters worse than they were before. It would not have mattered so much that Mr. Lloyd George's so-called understanding with France before the Conference was frail and ambiguous if he had had other devoted friends. He might have carried the thing through in spite of the French, just as the Americans carried their enterprise through at Washington. But, as it was, nobody was satisfied before the Conference, and when we write everybody seems to be less satisfied than ever.

In attempting to assign a cause of the peril into which Mr. Lloyd George was led at Genoa the *Spectator* frankly states that in its judgment the real cause is that Mr. Lloyd George is unable to create confidence. "He repeatedly excites admiration; he repeatedly provokes gasps of wonder at his ingenuity and quickness in untying knots; he repeatedly brings back for a short time under his spell men who have been previously disillusioned, but he never disseminates an atmosphere of confidence." Of course it is essential to such an undertaking as the Genoa Conference that everyone should have confidence in the prime mover. Instead of disseminating confidence, Mr. Lloyd George, notwithstanding his brilliant powers, seems to have dispelled it.

In seeking to account for this unpleasant fact, the *Spectator* reviews several instances in Mr. Lloyd George's career which seem to show that his famous aptitude for negotiation and his effort to "soothe everybody" have

more than once got him in trouble. Too often he prefers the circuitous to the straight route.

As to the British attitude toward France, the *Spectator* believes that although France may be unsympathetic and obstructive, the British Government should go forward with a policy of "appeasement and reconciliation in a steady manner." In conclusion the editor says:

To sum up, our need is that our foreign policy should be conducted quietly and steadily and in such a way as to create confidence. That is our only hope. We trust Mr. Lloyd George will remember that the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service have men of special training and experience, who are anxious to be used. They at least—for it is not their way—would not throw the French people into frenzies of suspicion.

There is no conceivable reason why even now France and Great Britain should not be brought near together again. France, as she proved at Washington, does not want to be morally isolated. In the final analysis her wisest men recognize that if Germany is bled white, not only would a general recovery be delayed or prevented, but Great Britain in those circumstances would be bound to ask that a share of the money received from Germany should be spent in paying back the money we lent to our European allies. Whatever we might receive would have to be passed on to America. These are "carnal thoughts," and we would not dwell upon them, though they are perhaps just worth mentioning as factors in the problem. The really important thing at the moment is that Mr. Lloyd George should be brought by his friends to see the necessity of creating confidence. He seems hardly to know how to do it, but if he gave the matter serious thought his resource and adaptability might be equal even to this.

## THE LEADER OF THE "POPULAR PARTY" IN ITALY

THE Italian political organization, known as the "Popular Party," born a few weeks after the armistice of 1918, now has more than one hundred members in Parliament, and holds the balance of power. Credit for the formation and leadership of this vigorous and growing organism in the body politic of Italy is conceded to a Sicilian priest, known as Don Luigi Sturzo. In the *New York Times Magazine* for May 7 Dr. Joseph Collins presents some interesting information concerning the character and career of this aggressive leader of modern Italy.

Don Sturzo is fifty-one years old and looks thirty-five. Two years ago his name was known to only a few hundred Italians outside his native province. When asked what he would do for Italy if he were all-powerful, he replied:

Make her again the cultured light of the world; decentralize governmental administration; eviscerate bureaucracy; give the people education and teach them to understand organic liberty, show them the advantages of communal autonomy; strive to develop Italy's commerce, particularly in the Orient; teach her people to live in fear of God, whose mercies, indulgences, permissions and promises are set forth by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

Don Sturzo is by no means a novice in administration. For fifteen years he served as Mayor of Caltagirone, where he doubled the municipality's bank balance, developed an electric light and power plant, restored the seminary and Episcopal residence, built com-

munity houses for workmen, founded a technical and zoological institute and one for olive culture, started a school of ceramics and doubled the number of primary schools. At the same time he taught philosophy, literature, and canonical law in the seminary, and was a conspicuous figure at all the Catholic congresses.

In the new Popular Party, as set in motion by Don Sturzo, Dr. Collins recognizes the Christian Democrats of former days "galvanized and varnished."

Its purpose was the same: to advance the cause of the Church and the people. The best thing that can be said of it is that it was not hypocritical. It admitted without hesitancy that it espoused the Church's cause, though it did not admit that this was its major motivation. However, it is difficult to find any one outside of the Popular Party who does not believe that the chief allegiance of its members is to the Church and that their allegiance to the State is wholly subservient.

One of the participants of the meeting at which it had its birth has written: "Don Sturzo wrote the by-laws and the platform; he was the initiator, relator and dominator of the discussion; the leader of the assembly in the true and sympathetic sense of the word. And to give an idea of the tone, the feeling, the sentiment, the fervor and conviction that he infused into the assembly, I relate the incident of one evening. We had worked until midnight. Then he took us to a neighboring church, where the Holy Sacrament was exposed for the adoration of the faithful, and prayed God that he should bless our intention, and make fruitful our efforts. And he prayed for a long time with fervor; and we were all big with one thought: the grandeur of Italy."



## AMERICAN IDEALISM

**A**FTER all that has been said in recent years to the disparagement of American ideals in international affairs there remains at least one American who is not afraid to accept the challenge of our European critics and to maintain boldly that in the field of humanitarianism the United States has made an original contribution to the higher idealism of the world. Professor Lindsey Blayney, of Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, defends this thesis in the *North American Review*.

In art, literature, law, and science it is admitted that our achievements, while commendable, have not been outstanding. It would seem that the highest idealism of the United States has not yet expressed itself in any of these fields.

There was art, to be sure, before Greece, legal systems before Rome, and humanitarianism before the birth of the United States. But art became great art first in Greece, because Hellenic idealism was profoundly artistic; legal procedure became a great legal system first in Rome, because the idealism of Rome was essentially legal; the spirit of philanthropic endeavor became world-wide humanitarian service first in America, because the idealism of the United States has been and is preëminently humanitarian. We cast no aspersions upon the artistic taste of other nations in assigning a supreme place in art to Greece; nor would we, by the same token, draw any invidious comparison in the field of humanitarianism when we recognize the simple historical fact that the United States of America is the first great nation of the world to make the spirit of disinterested human service the measure of a nation as well as of a man. Just as there has never been a race in the veins of whose individual citizens the spirit of classic art flowed so irresistibly as in the citizen of Athens, so there has never been a nation in the blood of whose individual citizens the spirit of philanthropy and will to human service pulsated so strongly as in that of the citizen of the United States. Greece gave to the world supreme beauty in art. May we not hope that history will record that the people of the United States gave to the world supreme grandeur in service?

In Professor Blayney's opinion it is not the Great War, as many have thought, but the war with Spain that made America a world power.

The war with Spain was not willed by President McKinley, nor by his associates, but was demanded in countless petitions and clamorous appeals by the American people of all classes in the name of justice and of human rights at a moment when the Government hesitated to take the grave step. And when the war was brought

to a victorious conclusion, this "selfish" American people withdrew from Cuba without a thought of reward or compensation, thereby adding through disinterested idealism a new and rich jewel to the bright diadem of young republics of the world. But before so doing, America transformed Havana, at the sacrifice of the lives of courageous American medical men, from a veritable pesthole into one of the most healthful cities of the world. In Panama, in Venezuela, and again in the Philippines, the true spirit of disinterested helpfulness and of generous humanitarianism was eloquently exemplified by the people of the United States.

When the story of American administration in the Philippines shall have been finally recorded, brilliantly illumined by the long and illustrious roll of honor of the American men and women who laid down their lives voluntarily for the best interests of an alien people, no finer chapter of American history will have been penned, nor more conclusive evidence adduced of the fundamentally humanitarian character of the American mind and heart. And again, what a strange form of national "selfishness" it was which prompted the people of the United States, unsolicited, to return to China the large sums due as indemnity for the Boxer uprising that they might be used by the Chinese people for educational purposes! This simple and unostentatious act began a new chapter in the history of the international relations of peoples. The so-called "selfish" American has moved the whole world a great stride forward toward the ultimate goal toward which men have long been striving—international coöperation and good-will.

It cannot be too emphatically insisted upon that the United States was not drawn into the dizzy vortex of international life by the Great War. We were already inextricably involved in it. But so gradually and naturally had it all come about that our nation as a whole never realized the slow but sure grindings of the wheel of destiny. The entry of America into the Great War was not a species of interruption in the normal flow of its idealism, but was the irresistible on-pressing of the great current of "will to human service" which had its source in the ideal of mutual helpfulness of our pioneer ancestors, grew into splendid proportions in all forms of philanthropic endeavor in the century just closed, and has but grown in magnitude and in influence from those days till the present.

The ideal of American independence, in Professor Blayney's view, is in no way undervalued when the national virtue of humanitarianism is exalted. True "Americanism" is exemplified not by exhibitions of reckless independence, but by a spirit of coöperation for the common good. The independent and defiant attitude toward men and nations is not to be taken as the spirit of the nation. We have stood for fair play and disinterested service.

# AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD FRENCH POLICY

THE national traditions and present fears, which go far to explain the attitude of France in the international situation, have been fully discussed in several articles by Mr. Simonds, including the one which appears in this number of *THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS*. In an article which he contributes to the current number of the *Yale Review*, Professor Charles Seymour traverses much of the same ground, and reaches the conclusion that "Europe and the world cannot afford an isolated France in the midst of a Europe not yet pacified. Whether Poincaré stands or falls, it is of the first importance, both for Great Britain and for the United States, that France shall join wholeheartedly in the movement for the economic recuperation of Europe, without which there can be no economic stability in the world."

Professor Seymour is convinced, however, that the honest coöperation of France can only be had on conditions that shall guarantee her security and the most complete measure of prosperity obtainable. Without military disarmament, there can be no economic rehabilitation. The French budget cannot be balanced, and the deficits of the smaller states will only add to the confusion. But Professor Seymour reminds us that at the Peace Conference the demand of France for the left bank of the Rhine was refused, that her plans for an international army to act for the League of Nations were rejected, and that after she had been promised the Treaties of Guarantee this protection was nullified by the failure of the United States Senate to ratify. We cannot complain if France looks upon her army as her sole protection from Germany, as well as the only means of compelling Germany to pay her debts. Whatever may be thought of the French point of view, it is Professor Seymour's contention that our withdrawal from European affairs is chiefly responsible for the French attitude at the present time. He says:

We have bestowed upon France a variety of condemnatory epithets without perceiving that we of all nations have the least right to complain. Never has a political situation brought out so clearly the pertinence of the parable of the mote and the beam. We have reprimanded the French for shortsightedness, without noting that we ourselves have viewed affairs purely through the colored prism of our own ignorance. If France is maintaining a large army it is in some meas-

ure, at least, due to the fact that we refused to ratify arrangements designed to make its demobilization possible and safe. Nor, so long as we are careful to abstain from all economic coöperation in Europe, can we expect to see a radical change in the French attitude on reparations. For France the reparations problem must dominate all others, and until some better solution is advanced she will rest her case on the Versailles Treaty; but it is obvious that without the United States no adequate solution can be found. As the price of our coöperation, political and economic, we might lay down what terms we choose: disarmament, expenditure restricted to productive purposes, the divorce of political animosities from economic necessities.

It would appear that neither Briand nor any other Frenchman appreciated the significance of the Washington Conference or considered the possibility of military disarmament for France. No Ministry that harbored such a thought could have lived. The result of the Conference, as is generally admitted, neither exalted the prestige of France nor insured American coöperation in the economic rebuilding of Europe. It seems to the French people that their delegation played a second fiddle at Washington.

Professor Seymour gives Secretary Hughes credit for showing great courage in his demand for a naval holiday.

If he would only show equal courage in facing the problems of Europe! If he would only not say, "We cannot come in because you have not disarmed or balanced your budgets," but instead would declare: "We are ready to come in. You must disarm and balance your budgets, but we are prepared to help you." There are many indications that Mr. Hughes and Mr. Harding appreciate the vital quality of our interest in European affairs, but they fear the same parochial spirit that destroyed the policy of Woodrow Wilson. They need the support of courageous public opinion which shall hold up their arms in a policy that is at once bold and sane. It is time that the American public cease from complaining of French traditions and prejudices and consider how far our own prejudices are blocking the stabilization of world affairs. Sentiment combines with business instinct in calling us to play our part. Barely four years ago Theodore Roosevelt said of France: "Never in all history has there been such steadfast loyalty in the doing of dangerous duty. . . . And great shall be her reward, for she has saved the soul of the world." America now has her opportunity for paying the debt by undertaking a duty which also demands courage, but which is equally obvious. Instead of insisting that France is looking through the wrong end of the telescope, let us try the other end of our own telescope.

## BRANTING OF SWEDEN



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PREMIER HJALMAR BRANTING

IN the very small group of European statesmen who have survived the war the Prime Minister of Sweden, Hjalmar Branting, has a prominent place. This has been shown at Genoa, and long before that Conference met, Branting had been recognized as perhaps the foremost leader of the small European states which had been neutral in the war. His character and capacity are examined by Edwin Björkman, himself a native of Sweden, in the May number of the new periodical, *Our World* (New York).

Mr. Björkman points out that although Branting is a Socialist, certain elements within his own party have for years waged a bitter fight against him, speaking contemptuously of him as a *bourgeois*. When Branting arraigns Bolshevistic extravagances, as he frequently does, his fellow Socialists denounce him as a "traitor against the proletariat." In characterizing Branting's attitude Mr. Björkman says:

Taking it all in all, Branting is a *bourgeois*. He springs from the middle class. He is deeply rooted in it. He has the intellectual solidity and clarity of that class. He prefers evolution to revolution every time. He wants to know where

he is going before he starts. He is familiar with every political theory that was ever formulated, and he can play with them as well as any man. He has accepted certain theories that are generally regarded as fundamental to Socialism, but what they mean to him at bottom is merely that the closely built up communities and nations of our industrial era cannot exist except on a co-operative basis. To him, privately controlled business is a state within the state that checks and thwarts the wider organization at every point, and so the process of democratization must be extended from the political to the industrial field.

But, well informed though he is, he is no theorist. Never, since the days of old Bismarck, has the world known a statesman more keenly alive to the supremacy of facts. And that is one of the main reasons, perhaps, why his opponents fear him and reluctantly admire him to the extent they do. They know that no proposition of his is ever permitted to go beyond the borderline of what is possible *at the time*. And it is so much easier to fight Utopias than projects that can be proved feasible to any man whose thinking is not entirely regulated by his emotions.

Branting's early identification with the Socialist cause in Sweden was an act of true courage, in Mr. Björkman's opinion:

Branting belonged to a good Stockholm family with excellent connections. He was a university graduate and regarded as a rising young scientist. He had independent means enabling him to pursue his studies regardless of any monetary considerations, or, if he so preferred, to enjoy a cultured leisure. He was engaged to a young woman of his own class. Even if the Socialist theories drew him ever so strongly, he might have been satisfied with giving them a quiet support from the safe seclusion of his own study. Instead he chose to take upon himself the full ignominy of open association with a cause which even the most foresighted then deemed little short of criminal, its one saving feature being the utter hopelessness of its folly.

After Branting had come to a position of leadership and power in his country this quality of courage was quite as manifest as it had been in the days of his poverty and adversity. It is generally admitted that during the war Branting did more than any other one man to hold Sweden to her true course, and after the war he committed himself fearlessly to the principle of peaceful settlement of international disputes by advocating Sweden's acceptance of the League of Nations verdict in the Aaland Islands question, although even he himself did not regard that verdict as quite just. Branting's creed is thus summed up by Mr. Björkman:

During the war he took the greatest risk of his career by championing the cause of the Allies and

America. The pressure brought to bear on him from the other side was tremendous, but he never wavered from the moment he had made up his mind that Germany must be held responsible for the war. Now he is equally determined that, in so far as he and his country and the smaller sister nations allied with it can help, the German people shall not be punished beyond their responsibility. As usual, his stand is dictated not so much by theories or principles as by human sympathy and the recognition of palpable facts.

Just as he believes that the satisfactory conduct of the affairs of a modern nation requires complete internal co-operation, so he believes that international co-operation, regardless of all past differences, can alone give the world the new start without which it is threatened with catastrophes beside which the war itself would dwindle into comparative insignificance. And the creed lying back of this attitude on his part is as simple as it is old. Among Christians it is generally referred to as the Golden Rule.

## ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

**D**OCUMENTARY material in the archives of the British Public Record Office, in the Canada Archives of Ottawa, and among the unpublished papers of Baron Grenville, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, seems to establish the fact that the American idea of limitation of armaments was originated by Alexander Hamilton. Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis gives a résumé of the evidence in the current number of the *Pacific Review* (Seattle, Washington). Historical writers have been agreed that the first known application of the principle was embodied in the negotiations between the United States and Great Britain, which ended in the Treaty of 1818, establishing the international boundary. That treaty provided for the abolition of naval armaments on the Great Lakes and of any kind of armament along the land frontier throughout its length.

Professor Bemis shows that the principle adopted in 1818 is traceable as far back as the year 1794 and to the brain of Alexander Hamilton. It was expressed in the negotiations of that year with England which resulted in the famous Jay's Treaty, the first treaty ever submitted to the United States Senate. The principle had been proposed by John Jay to the British Government in the summer of 1794. Although Jay's instructions had been written by Randolph, Jefferson's successor as Secretary of State, Professor Bemis points out that the principles on which they were based had already been outlined in a memorandum by Alexander Hamilton, written for the President, and entitled, "Points To Be Considered in Mr. Jay's Instructions." Referring to the maintenance of frontier military posts by the British Government, which were used as bases of intrigue with Indians in American

territory, Hamilton had written as follows:

A stipulation that in case of war with any Indian tribe, the other party shall furnish no supplies whatever to that tribe, except such, and in such quantity only, as it was accustomed to furnish previous to the war; and the party at war to have the right to keep an agent or agents at posts or settlements of the other party nearest to such Indians to ascertain the faithful execution of this stipulation.

It may be desired, and would it not be for our interest to agree, that neither party shall in time of peace keep up any armed force upon the lakes, nor any fortified places nearer than ——— miles to the lakes, except for small guards (the number to be defined) stationed for the security of trading houses.

Thus Hamilton practically proposed a guarantee that if the Americans should conquer the natives, rendered helpless without British support, the United States would not compete with Great Britain for the control of the Great Lakes, but would be willing to accept the principle of an absolute limitation of armaments there. This later found expression in the Treaty of 1818. These points, outlined in Hamilton's memorandum, are thus worded by Randolph in Jay's instructions:

One of the consequences of holding the post has been much bloodshed on our frontiers by the Indians, and much expense. The British Government having denied their abetting of the Indians we must of course acquit them. But we have satisfactory proofs (some of which, however, cannot, as you will discover, be used in public) that British agents are guilty of stirring up, and of assisting with arms, ammunition, and warlike instruments, the different tribes of Indians against us. It is incumbent on that Government to restrain those agents; or the forbearance to restrain them cannot be interpreted otherwise than a determination to discountenance them. It is a principle from which the United States will not easily depart, either in their conduct toward other nations, or what they may expect from them, that

the Indians dwelling within the territories of one shall not be interfered with by the other.

Article II of Jay's draft of September 30, 1794, contains two paragraphs which seem to have escaped the notice of historians. They read as follows:

No armed vessels shall be kept by either of the parties on the lakes and waters through which

the boundary line between them passes. *It being their earnest desire to render mutual justice, confidence, and good-will, a sufficient barrier against encroachment and aggression.*

Under influence of these motives they will as soon as circumstances shall render it seasonable enter into arrangements for diminishing or wholly withdrawing all military force from the Borders.

After 127 years this proposal is now made public by Professor Bemis for the first time.

## CAN OUR PRESENT NAVY BE REDUCED?

THREE prevalent ideas concerning the effect of the Naval Treaty, drafted by the Conference for the Limitation of Armament, are discussed by Lieutenant Commander H. W. Hill, U. S. N., in the *World's Work* for May. These are: (1) That the United States Navy under the provisions of this treaty is smaller than the navy now operating in commission to-day; (2) that the naval treaty places restrictions on the new construction of all types of vessels; and (3) that all competition between navies has been ended. Commander Hill considers all three of these ideas fallacious. He shows that under the terms of the naval treaty this country is required to stop construction at the present time on only one type of vessel, namely, the capital ship.

The question whether the mere existence of naval tonnage is a guarantee of the maintenance of naval strength is answered by Commander Hill emphatically in the negative. If we meant to keep the ratio equal between Great Britain and the United States, our tonnage must be maintained at a "razor-edge efficiency," as Secretary Denby recently stated.

Naval efficiency is the efficiency of the Fleet, and to that end all the activities of the whole naval establishment must be directed. In the Fleet itself, efficiency is measured by four elements, all of which are so interdependent that one cannot be neglected without serious damage being done to the other three. These elements are (1) Personnel, (2) Gunnery, (3) Engineering, and (4) Fleet Training.

The personnel must be efficient and must also be sufficient to man the vessels necessary to be kept in commission for the furtherance of national policies and national defense. The combatant ships of the Navy are at present undermanned, as described in a previous paragraph. Unfortunately the personnel of the Navy cannot be restricted in its distribution to combatant vessels alone. These vessels of the Fleet are not self-sustaining. With them must go hospital ships, store ships, refrigerator ships, repair vessels, am-

munition ships, tankers, colliers, etc. All of these must be manned by naval personnel, as their duties often involve work of a highly technical nature.

The individual ships of the Navy must be able to shoot their guns rapidly and accurately. Naval battles of to-day are won by the fleet which can hit the enemy first and hit him the hardest. The fire-control installation on a modern dreadnaught is intricate to the highest degree, and only by continual training of the various gunnery units, both individually and collectively, can efficiency be attained.

The Fleet's radius of action depends upon the efficient and economical performance of its weakest unit. In battle, the Fleet's efficiency depends upon the ability of the individual ships to maintain, by full speed, their place in the battle line. Engineering installations cannot be kept efficient when laid up—they must operate frequently at reduced speeds, and occasionally at high speeds, to be maintained in an efficient condition.

The individual ships, when proficient in the foregoing three elements, must be molded into a homogeneous, indoctrinated mass known as the Fleet, able to maneuver and perform its battle evolutions, which are now becoming indescribably intricate under the stress of modern battle conditions. When one stops to think that to the training of the battleship units must be added the strategy and tactics of scouting and screening, the training in the tactics of destroyer attack, attack by submarines and air units, and defensive measures against similar attacks by the enemy, one must realize that fleet efficiency can be realized only after weeks and months of continuous work and intensive training. It cannot be learned out of a book. It can be, and must be, learned only by actual and laborious work at sea with all the various units involved.

Such training involves the expenditure of fuel. Congress reduced the naval estimates for fuel so drastically last July that the Fleet has not been able to keep up efficiency in fleet training. Fleet manœuvres of the combined Atlantic and Pacific fleets were canceled. Referring to this, the Secretary of the Navy, in a recent statement to the House Appropriations Committee, said, "This I consider a loss to the Fleet and to the Navy, but it was done in the instant need for economy even at the cost of naval efficiency. All full power trials ordinarily held by combatant vessels at least once a year as a test of their engineering installations were canceled."

# THE PUBLIC AND THE COAL STRIKE

**A**T a dinner of Survey Associates, held in New York on April 21 last, President Harry A. Garfield, of Williams College, former U. S. Fuel Administrator, discussed the nature of the public interest in the present coal strike. In the course of his address, which is published in the *Survey* for May 6, President Garfield said:

Coal is a basic commodity—in many respects the most basic commodity. Coal is the food of our manufacturing establishments; in large part also of our transportation systems. Factories, railroads, and ships are so related to the production of food, clothing and shelter that it is impossible to consider one without the other. In a very real sense the production of coal is a question of transportation. One-quarter of all the bituminous coal produced is necessary to the operation of our railroads. Without coal the factory manufacturing agricultural implements cannot operate. In other words, without coal we cannot cultivate, harvest or transport food and the raw materials of clothing and shelter in quantities sufficient for our use. Who can doubt, therefore, that coal is a basic commodity and that it is charged with a public use; and this being so, it is equally obvious that those who are engaged in the production and transportation of coal, whether as labor or capital, are charged with a public responsibility. This, it seems to me, is incontrovertibly true.

But at this point opinions divide. There are those who believe that because of these facts Government should intervene even to the extent of owning and operating mines and railroads; and there are others equally insistent who believe that the best results are obtained under private ownership. Discussions of the questions thus raised are appropriate, but not necessary at the present time. Even if it were granted that the policy of nationalization of the mines would be the wiser one to adopt, the fact is that our present system is based on the private ownership of mines. Therefore, it would be necessary to show how and by what practical means the mines could be taken over and operated in the public interest.

But I say it is not necessary to discuss this question at the present moment. Let us rather start with the facts as they are and see whether it may not be possible to protect the consumer of coal without embarking upon any new policy of ownership and operation. Whoever owns it, capital is indisputably necessary to the production and transportation of coal, and likewise, whoever governs production and transportation, the labor of men's hands must be employed. The problem then can be reduced to a consideration of the human factors involved.

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In the first place, personal and private interests must be subordinated to the public welfare. Dr. Garfield, speaking on behalf of the public, made it clear that in his opinion the public has no right to ask "something for nothing." It is perfectly just that the consumer should pay a price representing fair profit and fair wages and a just return for transportation, besides a reasonable commission to those who perform necessary functions in the distribution of coal. On the other hand, the public has every right to object when unfair profits, excessive wages, unnecessarily large freight charges and commissions are imposed, without the consumer having an opportunity to be heard, or the power to prevent. Furthermore, the Government should protect the consumer whenever this necessary basic commodity is denied to him—it matters not whether it is withheld by the act of capital or of labor, or of the two combined.



DR. H. A. GARFIELD

Admitting that the coal industry is no longer a true private industry, in the sense that other industries are private, Dr. Garfield is still ready to accept private ownership as a fact, and is not ready to substitute public ownership for the present system. He does not believe that such substitution is necessary, provided those interested as operators and mine workers will coöperate with the Government, representing the consumer, and agree upon a program of action calculated to secure just results to all concerned. He outlines a program that was actually formulated during the last days of the war at a conference attended by representatives of the operatives, the mine workers, and the Government. This plan was based upon the following propositions, assumed to be true as applied to any industry producing a basic commodity required by the entire community.

(a) The underlying facts necessary to the consideration of any question touching the industry, such as cost of living, cost of production, labor conditions, transportation facilities, must be ascertained and must be trustworthy.

(b) These facts should be secured by Govern-

ment agencies, clothed with ample powers to examine and prove them, and the tabulated results should at all times be open to the inspection of the parties in interest.

(c) The parties in interest in every industrial problem arising in such an industry are the public, capital and labor; and no action affecting any of them should be taken until the proposal has been considered by their duly appointed representatives. The most appropriate representative of the public is the Government.

(d) The determination of facts and the formulation of administrative policy are two separate functions and should not be performed by the same agency.

The plan as originally presented included all basic industries involved in feeding, clothing, and housing the people, and in transporting the necessary basic commodities. Dr. Garfield, however, confines it for present purposes to the coal industry and substitutes the Secretary of Commerce for the Secretary of the Interior, originally suggested. The plan is as follows:

1. That two separate federal advisory commissions be established, each having to do with coal—a bituminous commission and an anthracite commission—representing the public, the mine workers, and the operators.

2. That the Secretary of Commerce be designated as chairman of each commission, to act for the President as the representatives of the public.

3. That the mine workers be represented on each commission by, say, three members, chosen by and from their own group, and that the operators be represented by an equal number, chosen in the same way.

4. That these commissions shall have authority

to require from the Federal Trade Commission, Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Geological Survey of the Interior Department, all the facts necessary for the determination of policies.

5. That Congress be asked to appropriate sufficient funds to enable the Labor Statistics Bureau to have at all times ready at hand full information as to the cost of living of the mine workers; the Federal Trade Commission, all the facts regarding cost of producing and selling coal; the Interstate Commerce Commission, all the facts showing cost of distribution; and the Geological Survey, figures showing the supplies on hand in all sections of the country.

6. That these four fact-finding bureaus of the Government shall have nothing to do with the determination of policies, their responsibility ending with an impartial ascertainment and presentation of the facts.

7. That the coal commissions, representing the public, the mine workers, and the operators, shall have no power to determine policies but shall be purely advisory—advisory to the President of the United States, speaking through the Secretary of Commerce as chairman.

8. That upon the President of the United States shall rest the power to determine policies and to make such regulations as may be authorized by Congress upon his recommendation, the action of the President being in every case based upon the advice of the Secretary of Commerce speaking with understanding as a result of his conference with the advisory commissions and his study of the facts submitted by the fact-finding bureaus.

On one point Dr. Garfield ventures to criticize the public's attitude toward the coal industry in terms very similar to those employed elsewhere in this number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* (page 639) by a representative of the miners. He declares that the public is clearly at fault when it fails to coöperate with the producer of coal by distributing its purchases as evenly as possible throughout the year. Until the public consents to coöperate with the industry in correcting the condition that has resulted from unequal demands at different times of the year, it must, to an extent, consent to pay more than would otherwise be necessary for its coal.

The question of the equal car supply, the production of power at the pit mouth and resulting reduction of railroad tonnage, the relation of the producing companies to the railroads and to the distributing companies, are regarded by Dr. Garfield as highly important questions, but since they are chiefly technical, he thinks that they would be more profitably discussed by the proposed advisory commissions. The public is interested in them only indirectly.



THEY TAKE THEIR STAND—AND WHERE IS THE PUBLIC?

From the *News* (Detroit)





A SECTION OF THE FREE PORT AT STOCKHOLM SEEN FROM THE AIR

## THE FREE PORT AT STOCKHOLM

THE Free Port, built by the city of Stockholm at a cost of \$4,000,000,000, and opened for business in October, 1919, has enjoyed a steady and rapid development. A writer in the *Swedish-American Trade Journal* (New York) gives a general description of the character and purposes of the Free Port, which should be of interest to American exporters and ship owners, as well as to tourists.

This writer calls attention to the fact that Stockholm is the natural center of distribution for the countries surrounding the Baltic Sea and the Gulfs of Bothnia, Finland and Riga. The Free Port has a further advantage in that Stockholm, having been for centuries the most important industrial and commercial city on the Baltic, already has many direct lines of steamers to all ports of importance along the 2000 miles of coast line controlled by the surrounding countries—Sweden, Finland, Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland.

In describing the docking facilities offered

by the Free Port this writer gives the following details:

The length of dock frontage already in use is 1328 feet, the depth of water alongside being 30 feet. The pier extensions, under construction, will, however, reach a length of 2600 feet, with a depth alongside of 33 feet.

The two large warehouses which have been completed are built of concrete, covered on the outside with bricks for insulation purposes. They are perfectly fireproof and have a combined floor area of not less than 194,000 square feet.

The docks already completed are supplied with 15 electric cranes, of which 8 are bridge cranes and the remainder of the "portal" type. They have a lifting capacity of 2.5 to 5 tons each. Besides these there are several floating cranes of a lifting power from 3 to 75 tons.

The capacity of the cranes may be judged from the fact that not less than 20,000 bags of coffee of 130 to 150 pounds weight each can be discharged from one steamer and stored in the warehouse in a day of eight working hours. This means roughly 1250 tons of coffee discharged, sorted and stored in eight hours, and is probably a record, at all events for Scandinavia, if not for the whole of northern Europe.

To facilitate quick dispatch, loading and

discharging may proceed at the same time.

The land area of the Free Port, at present fenced in in the usual manner, is 678,000 square feet, and will, in a few years, be increased to nearly three million square feet, when the floor area of all warehouses owned by the Free Port will be correspondingly increased to more than four times the present space, or to about 800,000 square feet.

In 1929, if then required, an additional tract of land of nearly  $5\frac{1}{2}$  million square feet, at present utilized by the Government, will be available for a further increase of the Port. As the water area and the depth of water are unlimited, this implies that the potentialities for growth and increase of the Stockholm Free Port are practically also unlimited.

Ample space is reserved for warehouses erected by private firms, and a number of such warehouses, with an aggregate floor area of 107,600 square feet are already completed and in use.

In addition, large open areas for storing goods under tarpaulins or other temporary shelter are also available alongside the piers and the numerous railway tracks, which connect the Free Port with the net of the State Railways.

On one of the pier-heads a space is reserved for the erection of a large grain elevator.

An unusual feature of the harbor is the absence of tidal changes. Furthermore, it appears that Stockholm has great advantages as an open seaport during severe winters. The American steamship, *Eastern Coast*, loaded with food for starving Russia could not make its port of destination on the Russian side of the Baltic, but was brought into Stockholm Free Port by one of the powerful icebreakers employed in those waters.

The City of Stockholm has handed over the management of the Port to a corporation consisting of merchants and leading ship owners resident at Stockholm, one condition of the lease being that the stockholders shall never be entitled to a dividend of more than 6 per cent. The charges for the storing of goods, for the use of the trains, and for weighing and supervising shipments are said to be moderate, and are subject to the approval of the Stockholm Governor General, acting under the advice of the Chamber of Commerce.

## THE LITTLE ENTENTE

THE most notable transformation in the face of Europe since the Great War is the disappearance of the Hapsburg Empire, and the division of the center of the continent among six states of the second rank. On the one hand, Austria and Hungary, isolated, mutilated, all but hostile even towards each other; on the other, Rumania, Jugoslavia, as well as Greece, enlarged and transformed, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, revived after subjection for centuries. . . . This new physiognomy seems at least sufficiently permanent for the political speculation of the present moment.

THUS begins a closely packed discussion by M. L. Claudon in the *Correspondant* (Paris) for April 10. Omitting nearly all details as to the internal condition of each State, the writer describes the gradual *rap-prochements*, on the part of four among these peoples, which may perhaps justify his title.

Between the one pair, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, wholly secure from territorial disputes with each other, and alike in dread of their common neighbor, Hungary, there has been from the first the most hearty fraternal feeling. The two larger eastward states, Rumania and Poland, alike conterminous with Russia, have accepted their common mission, and peril, as the united bulwark against Bolshevism, whether in armed

invasion or nominally peaceful propaganda.

Between the new and Greater Serbia and the no less enlarged Rumanian Kingdom there were delicate questions of boundary, but they have been finally settled in just and conciliatory fashion, though minorities of some thousands of each race have inevitably been left as subjects of the other monarch. The approaching marriage of King Alexander and the Rumanian Princess Marie will set the dynastic seal upon this natural union of defensive frontier forces.

As for the Poles and the Czechoslovaks, they came to the very brink of war over the coal basin of Karwin, grievously needed by both, and the city of Teschen itself. This was finally settled by arbitration and peaceful compromise, when the Great Entente swung back towards its original decision as to Upper Silesia, giving a generous portion of that coal region into the control of Poland. So both of the new Northern Republics have their needs for coal and iron measurably met.

There has been a rapid succession of dual treaties. In the first (1919), the Jugoslavs and their northern brethren frankly recognize Hungarian aggression as their acutest common peril, and make a defensive union

against it. So, again, the Polo-Rumanian Treaty, which followed during the next May, guarantees the eastern boundaries of both States against Russian invasion. A month later, Rumania and Jugoslavia, in a compact which is aimed especially at their common neighbor, Bulgaria, make also a general provision for an harmonious foreign policy. Last November a treaty between Czechoslovakia and Poland, foreshadowing future danger either from Germany, Russia, or Hungary, assured united action toward a common enemy, and friendly neutrality, at least on the part of either if the other alone be assailed, say, by Russians and Hungarians.

This whole series of agreements, it will be noted, recalls the enmities of the past, but they do also create a network of friendly alliances steadily drawing these four minor powers closer together. If they do not constitute, they do at least clearly prepare the way for the Little Entente.

If assured of permanent unity, what would be the total strength of this confederation?

Poland counts 30,000,000 people, the northern Slavs 14,000,000, Rumania 16,000,000 to 17,000,000, Jugoslavia 15,000,000—altogether a mass of about 75,000,000, quite compact but for the partial barrier of Hungary's 8,000,000 or 9,000,000. (She, however, is alienated even from Austria by the attempt to deprive her of the semi-Germanized "Western Counties," and both weakened and embittered by the loss of three or four million Magyars in the general "settlement" of Central Europe.) The Little Entente, furthermore, will hold continuous territory from the Baltic to the Adriatic and to the Black Sea.

Despite the border strife of Poland and Lithuania, the common Eastern peril may yet add to this confederation all the three little East Baltic States—Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia—and conceivably even the re-liberated Finns, with their imposing stretch of territory up to the Arctic itself.

Time, and economic necessity, will doubtless yet draw the humbled Magyars of Hungary into close commercial, if not political, relations with these interlinked neighbors who now all but completely surround them. (A bewildering, possibly a prophetic incident, was the Magyar offer to send a great army to the aid of the Poles, in their desperate need, against the invading Bolshevik hosts, and the fierce blaze of resentment



EASTERN EUROPE AS IT STANDS TO-DAY

from Prague, Belgrade and Bucharest alike!)

That the Bulgars, last to take up arms in mistaken self-interest and first to make over-hasty submission, will yet unite in some fashion with their racial, linguistic, and religious kinsmen, the Serb branch of the Southern Slavs, is foreshadowed even in this cautious article, though no Frenchman can as yet be expected to see the inevitable gravitation of forlorn and starving Little Austria to the great German mass, with which alone she can affiliate.

The time is yet far distant when the four peoples already familiarly mentioned as an Entente will become, if ever, an actual union of States. That day will be remoter yet, if the inclination mentioned by the writer, to include Greece in the group, is to be accepted as well-grounded. Between them and the Serbs, still poorly provided with Adriatic ports, Salonika will long be a real bone of contention—not to mention Constantinople itself, whose fate is not yet fully clear, even since we made the Great Refusal. In this Salonika problem, Bulgaria also is vitally interested and keenly alert. It is to be hoped that at least a commercial understanding will open the great port fully for the free use and common benefit of all the three races, Serb, Greek and Bulgar. Better still, the

Baltic, Adriatic, Egean, and the Black Sea should be bound so closely together by well-equipped internationalized railway lines, the boundless natural resources of these Slavic lands—or, indeed, of all Slavic lands—should be so skilfully and vigorously devel-

oped that the swarming races of all Middle Europe shall be too busy, and too prosperous, to quarrel. Perhaps American capital may yet solve the Balkan problem, which American statesmanship has thus far refused even to touch.

## THE MATERNAL INSTINCT AS SHOWN IN MAMMALS

IT is clear that we older folk are condemned to pass through a dreary old age with absolutely none of our illusions or emotional *tendresses* left to us.

Though we now know humans all too well, we cling to the hope that the animals we once considered lower than man may solace us. And for a brief period we were comforted perhaps by the recollection of familiar incidents of the virtues of our four-footed fellows. The devotion of dogs and horses, the canny pride of the cat and even the maternal virtues of the poor-spirited mouse were cheering amid the ruins of our faith in heroes and kings.

Now comes one Etienne Rabaud to demolish our deep-rooted belief in the maternal instinct in animals. The amiable lady mouse who cared for the baby mice from a neighboring nest, and the cat who adopted the little rats from her enemy's litter when deprived of her own three kittens, have now been dragged to the bar of justice. They are impostors, just as base deceivers as Lucrezia, and Elizabeth, and Victoria. But M. Rabaud's experiments are conclusive, his logic impeccable, and we yield as we have yielded to all the stern dispellers of the fog and mist and rose-colored rubbish of our mental garret.

Rabaud in the *Journal de Psychologie* explains that the maternal instinct in mammals is a delusion like the rest. The instinct is purely a physico-chemical attraction determined by the internal secretion of the ovary, now definitely classed as a gland with both inner and external secretions. The new-born exert an attraction on the female mammal, but the attraction does not imply any consciousness on the part of the adopted mother or gratitude on the part of the foundlings. The mother undergoes an attraction to the young, but she does not direct it or calculate its consequences.

"From the superficial point of view,"

M. Rabaud admits, "this attraction produces the illusion of a conscious phenomenon implying affection, and it may even assume the attitude of the purest altruism." We think of a Lady Bountiful adopting an abandoned infant on her doorstep when we recall the classic anecdotes related by Romanes of the mother mouse and the bereaved cat, and we all but add, "they cared for the waifs out of pity."

Rabaud goes on to say that in all probability the nature of maternal love does not change in the essence in man. It remains a physico-chemical attraction determined by the internal secretion of the ovary. But in man it is complicated by the influences of social life and by the possibility that our mental consciousness affords of foreseeing the consequences of our actions, and the lady rat who accumulates in her nest her own litter and that of her neighbors has no worries as to the difficulties she is incurring, and she is unaware of the strain on her glandular system caused by long or excessive nursing of her progeny. There is, therefore, no opposing factor to the attraction she feels towards all new-born living things, and her act of adoption has all the glamour of an enthusiastic impulse of generosity. But the woman foresees all the complications which will be brought on by the raising of the large family, and the vision of these individual or social complications is the obstacle to the unselfish impulse and nullifies it.

The attraction to the new-born remains in its entirety, but it is restrained and localized, so to speak. At least when the new-born belongs to another, other sentiments intervene which neutralize the attraction, and the human mother's behavior towards stranger babies seems therefore essentially selfish. In fact, the maternal instinct retains its physical basis in woman, as in the other mammals, but it is complicated by multiple interfering factors.

# ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES

CUBA'S leading monthly review, *Cuba Contemporánea*, in its issue for April, presents to its readers an interesting address delivered recently by Señor Luís Marino Pérez before the Cuban Society of International Law, relative to the economic relations between the island republic and the United States.

"The development of the life of Cuba," says Señor Pérez, "in its domestic as well as in its international order is to-day submitted to the influence of the economic policy which the United States may adopt with respect to our country. This policy at the present time is suffering a grave crisis, and it may well be said that a clear and frank definition thereof is by all means urgent."

In order that the nature and importance of the relations existent between the United States and Cuba may be seen clearly, the following subjects are discussed:

"Economic Interests of the United States in Cuba"; "Reasons why Cuba Should Seek Closer Commercial and Financial Relations with the United States"; "Economic Ties which Have Been Established through Agreements between the Two Countries."

(1) *Economic Interests of the U. S. in Cuba*.—In the sugar industry alone it is pointed out that citizens of the United States have invested in Cuba more than \$1,000,000,000. In other industries it is estimated that more than \$100,000,000 U. S. capital is invested. In 1901, when the treaty for commercial reciprocity was made effective, American capital in the affairs of the island amounted to the then impressive total of about \$80,000,000.

Since 1904 the Cuban Government has floated loans with American bankers aggregating \$66,500,000. It is probable that within the near future another loan, for \$45,000,000, may be made.

Commenting on American exports, it is pointed out that during the year 1920 Cuba bought about \$515,000,000 worth of our products, occupying in that year fourth place among our export markets, being exceeded only by England, Canada, and France. In 1921 the figures had fallen to \$187,726,179, which sum is given as the more normal import business of the island. From 1900 to 1905 the yearly exports to Cuba averaged \$28,000,000, or 1.6 per cent. of our total

exports, while for the past five years Cuba has taken about 5 per cent. of our total export trade. Viewed from the standpoint of Cuban imports, our goods represented during her first five years of independence about 42 per cent., while to-day they represent nearly 75 per cent.

About 60 per cent. of the Cuban sugar industry to-day belongs to American citizens, and it is said that these plantations alone exceed in production the beet and cane plantations of Louisiana, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines combined, the production of these countries for the crop year of 1921-22 being estimated as:

Cane.....	1,397,313 tons of	2240 lbs.
Beet .....	900,000 " "	2240 "
Total ....	2,297,313 " "	2240 "

The production of American-owned Cuban plantations last year reached 2,570,000 tons. It must be remembered that this total does not take into consideration the production of plantations belonging to citizens of other nationalities but financed and virtually controlled by American bankers.

(2) *Reasons for Closer Relations*.—Under this heading the following principal reasons are cited:

(a) Necessity of a market for her products, especially sugar.

(b) Necessity of obtaining capital for the development of her industries.

(3) *Economic Ties between the Two Countries*.—Through the Platt Amendment the United States pledged itself to protect, if necessary, life, property, and individual liberty in Cuba. Although this right has never been directly exercised, its influence and the close diplomatic relations between the two countries have resulted in more American and foreign capitalists investing in Cuban enterprises than would otherwise have been the case.

The Treaty of Reciprocity is also mentioned as playing a very important part in the development of Cuban business.

It is pointed out that the World War put to the test Cuba's good-will and gratitude toward the United States, and she not only entered into the war, but turned over to the United States Government her sugar crops, which were sold to the Sugar Equalization Board at the price fixed by it.

But after the war and the period of inflated prices there began the fall and readjustment, with its consequent losses for all interests. At this juncture, say the Cubans, the United States Congress had the kindness to adopt, May 27, 1921, an "emergency" measure raising the duty on sugar, with the object of protecting the American producer at the expense of the Cuban producer. This "emergency" measure was to remain in force only six months, but as yet it has not been abrogated, although it has been in existence for almost a year.

This protection has been regarded as prejudicial toward Cuba, and the Cubans claim

that it tends toward the destruction of her sugar industry, the economic ruin of the country, the wastage of large amounts of capital, the impediment of the development of commercial relations between the two countries, and, frankly, the contradiction of the policy which it seemed reasonable to believe would be maintained by the United States with respect to Cuba.

Señor Pérez closes his article with the statement that in order to maintain the close relations between the two countries that have prevailed in the past, there must be a treaty of just and reciprocal economic benefits.

## ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE ARGENTINE

AFTER the great war Argentina expected to sell its raw and food materials to its former clients, the nations recently at war. These countries, however, were unable to buy abroad owing to national impoverishment or depreciated currency. Thus the Argentine found itself with a vast surplus on its hands which it could not consume or industrialize, owing to small population and inadequate industrial capacity. A grave business crisis was threatened.

World conditions, says *La Revista Economía y Finanzas* (Buenos Aires), have led to a new form of industrial protection: Import duties are now designed, not to favor one class and enrich it, but to assure work and well-being to an entire country.

Thus we see nations traditionally free-traders, like England, raising high-duty barriers against importations. Old treaties of commerce have been abrogated and heavy import duties imposed. When consumers have complained of resultant high costs, the answer has been, "Work, produce, export."

Argentina has alone remained inactive, though its natural products have not been marketed. All farm products are largely overstocked because the country depends entirely on foreign trade to industrialize, transport and export it. The cattle and grain raisers are at the center of Argentina's economic solidarity. Their inability to sell affects the whole country.

Banks have loaned money on the basis of 150 pesos for a steer worth 250 pesos: this security is worth only 80 pesos to-day. If the owner sells to pay his debts he will be

ruined and remain in debt: what can be done, except to borrow more?

The banks must carry such men, because a refusal to help further will turn partial losses into total losses!

The problem is further aggravated because the unfavorable trade balance forces the export of money and consequent depreciation of national purchasing power. National industry must be stimulated. The first step should be import duties adapted to the peculiarities of the nation.

Argentina has no law against the "dumping" of goods manufactured in foreign countries. Consequently, Argentine goods are dashed to pieces on duty barriers of foreign countries, while speculation and cheap foreign goods (offered below cost) throttle its incipient industries. The result can only be a more extensive industrial crisis, with unemployment and social disturbances.

This Argentine writer, to strengthen his case, cites the tariff and anti-dumping laws of Great Britain, the United States, Switzerland, Japan, and Spain. He states that in England over 6000 articles—optical goods, medicines, synthetic chemicals, glassware, electrical apparatus, etc.—were entered at a duty of one-third their value, while the law against dumping places the import duties of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. on all articles imported at a price less than the production cost.

Reference is also made to the United States Emergency Tariff and to Spain's increase of her import duties, which affects all products similar to those of domestic origin, including articles of food.

# IMPORTING WOODS IN ARGENTINA

A DAILY paper published in Buenos Aires, *La Razon*, has recently published the following interesting study of wood-importation conditions in the Argentine, says *La Revista Economia y Finanzas* (Buenos Aires). A glance at the résumé below will show the reader the importance of the original article.

Argentina possesses vast virgin forests, containing all varieties of wood, in quantity and quality sufficient for all domestic needs and for extensive exportation. Nevertheless, hardly a foot of "national" wood is used in construction or industry! Such a condition is a contradiction of the spirit of national progress.

Pine, cedar, ash, walnut and other woods enter the country in vast quantities. With increased population this importation will grow.

The war did not force Argentina to create new industries to satisfy the demands of the internal consumer. National inertia prevented the development of the great forests for commercial purposes. In addition, faulty transportation facilities bar progress to-day.

The government or private individuals who induce the nation to utilize its natural wood resources will free the country from a servitude which is crushing business. Instead of an importer of woods, Argentina should become an exporter.

Examination of the mills shows that most of the wood used comes from North America. Domestic cedar and pine can compete in price with the foreign, but its quality is inferior and its use not convenient.

Variations in import figures indicate only the paralysis of construction and industry during the war period.

The above assertion is proved by government figures for 1919 and the first nine months of 1920—the last year in which one can obtain exact data from the national bureau.

Pine is one of the woods most imported, due to its adaptability. The three varieties, white, pitch, and spruce, come from North America. Some pine

comes from Brazil: it does not find so ready a market, because, though it competes in price, it does not in quality. The pitch pine is used largely for floors and ceilings. Some pine comes from Norway.

Many hardwoods come from Paraguay, though the Argentine forests could furnish them. Likewise the vast imports of fir and cedar could be supplied by domestic products. Cedar comes from Salta, Argentine's northernmost province, to some extent.

The ash and walnut used before 1914 were in relatively small demand during 1917 and 1918; in 1919 low prices led to better orders and in 1920 imports again showed an increase.

The Chilean *rauli* and *lingue* are being largely used as substitutes for the Paraguayan cedar and the American oak.

The following table will show the value of wood imports:

Year	Value in pesos (gold)
1910	17 726 297
1911	20 258 938
1912	18 648 508
1913	18 142 368
1914	9 128 073
1915	6 972 759
1916	6 787 642
1917	5 082 403
1918	6 244 782
1919	8 516 717
1920	8 672 615 (9 months)

The following table shows importations of lumber and wood products during 1914 and in the first nine months of 1920:

Article	Unit <sup>1</sup>	Quantity 1914	Quantity 1920
Mahogany, in thin planks and boards	m.c.	3,299	74,327
Staves and empty casks	U.	683,124	300,332
Ash, rough	m.c.	40,760	17,034
American hardwoods, in beams, boards and planks	m.c.	1,424,480	1,541,231
Lumber, unfinished or half-finished	m.c.	52,160	277,100
Walnut, boards and beams	m.c.	233,184	72,290
Fir posts	m.c.	7,927	24,515
Oak, beams—rough and finished	U.	273,301	427,037
Cedar cylinders (posts)	kilos	6,620,264	16,561,049
Fir, ditto	kilos	4,766,283	35,842,122
Wooden boxes	\$ o/s	66,809	44,760
Boxes for preserved meat	U.	702,801	.....
Furniture, in general	\$o/8	1,472,934	541,936
White pine	m.c.	2,030,630	4,349,358
Pitch pine	m.c.	9,472,720	7,472,874
Spruce	m.c.	4,171,480	1,707,715
Cedar	m.c.	511,286	566,958

<sup>1</sup> The unit symbols are: m.c., cubic meter; U, unit; \$o/s, pesos, oro sellado—or gold coinage.



## NEW USES FOR POISON GAS

THE first poison gas used by the Germans in the late war was chlorine, and this substance was the basis of some of the most deadly gases developed later in the struggle. Now that peace prevails, the versatile chemist is finding new uses for chlorine, so beneficent and far-reaching that they help, in some measure, to make amends for the horrors of chemical warfare. The peacetime applications of chlorine and other poison gases are described in the *Scientific American* by Mr. Harry A. Mount.

Chlorine is obtained from common salt (sodium chloride) by an electrolytic process. When the gas has been separated from sodium it is liquefied, by cold and pressure, and stored in steel cylinders. In this form it exerts a pressure of about 150 pounds to the square inch on the container at room temperature, and returns immediately to the gaseous form when released. Before the war it was used to a limited extent for bleaching, and also for purifying water. These uses have now been greatly developed. The writer says:

Chlorine has come into almost universal use for purifying the water supply of cities. At the present time some 2025 American communities use chlorinated water, consuming 4,000,000,000 gallons of water daily, and serving a population of 40,000,000. One important result is seen in a reduction of 70 per cent. in the death rate from typhoid in cities from 1913 to 1919. (The last date for which figures are available.) During this same period the typhoid rate in rural districts decreased only 10 per cent.

Originally these applications of chlorine were made in the form of chloride of lime, of which the active agent is chlorine. Such installations, however, are now being rapidly replaced by apparatus for the use of liquid chlorine.

Aside from its most important use in purifying water, chlorine gas in this form finds wide application in bleaching processes, chlorine being the active agent in most commercial bleaching solutions. Great quantities of the gas are used in textile and paper mills, laundries, etc., for this purpose.

One of the more recent uses is in sterilizing city sewage to render it harmless before discharging into a stream or lake and in similar treatment of trade wastes. Many tanneries now use chlorine as a weapon against the anthrax germ, so deadly to humans. A field recently invaded is the sterilization of swimming pools. A small quantity of chlorine will render the waters of a pool absolutely sanitary, saving the expense of emptying the pool and refilling it. On a great pool completed recently in Washington, D. C., a small boat is fitted with a unique chlorinating plant and it plies the waters all day long, discharging chlorine, when the pool is in use. A

similar experiment has been tried at Cleveland, where the waters of a public beach are chlorinated by a plant in a small boat. It is claimed that one application will remain effective at the beach for several days.

A Yale professor has recently made the discovery that bad odors can literally be gassed to death by the use of chlorine. His method is to release a measured quantity of chlorine gas into a stack carrying the odorous air. A combined chemical and electrolytic action takes place, and a few feet from the point of application the air in the stack is found to be free of odor. The importance of this discovery may be realized from the fact that through its application the height of a stack planned to carry away odors from a sewage disposal plant in Cleveland has been reduced from 200 feet to 50 feet. In many cases it will be possible to eliminate the odor from garbage, sewage and trade-waste disposal plants which now create a public nuisance.

Every well-equipped hospital now has a small plant, consisting of a chlorine cylinder and special control apparatus for the manufacture of the Dakin-Carrel solution. This solution was used in the military hospitals for the sterilization of wounds and has proved so effective that it is now standard in civil hospitals. Chlorine also is the base of several household sanitary solutions sold under widely advertised trade names.

A number of interesting experiments with new uses for chlorine are being carried forward. In one of these a large packing concern is investigating the possibility of using highly chlorinated water in packing fruits and vegetables. This eliminates part of the cooking and helps preserve the natural flavor.

Not less interesting are the many new uses that have been found for other gases developed for military purposes. Thus ethylene has been found to have some advantages over acetylene for welding. With this substance a welding outfit is easily portable, because the weight of a solvent for acetylene is dispensed with:

Several of the most deadly of the war gases have been found valuable in the most gentle of peace-time pursuits—the making of perfumes. From the deadly phosgene a violet scent is extracted more delicate and more lasting than the woodland flower yields. Benzyl acetate yields a jasmine scent as fragrant as the jasmine itself.

Dinitrophenol is the basis of a new American sulfur-black dye of very great importance. This is the most important of the dyes because it finds a wide application in dyeing such articles of wear as hosiery. It was one of the dyes which German chemists were confident we could never produce, but recent reports say the American dye is better than the imported German black. Tremendous quantities of cellulose acetate, developed for use as an airplane wing dope, are now used in the manufacture of artificial silk.

Sulfur chloride, used with ethylene in the

manufacture of mustard gas, finds wide peacetime application in the manufacture of rubber.

Lastly, poisonous gases are used, as such, for many purposes more edifying than the destruction of human life. For instance, they are used against pests. Thus:

One of the important new uses for a number of poison gases is in the destruction of rodents and insect pests. Phosgene, for example, has been used very successfully in killing rats around wharves, breakwaters, etc. Cyanogen bromide is used in the holds of vessels and other places where the phosgene would corrode the metal, for the same purpose. This is important not only because rats destroy property, but in preventing the spread of such diseases as bubonic plague. Hydrocyanic gas is finding a tremendous use in protecting the citrus groves of California and the South from insect pests. Efforts are under way to attack with poison gas the locusts which overrun parts of the Philippines, Kansas and other parts of the United States. There has been little success in attacking the cotton boll weevil of the South, but this problem has not been given up as hopeless.

Wide publicity has been given recently to tests of the efficiency of tear gas in the handling of mobs. Indications are that this harmless but exceedingly effective weapon will largely replace machine guns and clubs in such emergencies.



AMERICAN ENGINEERS IN FRANCE EQUIPPED WITH GAS MASKS

(The U. S. Bureau of Mines has sent out a warning that the army gas mask, which gave protection against the deadly gases met on the battlefield, does not protect against all the gases encountered in mines and in fire-fighting)

## MORE FALLACIES ABOUT THE ARCTIC

**M**ORE than nine years ago we published in this department of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS an abstract of an article in which Mr. Vilhjálmur Stefánsson, the well-known explorer, undertook to correct certain popular misconceptions regarding Arctic climate. In the current number of the *Geographical Review* (New York) the explorer delivers an even more comprehensive onslaught upon long-cherished ideas as to the conditions of life, climatic and otherwise, prevailing in what is commonly called the "frozen North." The writer says:

The average intelligent person who is not a geographer or a meteorologist is likely to have the following ideas about the Arctic:

1. In general, it is dreadfully cold there at all times of the year; in particular, the minimum temperatures of winter are everywhere lower than they are anywhere in lands occupied by an agricultural population. In summer the greatest heat is not sufficient to make the days comfortably warm.

2. The Arctic lands are nearly everywhere devoid of vegetation. If there is any vegetation, it is mosses and lichens. A few people who are not geographers have heard that there are flowers in the polar regions, some even know that there are carpets of flowers; but this idea is

prevented from becoming very enlightening by the assumption that these are all "lowly," "hardy," or "stunted" plants.

3. The Arctic is, generally speaking, devoid of animal life. In some places there are polar bears and seals, but neither of these animals nor any other is found in the water or on the ice when you get into "the remote polar regions" at great distances from land.

4. A certain mystical idea about the polar regions is responsible for a group of notions as follows: (a) that there is a peculiar deathlike stillness at most or all times; (b) that the polar night has a dreadfully depressing effect on the human spirit, but that (c) there is a certain fascination about the North which either in spite of its terrors or even because of them entices men of a peculiarly heroic mold into these dreadful regions, there to suffer and if need be to die in the cause of science.

One reason why these ideas persist, although erroneous, is that they have become embodied in stereotyped phrases. A striking illustration of the vitality of such phrases is seen in the fact that a posthumous book of Sir Clements Markham, one of the highest authorities on the polar regions, was called "The Lands of Silence." It appears that the Arctic is anything but "silent." In summer the polar adventurer hears "millions of

cackling geese and squawking ducks and tens of thousands of cranes and swans and loons," while various mammals and insects add to the chorus. In winter, though bird voices are few, wolves howl through the long nights, the winds are often uproarious, and, near the sea, the grinding and crashing of ice occasionally makes a terrifying din. Stefánsson remembers the treeless plains of the Dakotas, where he spent his boyhood, as far more silent than the most desolate wastes of the Arctic.

Just as the so-called Torrid Zone does not deserve its popular reputation for torridity and the so-called Temperate Zones have some of the most intemperate weather of the world, so the Frigid Zones often fail to live up to their name. A temperature of 100° Fahr. in the shade has been measured, with scientific accuracy, at Fort Yukon, Alaska, four miles north of the Arctic Circle. It is true that some parts of the Arctic—the interior of Greenland, for example—never experience hot weather; but, on the other hand, the severity of Arctic cold has been almost universally overrated. Even explorers formerly entertained curiously erroneous ideas on the subject. We read:

We get a different idea, however, when we read the history of Arctic exploration during the last three hundred years and trace the gradual emancipation from its terrors. At first the travelers were in such dread of the Northern winter that they made only summer forays in ships, returning home in the autumn. In the second stage of Arctic exploration they did pass the winter in the North, but practically in hibernation. It was a sort of trench warfare against the cold. They dug themselves in at the beginning of fall and managed to endure the tedium of winter through various devices, such as publishing a newspaper or the teaching of school where the officers were the masters and the sailors the pupils, or various other occupations designed to kill time. In the spring they came out of their trenches in more or less trepidation and did what exploring was possible by their primitive methods during the spring and summer. As late as 1878 Sir George Nares declared that any polar explorer should be censured for cruelty who required his men to begin the work of exploration before April.

But long before the time of Nares, such pioneers as McClintock had begun to emancipate themselves from the imagined terrors of the Arctic winter. It was considered a great achievement, and was so in a certain sense, when they began to carry on sledge exploration under temperatures about the same as those at which children ordinarily go to school in winter in Manitoba and Dakota.

Explorer after explorer made advances, and one by one the imagined difficulties of the North were conquered until finally, in the time of Peary,

only one or two obstacles remained serious. He had emancipated himself so completely from the fear of the winter that he laid it down as a principle that all important exploratory sledge work should be done in winter and that the journeys ought to be over before the snow began to thaw appreciably in spring. He had devised a transportation system which we still consider the best for those parts. The two ideas that remained unconquered were that the polar sea is unnavigable (it really still is except that it is everywhere sailable by submarines) and that the polar ocean is devoid of food or fuel resources, making it necessary to carry large quantities of both. Peary himself, in his journey of four hundred miles from Cape Columbia to the North Pole, used about ten tons of food and fuel, all of which was exhausted before the journey was over.

The idea that the polar regions are devoid of animal life has been the most stubborn of the misconceptions and now remains the only one of our inherited views that is held by many explorers and many geographers. The pristine polar regions now survive only in the minds of the laity.

While the writer speaks of caribou herds numbering millions, his discussion of animal life in the Arctic relates especially to the prevalence of seals. The belief heretofore commonly held by explorers that seals are absent from the polar ocean except near the coasts was based partly upon the statements of the Eskimos and partly upon the fact that polar bears, which prey upon seals, are not found at a great distance from land. This belief appears to have been effectually refuted by Stefánsson's own experience in seal-hunting. He says:

There is no novelty in the method we used. The only novelty is that we applied it in a region in which neither Eskimos nor explorers had considered applying it because of their inherited views to the effect that the seals were absent, and because they had inferred the absence of the seal from the absence of bears and bear tracks. With a party from my expedition I traveled for two years in a region where we never saw a polar bear track, and still while traveling we lived mainly on seals which we were able to get from under the ice, where they would have been safe from the utmost ingenuity of polar bears, even had the bears been there to look for them.

It cannot be considered proved that seal life is as abundant at the North Pole as at certain places where we have traveled depending for our food month after month on seals; but it appears to me we have carried our investigations and reasoning on this subject so far that the burden of proof now rests on anyone who assumes that there is a part of the polar ocean, whether the North Pole or any other part, that is devoid of animal life or where animal life is so scarce that a skillful hunter would find it difficult to secure food and fuel for a small party of men and dogs.

# THE FRENCH EIGHT-HOUR DAY AND THE GENERAL SITUATION

IN the number for April 15, M. André Llesse reminds the readers of the *Economiste* of his warnings uttered three years earlier. At that time, under the fear of a great radical outbreak expected on May Day, a measure was rushed in three days through the lower house, and approved by the Senate in a single session, making the eight-hour day everywhere and strictly obligatory, even on railways and in the merchant marine. "In that instance, legislative action was not political economy, but pure politics—and very shortsighted politics, at that."

The syndicalist agitators made with solemn face the pledge, accepted with joyous credulity by the legislators, that the effective results, the output, should thereafter in no case be less than under the nine- or ten-hour régime—a promise, of course, neither sincere nor possible to fulfil. The real "victory of the proletariat over the bourgeois" was to be an assurance of constant and lucrative employment for all laborers skilled or unskilled. Another confident forecast was that all other nations would follow suit; but only faraway Australia and New Zealand have since made that good. The Genoa Conference of June, 1920, had only negative results.

The real consequences were easily to be foreseen. Just after a war that destroyed a great part of human resources, when there was an urgent necessity in all lands—and, above all, need in France—of the utmost exertion, how absurd, as President Millebrand has recently said, to make an unexpected, instant and universal reduction of 20 per cent. in the hours of labor! The Minister of Agriculture, Henri Chéron, himself an ardent Socialist, speaks still more frankly:

It was an error that we passed the eight-hour law; we must have the courage to recognize it. France cannot be left to perish for a formula. This law stands for a loss of several billions in annual production. Therefore it increases grievously the high cost of living.

It is this desperate condition, not any reactionary campaign led by the captains of industry or capitalism generally, that has of late made the question again a burning one, not only in France but in every land under similar constraint. Indeed, the worldwide financial crisis of 1920-21 has been at least greatly accentuated by the diminished output of manual labor—a truth nowhere coming to be more keenly felt, even by the workingmen themselves, than in England, comparatively rich and solvent though she still is, compared with any of the other combatants save ourselves. The formula of the "three eights"—for work, recreation, and sleep, proclaimed in Australia seventy years ago, is dying its natural death. Even the professed champions of labor are recalling the appeal by one of themselves, M. Vandervelle, at the Zurich Conference of 1897, for rational discriminations. There are special conditions, as in the merchant marine, where nine, ten, even twelve hours' activity may be absolutely necessary, and need not exhaust the vitality of a normal man.

There is no expectation that the law will be directly repealed. Some effort is being wasted in seeking, even in its rigid phrasing, loopholes for some exceptional and urgent cases. But it requires open amendment—a tedious and difficult task under French procedure at best.

The economic problem is complicated by the heavy losses of both employers and employees through widespread strikes, by the continuance of the war-time excessive wage-schedules, by the oppressive state of exchange, and so forth. And always the workingman, without accumulated savings, dependent on his daily earnings, suffers, with his family, most acutely of all.

A succeeding article will discuss the definite grievances expressed against the law in question, and the "proposals offered in France to apply a remedy to a condition which cannot be longer endured."



# THE NEW BOOKS

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: HISTORY: DESCRIPTION

**International Relations.** By James Bryce. Macmillan. 275 pp.

This volume comprises the eight lectures delivered by Lord Bryce in August, 1921, under the auspices of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Mass. Aside from the interest inherent in the fact that these lectures constituted the last sustained effort of a career devoted for more than sixty years to the study of politics, they appeal with special force to Americans because of Lord Bryce's intelligent sympathy with American ideals and institutions, and also because no statesman of the English-speaking world has seen so clearly and analyzed so profitably world relationships as they have been developed and modified since the Great war. In all national and international crises Lord Bryce has ever trusted to the guidance of history. Even to the very last he looked forward to a fuller coöperation of states, and these lectures show how he sought and found in the record of international relationships the methods by which such coöperation will ultimately be brought about. His discussion of these methods, in the light of what has happened in Europe since the armistice, is most illuminating. It all has a direct bearing on the efforts at Washington and Genoa to avert war.

**Russia's Foreign Relations During the Last Half-Century.** By Baron Sergius A. Korff. Macmillan. 227 pp.

Another volume in the Institute of Politics Publications is Baron Korff's account of Russia's foreign relations during the last half-century, especially since the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Russia has had a more important part, perhaps, in international affairs than we in America fully appreciate. Baron Korff, from his intimate personal knowledge of Russian foreign affairs, is able to explain the real meaning of secret diplomacy as developed in the last century at the various European courts. He offers certain suggestions for the remodeling of diplomatic service in general.

**The History and Nature of International Relations.** Edited by Edmund A. Walsh. Macmillan. 299 pp.

Lectures delivered at Washington, D. C., before the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, are reproduced in this volume. The first chapter is an admirable survey of "The Fundamentals in a Scientific Study of International Relations," by Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Relations. Succeeding chapters outline the principal phases in the history of relations between sovereign states

from antiquity down to the present. The development of diplomacy in modern times is described by Hon. James Brown Scott. Professor J. Laurence Laughlin discusses "Economic Factors in International Relations"; Hon. John Basset Moore, "Specific Agencies for the Proper Conduct of International Relations"; Dr. Leo S. Rowe, "Latin America as a Factor in International Relations"; Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, former Minister to China, "The Far East as a Factor in International Developments"; and Prof. Edwin M. Borchard, of the Yale Law School, "The United States as a Factor."

**Peacemakers — Blessed and Otherwise.** By Ida M. Tarbell. Macmillan. 227 pp.

This little book summarizes Miss Tarbell's "observations, reflections and irritations" during the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments. These comments, some of which are caustic, while all are pointed and illuminating, were set down from week to week during the progress of the Conference, and were widely published through a newspaper syndicate. Miss Tarbell does not offer them as her own full appraisal of the work of the Conference, nor does she pretend to give the whole story of what went on at Washington during those months. But if her account is in any degree inadequate as history, it largely makes up for such lack in vividness and intimacy as a narrative.

**The Eclipse of American Sea Power.** By Captain Dudley W. Knox, U. S. N., retired. American Army and Navy Journal, Inc. 140 pp. With maps.

The words of the title chosen for this book can be justified only by the author's sincere belief that a truly desperate condition confronts the American Navy. In his view of the Washington Conference the author's viewpoint is not unlike that of Mr. William Howard Gardiner, who set forth "A Naval View" of that Conference in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April last. According to these authorities, the United States sacrificed everything for the aggrandizement of Great Britain and Japan, while she gained practically nothing.

**Our Eleven Billion Dollars.** By Robert Mountsier. Thomas Seltzer. 149 pp.

This little book gives a picture of Europe's economic and political situation, with special reference to the vast sums owed to the United States by the various European governments and "so-called governments." The author has made frequent trips to Europe during recent years and

has prepared financial and industrial reports for several American organizations. His familiarity, not only with the facts and figures contained in the official documents, but with information derived from personal sources, has enabled him to state succinctly those aspects of the subject that are of most importance to Americans at the present moment.

**Japanese-American Relations.** By The Hon. Ichihiro Tokutomi. Macmillan. 207 pp.

The author of this work is universally regarded as one of Japan's foremost publicists. The larger work, from which the chapters comprising this volume were taken, has already had a wide circulation among the Japanese—said to have reached 300,000 copies. The fact that the author is so influential in his own land and addresses so large an audience makes his writings important as a revelation of the Japanese attitude toward Americans. Several chapters of his book are devoted to the immigration problem in California and the anti-Japanese agitation throughout the United States. The author frankly states his reasons for believing that Americans in general fail to do justice to the Japanese. He has no sympathy, however, with those among his countrymen who would seek to foment trouble between the two nations.

**Ten Years at the Court of St. James's: 1895-1905.** By Baron von Eckardstein. E. P. Dutton & Company. 255 pp.

The author of these memoirs represented Germany at London during the years 1895-1905. The chief interest of his recollections lies in the account that he gives of the repeated efforts to bring about an Anglo-German agreement that should prevent war. The individual whom he holds chiefly responsible for the failure of those efforts is Kaiser Wilhelm. The memoirs were translated and edited by Professor George Young.

**A Short History of the British Commonwealth.** By Ramsay Muir. Yonkers-on-Hudson. World Book Company. Volume I. 814 pp.

It is significant that in the title of this book the word commonwealth takes the place that might once have been held by "Empire." It is quite in line with the modern conception of a federated group of self-governing British communities that this fresh treatment of the rise and the growth of British institutions should emphasize those factors which have had most to do with the building up of this great group of independent nations. In this first volume are traced the history of Great Britain and Ireland and the overseas expansion resulting in the formation of the first Empire (down to 1763).

**The Story of the Irish Nation.** By Francis Hackett. The Century Company. 402 pp.

A gifted Irishman's readable and entertaining version of the dramatic record of his own people. It goes without saying that Mr. Hackett's history is sympathetic, but at the same time it is based upon authentic sources, rather than tradition, and it aims at something more permanent and

worth while than mere dramatic effect. No student has ever yet found Irish history wanting in romantic features. These naturally predominate in Mr. Hackett's narrative, and at the same time the serious phases of Ireland's development into a self-governing, modern state are not ignored.

**Canada at the Crossroads.** By Agnes C. Laut. Macmillan. 279 pp.

This is a racy and exceedingly interesting argument addressed to Canadians with a view to stimulating interest in their national resources and economic development. Miss Laut's fund of information on Canadian affairs is hardly equaled at the present moment by any other writer. Furthermore, her residence in the United States and lively interest in our political and industrial affairs have broadened her outlook and given her a better perspective in the discussion of purely Canadian problems.

**The Cowboy.** By Philip Ashton Rollins. Charles Scribner's Sons. 353 pp.

Here at last is a writer who sees in the American cowboy something more than a stage or movie hero. Mr. Rollins describes him as "an affirmative, constructive factor in the social and political development of the United States." The cowboy was all that, and at the same time he formed an exceedingly picturesque feature of the landscape. The present generation is in danger of basing its conception of the cowboy entirely on the film portrayals that have been so popular, not only in America, but in lands across the sea. In this volume the author has set out to describe the early ranches, the cattle, the horses and their equipment, the buying and selling of animals, the round-up, roping and horse-breaking—in short, to give the whole story of an epoch that has passed in the development of the West.

**Why Europe Leaves Home.** By Kenneth L. Roberts. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 356 pp. Ill.

Most writers on the immigration problem have been content to begin their researches with the arrival of the immigrant at Ellis Island. Mr. Roberts, coming to the subject from a different angle, has sought in Central Europe the reasons that actuate so many of the inhabitants of that continent to come to America. His study is not a reassuring one. He leaves the reader with the feeling that if our Government is to exercise any real control over immigration, Congress must enact far more radical measures than have thus far been proposed.

**Early Yugoslav Literature.** By Milivoj S. Stanoyevich. Columbia University Press. 91 pp.

Never before has there been an opportunity to read in the English language the connected account of the rise of Yugoslav literature. The present work brings the story down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. No student of European literature should overlook the writings of the Southern Slavs, whose history was intimately associated with that of the Balkans.

## BIOGRAPHY: MEMOIRS

**E. H. Harriman: a Biography.** By George Kennan. Houghton Mifflin Company. Vol. I. 419 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 421 pp. Ill.

So many and varied were the activities of the late E. H. Harriman that his biographer might well despair in the attempt to do them justice. Mr. George Kennan may not have succeeded in covering adequately every phase of that busy life, but in the two substantial volumes that he now offers to the public after years of labor he describes many intensely interesting episodes in a career that was singularly concealed from contemporaries. During the last decade of his life (he died in 1909) Mr. Harriman was carrying on at least two or three, and sometimes half a dozen, important enterprises simultaneously. Primarily he was known to the public as a railroad man. The most striking chapters of his biography are those that describe his successful efforts in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of railroad systems, as well as the working out of original plans on a broad scale. Two thrilling chapters of the second volume are devoted to "The Imperial Valley Oasis" and "The Fight with a Runaway River." The Boys' Club of New York, which Mr. Harriman founded in 1876, and to which he devoted time and money unstintingly for the remainder of his life, is the subject of a special chapter.

**The Life of Donald G. Mitchell.** By Waldo H. Dunn. Charles Scribner's Sons. 421 pp. Ill.

Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel), who died in 1908, was a favorite of two generations of American readers. Indeed, his literary career may be said to have spanned practically the whole history of American letters, for in youth he was the friend of Washington Irving, and in maturer years of William Dean Howells. Somewhat detached from the Boston school of writers, his place

in our literary history is unique. After many years we now have an authorized biography of the author of "Dream Life" and "Reveries of a Bachelor." Although the text-books and encyclopædias all recognize Mr. Mitchell as one of the foremost essayists of his day, he thought of himself as a farmer, and at "Edgewood," near New Haven, he practised horticulture and landscape gardening for fifty years. There also he did his writing, and did not lay down the pen until he was past eighty.

**Saint-Saëns.** By Arthur Hervey. Dodd, Mead and Company. 159 pp. Ill.

The composer of "Samson and Delilah" died a few months ago in France at the age of eighty-six. This brief sketch by Mr. Arthur Hervey is said to be the first written in the English language entirely devoted to the life and works of Saint-Saëns. Besides the account of the composer's life, the author describes his compositions and analyzes his opinions on music and musicians.

**My American Diary.** By Clare Sheridan. Boni and Liveright. 359 pp. Ill.

As Americans seem never weary of reading the impressions of their country, formed by their British cousins on long or short acquaintance, Mrs. Sheridan graciously indulges their appetite for this kind of comment by publishing voluminous extracts from the diary that she kept during the greater part of the year 1921. Her earlier book, "Mayfair to Moscow," had interested many American readers in her experiences as a sculptress in Russia. The present volume is a frank revelation of the diarist's opinion of men, women, and things American. An interesting passage of the diary is devoted to a tribute to Lady Randolph Churchill, who was Mrs. Sheridan's aunt, and was herself a member of the well-known Jerome family of New York City.

## LIFE IN THE OPEN

**The Minds and Manners of Wild Animals.** By William T. Hornaday. Charles Scribner's Sons. 328 pp. Ill.

Director Hornaday, of the New York Zoological Park, has made a business of observing the ways of wild animals for half a century. In this volume he has set forth from his personal observations some exceedingly interesting information concerning the language, intelligence, and "moral traits" of wild animals. Some of the most thrilling passages in Mr. Hornaday's book are those which relate actual experiences in dealing with wild inmates of the New York Zoo.

**The Haunts of Life.** By J. Arthur Thomson. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 272 pp. Ill.

Professor Thomson is a leading British biologist who approaches the haunts of animal life somewhat in the spirit of the poet and philosopher. His descriptions of those mysteries of sea and land and air which are associated with the lives

of animals are infused with the imaginative quality which so frequently is lacking in the scientific treatise.

**The Adventures of a Tropical Tramp.** By Harry L. Foster. Dodd, Mead & Company. 359 pp. Ill.

Stories of tramping experiences in South America are becoming popular of late. Not all of them are so literally tales of vagabondage as Mr. Franck's "Working North from Patagonia," recently noticed in these pages. Mr. Foster's adventures are not precisely those of a tramp in the ordinary sense of the word, but he did have the fun of working his way in mining camps, as a newspaper reporter and in other callings. This brought him in contact with a fairly large group of "outlanders" in Bolivia and Peru, and he learned from them many things that to the casual traveler would never be disclosed. We are sure that nothing quite like this account has ever before been put in print.





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